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THE  
FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

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GEIST'S GRAVE.

Four years!—and didst thou stay above  
The ground, which hides thee now, but four?  
And all that life, and all that love,  
Were crowded, Geist! into no more?

Only four years those winning ways,  
Which make me for thy presence yearn,  
Call'd us to pet thee or to praise,  
Dear little friend! at every turn?

That loving heart, that patient soul,  
Had they indeed no longer span,  
To run their course, and reach their goal,  
And read their homily to man?

That liquid, melancholy eye,  
From whose pathetic, soul-fed spring,  
Seem'd surging the Virgilian cry,<sup>1</sup>  
The sense of tears in mortal things—

That steadfast, mournful strain, consoled  
By spirits gloriously gay,  
And temper of heroic mould—  
What, was four years their whole short day?

<sup>1</sup>(1) *Sunt lacrimae rerum*!

Yes, only four!—and not the course  
Of all the centuries yet to come,  
And not the infinite resource  
Of Nature, with her countless sun

Of figures, with her fulness vast  
Of new creation evermore,  
Can ever quite repeat the past,  
Or just thy little self restore.

Stern law of every mortal lot!  
Which man, proud man, finds hard to bear,  
And builds himself I know not what  
Of second life I know not where.

But thou, when struck thine hour to go,  
On us, who stood despondent by,  
A meek last glance of love didst throw,  
And humbly<sup>l</sup> lay thee down to die.

Yet would we keep thee in our heart—  
Would fix our favourite on the scene,  
Nor let thee utterly depart  
And be as if thou ne'er hadst been.

And so there rise these lines of verse  
On lips that rarely form them now;  
While to each other we rehearse:  
*Such ways, such arts, such looks hadst thou!*

We stroke thy broad brown paws again,  
We bid thee to thy vacant chair,  
We greet thee by the window-pane,  
We hear thy scuffle on the stair;

We see the flaps of thy large ears  
Quick raised to ask which way we go;  
Crossing the frozen lake, appears  
Thy small black figure on the snow!

Nor to us only art thou dear  
 Who mourn thee in thine English home :  
 Thou hast thine absent master's tear,  
 Dropt by the far Australian foun.

Thy memory lasts both here and there,  
 And thou shalt live as long as we.  
 And after that—thou dost not care !  
 In us was all the world to thee.

Yet, fondly zealous for thy fame,  
 Even to a date beyond our own  
 We strive to carry down thy name,  
 By mounded turf, and graven stone.

We lay thee, close within our reach,  
 Here, where the grass is smooth and warm,  
 Between the holly and the beech,  
 Where oft we watch'd thy couchant form,

Asleep, yet lending half an ear  
 To travellers on the Portsmouth road—  
 There choose we thee, O guardian dear,  
 Mark'd with a stone, thy last abode !

Then some, who through this garden pass,  
 When we too, like thyself, are clay,  
 Shall see thy grave upon the grass,  
 And stop before the stone, and say :—

*People who lived here long ago  
 Did by this stone, it seems, intend  
 To name for future times to know  
 The ducks-hound, Ghost, their little friend.*

MATTHEW ARNOLD.



## POLITICAL INTEGRATION.

POLITICAL integration is in some cases furthered, and in other cases hindered, by conditions, external and internal. There are the characters of the environment, and there are the characters of the men composing the society. We will glance at them in this order.

How political integration is prevented by an inclemency of climate, or an infertility of soil, which keeps down population, has been already shown.<sup>1</sup> To the instances before named may be added that of the Seminoles, of whom Schoolcraft says, "being so thinly scattered over a barren desert, they seldom assemble to take black drink, or deliberate on public matters;" and, again, that of certain Snake Indians, of whom he says, "the paucity of game in this region is, I have little doubt, the cause of the almost entire absence of social organization." We saw, too, that great uniformity of surface, of mineral products, of flora, of fauna, are impediments; and that on the special characters of the flora and fauna, as containing species favourable or unfavourable to human welfare, in part depends the individual prosperity required for social growth. It was also pointed out that structure of the habitat, as facilitating or impeding communication, and as rendering escape easy or hard, has much to do with the size of the social aggregate formed. To the illustrations before given, showing that mountain-haunting peoples, and peoples living in deserts and marshes, are difficult to consolidate, while peoples penned in by barriers are consolidated with facility,<sup>2</sup> I may here add two significant ones not yet noticed. One occurs in the Polynesian islands—Tahiti, Hawaii, Tonga, Samoa, and the rest—where, restrained within limits by surrounding seas, the inhabitants have become united more or less closely into aggregates of considerable sizes. The other is furnished by ancient Peru, where, before the time of the Incas, semi-civilized communities had been formed in valleys separated from each other "on the coast, by hot and almost impassable deserts, and in the interior by lofty mountains, or cold and trackless *punas*." And to the implied inability of these peoples to escape governmental coercion, thus indicated by Squier as a factor in their civilization, is ascribed, by the ancient Spanish writer Cieza, the difference between them and the neighbouring Indians of Popoyan, who could retreat, "whenever attacked, to other fertile regions." How, conversely, within the area occupied, the massing of men together is furthered by ease of internal communication, is sufficiently manifest. The importance of it is implied by the remark of

(1) *Principles of Sociology*, §§ 14—21.

(2) *Ibid.* § 17.

Grant concerning Equatorial Africa, that "no jurisdiction extends over a district which cannot be crossed in three or four days." And such facts, implying that political integration may increase as the means of going from place to place become better, remind us how, from Roman times downwards, the formation of roads has made larger social aggregates possible.

Evidence that a certain type of physique is requisite has been elsewhere given.<sup>1</sup> We saw that the races which have proved capable of evolving large societies, have been races previously subject, for long periods, to conditions fostering vigour of constitution. I will here add only that the constitutional energy needed for continuous labour, without which there cannot be civilized life and the massing of men that accompanies it, is an energy not to be quickly acquired under any conditions or through any discipline; but to be acquired only by inherited modifications slowly accumulated. Good evidence that in lower types of men there is a physical incapacity for continuous labour, is supplied by the results of the Jesuit government over the Paraguay Indians. These Indians were reduced to industrial habits, and to an orderly life which was thought by many writers admirable; but there eventually resulted the fatal evil that they became infertile. Not improbably, the infertility habitually observed in savage races that have been led into civilized habits, is consequent on taxing the physique to a degree greater than it is constituted to bear.

Certain moral traits which favour, and others which hinder, the union of men into large groups, were pointed out when treating of "The Primitive Man—Emotional."<sup>2</sup> Here I will re-illustrate such of these as concern the fitness or unfitness of the type for subordination. "The Abors, as they themselves say, are like tigers, two cannot dwell in one den," writes Mr. Dalton; and "their houses are scattered singly, or in groups of two and three." Conversely, some of the African races not only yield when coerced, but admire one who coerces them; instance the Damaras, who, as Galton says, "court slavery" and "follow a master as spaniels would." The like is alleged of other South Africans. One of them said to a gentleman known to me—"You're a pretty fellow to be a master; I've been with you two years and you've never beaten me once." Obviously the dispositions thus strongly contrasted, are dispositions on which the impossibility or possibility of political integration largely depends. There must be added, as also influential, the presence or the absence of the nomadic instinct. Varieties of men in whom wandering habits have been unchecked during countless generations of hunting life and pastoral life, show us that even when forced into agricultural life, their tendency to move about greatly hinders aggregation. It is thus among the hill-tribes of India. "The Kookies are naturally a

(1) *Principles of Sociology*, § 16.

(2) *Ibid.* Part I. chap. vi.

migratory race, never occupying the same place for more than two or, at the utmost, three years;" and the like holds of the Mishmees, who "never name their villages:" the existence of them being too transitory. In some races this migratory instinct survives and shows its effects, even after the formation of populous towns. Writing of the Bachassins in 1812, Burchell says that Litakun, containing 15,000 inhabitants, had been twice removed during a period of ten years. Clearly, peoples so little attached to the localities they were born in, are not so easily united into large societies as peoples who love their early homes.

Concerning the intellectual traits which aid or impede the cohesion of men into masses I may supplement what was said when delineating "The Primitive Man—Intellectual,"<sup>1</sup> by two corollaries of much significance. Social life being co-operative life, presupposes not only an emotional nature fitted for co-operation, but also such intelligence as perceives the benefits of co-operation, and can so regulate actions as to effect it. The unreflectiveness, the deficient consciousness of causation, and the utter lack of constructive imagination, shown by the uncivilized, hinder co-operation to a degree difficult to believe until proof is seen. Even the semi-civilized exhibit in quite simple matters an absence of concert which is astonishing.<sup>2</sup> Implying, as this inaptitude does, that co-operation can at first be effective only where there is obedience to peremptory command, it follows that there must be not only an emotional nature which produces subordination, but also an intellectual nature which produces faith in a commander. That credulity which leads to awe of the capable man, as a possessor of supernatural power, and which afterwards, causing dread of his ghost, prompts fulfilment of his remembered injunctions—that credulity which initiates the religious control of a deified chief, re-inforcing the control of his divine descendant, is a credulity which cannot be dispensed with during early stages of integration. Scepticism is fatal while the character, moral and intellectual, is such as to necessitate compulsory co-operation.

Political integration, then, hindered in many regions by environ-

(1) *Principles of Sociology*, Part I. chap. vii.

(2) The behaviour of Arab boatmen on the Nile displays this inability to co-operate in simple matters in a striking way. When jointly hauling at a rope, and beginning, as they do, to chant, the inference one draws is that they pull in time with their words. On observing, however, it turns out that their efforts are not combined at given intervals, but are put forth without any unity of rhythm. Similarly, when using their poles to push the dahabeiah off a sand-bank, the succession of grunts they severally make, is so rapid that it is manifestly impossible for them to give those effectual combined pushes which imply appreciable intervals of preparation. Still more striking is the want of concert shown by the hundred or more Nubians and Arabs employed to drag the vessel up the rapids. There are shoutings, gesticulations, divided actions, utter confusion; so that only by accident does it at length happen that a sufficient number of efforts are put forth at the same moment. As was said to me by our Arab dragoman, a travelled man,—“Ten Englishmen or Frenchmen would do the thing at once.”

ing conditions, has, in many races of mankind, been prevented from advancing far by unfitnesses of nature—physical, moral, and intellectual.

Besides certain fitnesses of nature in the united individuals, social union requires a considerable likeness of kind in their natures. At the outset the likeness of kind is insured by greater or less kinship in blood. Evidence of this meets us everywhere among the uncivilized. Of the Bushmen, Lichtenstein says, "Families alone form associations in single small hordes;—sexual feelings, the instinctive love to children, or the customary attachment among relations, are the only ties that keep them in any sort of union." Again, "the Rock Veddahs are divided into small clans or families associated for relationship, who agree in partitioning the forest among themselves for hunting grounds, &c." And this rise of the society out of the family, seen in these least organized groups, re-appears in the considerably organized groups of more advanced savages. Instance the New Zealanders, of whom we read that "eighteen historical nations occupy the country, each being subdivided into many tribes, originally families, as the prefix *Ngati*, signifying offspring (equivalent to *O* or *Mue*) obviously indicates." This connexion between blood relationship and social union is well shown by Humboldt's remarks concerning South American Indians. "Savages," he says, "know only their own family, and a tribe appears to them but a more numerous assemblage of relations." When Indians who inhabit the missions see those of the forest, who are unknown to them, they say—"They are no doubt my relations; I understand them when they speak to me." But these very savages detest all who are not of their family or their tribe: "they know the duties of family ties and of relationship, but not those of humanity."

When treating of the domestic relations, reasons were given for concluding that social stability increases as kinships become more definite and extended; since development of kinships, while insuring the likeness of nature which furthers co-operation, involves the strengthening and multiplication of those family bonds which check disruption. Where promiscuity is prevalent, or where marriages are temporary, the known relationships are relatively few and not close; and there is little more social cohesion than results from belonging to the same type of man. Polyandry, especially of the higher kind, produces relationships of some definiteness, which admit of being traced further: so serving better to tie the social group together. And a greater advance in the nearness and the number of family connexions results from polygyny. But, as was shown, it is from monogamy that there arise family connexions which are at once the most definite and the most wide-

spreading in their ramifications ; and out of monogamic families are developed the largest and most coherent societies. In two allied, yet distinguishable, ways, does monogamy favour social solidarity.

Unlike the children of the polyandrous family, who are something less than half-brothers and sisters (see § 300, note), and unlike the children of the polygamous family, most of whom are only half-brothers and sisters, the children of the monogamous family are, in the great majority of cases, all of the same blood on both sides. Being thus themselves more closely related, it follows that their clusters of children are more closely related ; and where, as happens in early stages, these clusters of children when grown up continue to form a community, and labour together, they are united alike by their kinships and by their industrial interests. Though with the growth of a family group into a gens which spreads, the industrial interests divide, yet these kinships prevent the divisions from becoming as marked as they would otherwise become. And, similarly, when the gens, in course of time, develops into the tribe. Nor is this all. If local circumstances bring together several such tribes, which are still allied in blood, though more remotely, it results that when, seated side by side, they are gradually fused, partly by interspersion and partly by intermarriage, the compound society formed, united by numerous and complicated links of kinship, as well as by political interests, is more strongly bound together than it would otherwise be. Dominant ancient societies illustrate this truth. Says Grote—"All that we hear of the most ancient Athenian laws is based upon the gentile and phratric divisions, which are treated throughout as extensions of the family." Similarly, according to Mommsen, on the "Roman household was based the Roman State, both as respected its constituent elements and its form. The community of the Roman people arose out of the junction (in whatever way brought about) of such ancient clanships as the Romilii, Voltinii, Fabii, &c." And Sir Henry Maine has shown in detail the ways in which the simple family passes into the house community, and eventually the village community. Though, in presence of the evidence furnished by races having irregular sexual relations, we cannot allege that sameness of blood is the primary reason for political co-operation,—though in numerous tribes which have not risen into the pastoral state, there is combination for offence and defence among those whose names are recognized marks of different bloods ; yet where there has been established descent through males, and especially where monogamy prevails, sameness of blood becomes largely, if not mainly, influential in determining political co-operation. And this truth, under one of its aspects, is the truth above enunciated, that combined action, requiring a certain likeness of nature among those who carry it on, is, in early stages, most successful among

those who, being descendants of the same ancestors, have the greatest likeness.

An all-important though less direct effect of blood-relationship, and especially that more definite blood-relationship which arises from monogamic marriage, has to be added. I mean community of religion—a likeness of ideas and sentiments embodied in the worship of a common deity. Beginning, as this does, with the propitiation of the deceased founder of the family; and shared in, as it is, by the multiplying groups of descendants, as the family spreads; it becomes a further means of holding together the compound cluster gradually formed, and checking the antagonisms that arise between the component clusters: so favouring integration. The influence of the bond supplied by a common cult everywhere meets us in ancient history. Each of the cities in primitive Egypt was a centre for the worship of a special divinity; and no one who, unbiassed by foregone conclusions, observes the extraordinary development of ancestor-worship, under all its forms, in Egypt, can doubt the origin of this divinity. Of the Greeks we read that—

“Each family had its own sacred rites and funeral commemoration of ancestors, celebrated by the master of the house, to which none but members of the family were admissible: the extinction of a family, carrying with it the suspension of these religious rites, was held by the Greeks to be a misfortune, not merely from the loss of the citizens composing it, but also because the family gods and the manes of deceased citizens were thus deprived of their honours and might visit the country with displeasure. The larger associations, called *Gens*, *Phratry*, *Tribe*, were formed by an extension of the same principle—of the family considered as a religious brotherhood, worshipping some common god or hero with an appropriate surname, and recognising him as their joint ancestor.”

A like bond was generated in a like manner in the Roman community. Each *curia*, which was the homologue of the *phratry*, had a head, “whose chief function was to preside over the sacrifices.” And, on a larger scale, the same thing held with the entire society. The primitive Roman king was a priest of the deities common to all: “he held intercourse with the gods of the community, whom he consulted and whom he appeased.” The beginnings of this religious bond, here exhibited in a developed form, are still traceable in India. Sir Henry Maine says, “the joint family of the Hindoos is that assemblage of persons who would have joined in the sacrifices at the funeral of some common ancestor if he had died in their lifetime.” So that political integration, while furthered by that likeness of nature which identity of descent involves, is again furthered by that likeness of religion simultaneously arising from this identity of descent.

Thus is it, too, at a later stage, with that less pronounced likeness of nature characterizing men of the same race who have multiplied and spread in such ways as to form adjacent small societies. Co-

operation among them continues to be furthered, though less effectually, by the community of their natures, by the community of their traditions, ideas, and sentiments, as well as by their community of language. Among men of diverse types, co-operation is necessarily hindered not only by that absence of mutual comprehension caused by ignorance of one another's words, but also by unlikenesses in their ways of thinking and feeling. It needs but to remember how often, even among those who speak the same language, quarrels arise from misinterpretations of things said, to see what fertile sources of confusion and antagonism must be the partial or complete differences of speech which habitually accompany differences of race. Similarly, those who are widely unlike in their emotional natures or in their intellectual natures, perplex one another by unexpected conduct—a fact on which travellers habitually remark. Hence a further obstacle to combined action. Diversities of custom, too, become causes of dissension. Where a food eaten by one people is regarded by another with disgust, where an animal held sacred by the one is by the other treated with contempt, where a salute which the one expects is never made by the other, there must be continually generated alienations which hinder joint efforts. Other things equal, facility of co-operation will be proportionate to the amount of fellow feeling; and fellow feeling is prevented by whatever prevents men from behaving in the same ways under the same conditions. The working together of the original and derived factors above enumerated, is well exhibited in the following passage from Grote:—

“The Hellenes were all of common blood and parentage,—were all descendants of the common patriarch Hellen. In treating of the historical Greeks, we have to accept this as a datum: it represents the sentiment under the influence of which they moved and acted. It is placed by Herodotus in the front rank, as the chief of those four ties which bound together the Hellenic aggregate: 1. Fellowship of blood; 2. Fellowship of language; 3. Fixed domiciles of gods, and sacrifices, common to all; 4. Like manners and dispositions.”

Influential as we thus find to be the likeness of nature which is insured by common descent, the implication is that, in the absence of considerable likeness, the larger political aggregates formed are unstable, and can be maintained only by a coercion which, some time or other, is sure to fail. Though other causes have conspired, yet this has doubtless been a part cause of the dissolution of great empires in past ages. At the present time the decay of the Turkish Empire is largely if not chiefly ascribable to it. Our own Indian Empire too, held together by force in a state of artificial equilibrium, threatens some day to illustrate by its fall the incohesion arising from lack of congruity in its components.

One of the laws of evolution at large, is that integration

results when like units are subject to the same force or to like forces (*First Principles*, § 169); and from the first stages of political integration up to the last, we find this law illustrated. Joint exposure to uniform external actions, and joint reactions against them, have from the beginning been the leading causes of union among members of societies.

Already in § 250 there has been indirectly implied the truth that coherence is first given to small hordes of primitive men during combined opposition to enemies. Subject to the same danger, and uniting to meet this danger, they become, in the course of their co-operation against it, more bound together. In the first stages, this relation of cause and effect is clearly seen in the fact that such union as arises during a war, disappears when the war is over: there is dispersion and loss of all such slight political subordination as was beginning to show itself. But it is by the integration of simple groups into compound groups in the course of common resistance to foes, and attacks upon them, that this process is best exemplified. The cases before given may be reinforced by others. Of the Karens, Mason says:—"Each village, being an independent community, had always an old feud to settle with nearly every other village among their own people. But the common danger from more powerful enemies, or having common injuries to requite, often led to several villages uniting together for defence or attack." According to Kolben, "smaller nations of Hottentots, which may be near some powerful nation, frequently enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, against the stronger nation." Among the New Caledonians in Tanna, "six, or eight, or more of their villages unite, and form what may be called a district, or county, and all league together for mutual protection. . . . In war two or more of these districts unite." In Samou, "villages, in numbers of eight or ten, unite by common consent, and form a district or state for mutual protection;" and in time of war these districts themselves sometimes unite in twos and threes. The like has happened with historic peoples. It was during the wars of the Israelites in David's time, that they passed from the state of separate tribes into the state of a consolidated ruling nation. The scattered Greek communities, previously aggregated into minor confederacies by minor wars, were prompted to the Pan-Hellenic congress and to the subsequent co-operation, when the invasion of Xerxes was impending; and of the Spartan and Athenian confederacies afterwards formed, that of Athens acquired the hegemony, and finally the empire, during continued operations against the Persians. So, too, was it with the Teutonic races. The German tribes, originally without federal bond, formed occasional alliances for war. Between the first and fifth centuries these tribes gradually massed into great groups for resistance against, or attack upon, Rome. During the subsequent century the prolonged military



confederations of peoples "of the same blood" had become States. And afterwards these became aggregated into still larger States. And, to take a comparatively modern instance, it was during the wars between France and England that each passed from that condition in which its component feudal groups were in considerable degrees independent, to the condition of a consolidated nation. As further showing how integration of smaller societies into larger ones is thus initiated, it may be added that at first the unions exist only for military purposes: each component society retains for a long time its independent internal administration, and it is only when joint action in war has become habitual, that the cohesion is made permanent by a common political organization.

This compounding of smaller communities into larger by military co-operation, is insured by the disappearance of such smaller communities as do not co-operate. Barth remarks that "the Fúlbe [Fulahs] are continually advancing, as they have not to do with one strong enemy, but with a number of small tribes without any bond of union." Of the Damarras, Galton says—"If one werft is plundered, the adjacent ones rarely rise to defend it, and thus the Namaquas have destroyed or enslaved piecemeal about one-half of the whole Damara population." Similarly, according to Ondegardo, with the Yuca conquests in Peru:—"There was no general opposition to their advance, for each province merely defended its land without aid from any other." This process, so obvious and familiar, I name because it has a meaning which needs emphasizing. For we here see that in the struggle for existence among societies, the survival of the fittest is the survival of those in which the power of military co-operation is the greatest; and military co-operation is that primary kind of co-operation which prepares the way for other kinds of co-operation. So that this formation of larger societies by the union of smaller ones in war, and this destruction or absorption of the smaller ununited societies by the united larger ones, is an inevitable process through which the varieties of men most adapted for social life, supplant the less adapted varieties.

Respecting the integration thus effected, it remains only to remark that it necessarily follows this course—necessarily begins with the formation of simple groups and advances by the compounding and the recompounding of these. Impulsive in conduct and with feeble powers of co-operation, savages cohere so slightly that only small bodies of them can maintain their integrity. Not until such small bodies have severally had their members bound to one another by some slight political organization, does it become possible to unite them into larger bodies; since the cohesion of these implies greater fitness for concerted action, and more developed organization for achieving it. And, similarly, these composite clusters must be to some extent consolidated before the composition can be carried a

stage further. Passing over the multitudinous illustrations occurring among the uncivilized, it will suffice if I refer to those before given,<sup>1</sup> and reinforce them by some which historic peoples have supplied. There is the fact that in primitive Egypt, the numerous small societies (which eventually became the "nomes") first united into the two aggregates, Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, which were afterwards joined into one; and the fact that in ancient Greece, villages became united to form towns before the towns became united into states, while this change preceded the change which united the states with one another; and the fact that in the old English period, small principalities were massed into the divisions constituting the Heptarchy before these passed into something like a united whole. It is a principle in physics that, since the force with which a body resists strains increases only as the squares of its dimensions, while the strains which its own weight subject it to increase as the cubes of its dimensions, its power of maintaining its integrity becomes relatively less as its mass becomes greater. Something analogous may be said of societies. Small aggregates only can hold together while the cohesion is feeble, and successively larger aggregates become possible only as the greater strains implied are met by that greater cohesion which results from an adapted human nature, and a resulting development of social organization.

As social integration advances, the increasing aggregates exercise increasing restraints over their units—a truth which is the obverse of the one just set forth, that the maintenance of its integrity by a larger aggregate implies greater cohesion. The coercive forces by which aggregates keep their units together, are at first very slight; and becoming extreme at a certain stage of social evolution afterwards relax—or rather change their forms.

At the outset the individual savage gravitates to one group or other, prompted by sundry motives, but mainly by the desire for protection. Concerning the Patagonians, we read that no one can live apart: "if any of them attempted to do it, they would undoubtedly be killed, or carried away as slaves, as soon as they were discovered." In North America, among the Chinooks, "on the coast a custom prevails which authorises the seizure and enslavement, unless ransomed by his friends, of every Indian met with at a distance from his tribe, although they may not be at war with each other." At first, however, though it is necessary to join some group, it is not necessary to continue in the same group. In early stages migrations from group to group are common. When much oppressed by their chief, Kalmucks and Mongols desert him and go over to other chiefs. Of the Abipones Dobrizhoffer says:—"Without leave asked on their

(1) *Principles of Sociology*, § 226.

part, or displeasure evinced on his, they remove with their families whithersoever it suits them, and join some other cacique; and when tired of the second, return with impunity to the horde of the first." Similarly, in South Africa, "the frequent instances which occur [among the Balonda] of people changing from one part of the country to another, show that the great chiefs possess only a limited power." And how, through this process, some tribes grow while others dwindle, we are shown by M'Culloch's remark respecting the Kukis, that "a village, having around it plenty of land suited for cultivation and a popular chief, is sure soon, by accessions from less favoured ones, to become large."

With the need which the individual has for protection, is joined the desire of the tribe to strengthen itself; and the practice of adoption, hence resulting, constitutes another mode of integration. Where, as among tribes of North American Indians, "adoption or the torture were the alternative chances of a captive" (adoption being the fate of one admired for his bravery), we see re-illustrated the tendency which each society has to grow at the expense of other societies. That desire for many actual children whereby the family may be strengthened, which Hebrew traditions show us, readily passes into the desire for fictitious children—here made one with the brotherhood by exchange of blood, and there by mock birth. As was implied in another place,<sup>1</sup> it is probable that the practice of adoption into families among Greeks and Romans, arose during those early times when the wandering patriarchal group constituted the tribe, and when the desire of the tribe to strengthen itself was dominant; though it was doubtless afterwards maintained chiefly by the desire to have some one to continue the sacrifices to ancestors. And, indeed, on remembering that, long after larger societies were formed by the compounding of patriarchal groups, there continued to be feuds between the component families and clans, we may see that there had never ceased to operate on such families and clans, the primitive motive for strengthening themselves by increasing their numbers.

It may be added that kindred motives produced kindred results within more modern societies, during times when their component parts were so imperfectly integrated that there remained antagonisms among them. Thus we have the fact that in mediæval England, while local rule was incompletely subordinated to general rule, every free man had to attach himself to a lord, a burgh, or a guild: being otherwise "a friendless man," and in a danger like that which the savage is in when not belonging to a tribe. And then, on the other hand, in the law that "if a bondsman continued a year and a day within a free burgh or municipality, no lord could reclaim him," we may recognize an effect of the desire on the part of industrial groups

(1) *Principles of Sociology*, § 319.

to strengthen themselves against the feudal groups around—an effect analogous to the adoption, here into the savage tribe and there into the family as it existed in the ancient societies. Naturally, as a whole nation becomes more completely integrated, these local integrations become weaker, and finally disappear; though they long leave their traces, as among ourselves even still in the law of settlement, and as, up to so late a period as 1824, in the laws affecting the freedom of travelling of artisans.

These last illustrations introduce us to the truth that while at first there is little cohesion and great mobility of the units forming a group, advance in integration is habitually accompanied not only by a decreasing ability to go from group to group, but also by a decreasing ability to go from place to place within the group: the members of the society become less free to move about within the society as well as less free to leave it. Of course the transition from the nomadic to the settled state partially implies this; since each person becomes in a considerable degree tied by his material interests. Slavery, too, effects in another way this binding of individuals to locally-placed members of the society, and therefore to particular parts of it; and, where serfdom exists, the same thing is shown with a difference. But in societies that have become highly integrated, not simply those in bondage, but others also, are tied to their localities. Of the ancient Mexicans, Zurita says:—"The Indians never changed their village nor even their quarter. This custom was observed as a law." In ancient Peru, "it was not lawful for any one to remove from one province, or village, to another;" and "any who travelled without just cause were punished as vagabonds." Elsewhere, along with that development of the militant type accompanying aggregation, there have been imposed restraints on movement under other forms. In ancient Egypt there existed a system of registration, and all citizens had periodically to report themselves to local officers. "Every Japanese is registered, and whenever he removes his residence, the Nanushi, or head man of the temple, gives a certificate." And then, in despotically-governed European countries, we have more or less rigorous passports-systems, hindering the movements of citizens from place to place, and in some cases preventing them from leaving the country.

In these, as in other respects, however, the restraints which the social aggregate exercises over its units, decrease as the industrial type begins greatly to qualify the militant type; partly because the societies characterized by industrialism are amply populous, and have superfluous members to fill the places of those who leave them, and partly because, in the absence of the oppressions accompanying a militant régime, a sufficient cohesion results from pecuniary interests, family bonds, and love of country.

Thus, saying nothing for the present of that political evolution manifested by increase of structure, and restricting ourselves to that political evolution manifested by increase of mass, here distinguished as political integration, we find that this has the following traits.

While the aggregates are small, the incorporation of materials for growth is carried on at one another's expense in feeble ways—by taking one another's game, by robbing one another of women, and, occasionally, by adopting one another's men. As larger aggregates are formed, incorporations proceed in more wholesale ways; first by enslaving the separate members of conquered tribes, and presently by the bodily annexation of such tribes. And as compound aggregates pass into doubly and trebly compound ones, there arise increasing desires to absorb adjacent smaller societies, and so to form still larger aggregates.

Conditions of several kinds further or hinder social growth and consolidation. The habitat may be fitted or unfitted for supporting a large population; or it may, by great or small facilities for intercourse within its area, favour or impede co-operation; or it may by presence or absence of natural barriers make easy or difficult the keeping together of the individuals under that coercion which is at first needful. And, as the antecedents of the race determine, the individuals may have in greater or less degrees the physical, the emotional, and the intellectual natures fitting them for combined action.

While the extent to which social integration can in each case be carried, depends in part on these conditions, it also depends in part upon the degree of likeness among the units. At first, while the nature is so little moulded to social life that cohesion is small, aggregation is largely dependent on ties of blood, implying great degrees of likeness. Groups in which such ties, and the resulting congruity, are most marked, and which, having family traditions in common, a common male ancestor, and a joint worship of him, are in these further ways made alike in ideas and sentiments, are groups in which the greatest social cohesion and power of co-operation arise. For a long time the clans and tribes descending from such primitive patriarchal groups have their political concert facilitated by this bond of relationship and the likeness it involves. Only after adaptation to social life has made considerable progress, does harmonious co-operation among those who are not of the same stock become practicable; and even then their unlikenesses of nature must fall within moderate limits. Where the unlikenesses of nature are great, the society, held together only by force, tends to disintegrate when the force fails.

Likeness in the units forming a social group being one condition of their integration, a further condition is their joint re-action against

external action: co-operation in war is the active cause of social integration. The temporary unions of savages for offence and defence show us the initiatory step. When many tribes unite against a common enemy, long continuance of their combined action makes them coherent under some common control. And so it is subsequently with still larger aggregates.

Progress in social integration is both a cause and a consequence of a decreasing separableness among the units. Primitive wandering hordes exercise no such restraints over their members as prevent them individually from leaving one horde and joining another at will. Where tribes are more developed, desertion of one and admission into another are less easy—the assemblages are not so loose in composition. And throughout those long stages during which societies are being enlarged and consolidated by militancy, the mobility of the units is more and more restrained. Only with that substitution of voluntary co-operation for compulsory co-operation which characterizes developing industrialism, do these restraints disappear: enforced union being in such societies adequately replaced by spontaneous union.

A remaining truth to be named is that political integration, as it advances, tends to obliterate the original divisions among the united parts. In the first place there is the slow disappearance of those non-topographical divisions arising from relationship, and resulting in separate gentes and tribes, gentile and tribal divisions, which are for a long time maintained after larger societies have been formed: gradual intermingling destroys them. In the second place, the smaller local societies united into a larger one, which at first retain their separate organizations, lose them by long co-operation: a common organization begins to ramify through them, and their individualities become indistinct. And in the third place there simultaneously results a more or less decided obliteration of their topographical bounds, and a replacing of these by the new administrative bounds of the common organization. Hence naturally results the converse truth, that in the course of social dissolution, the great groups separate first, and afterwards, if dissolution continues, these separate into their component smaller groups. Instance the ancient empires successively formed in the East, the united kingdoms of which severally resumed their autonomies when the coercion keeping them together ceased. Instance, again, the Carolingian empire, which, first parting into its large divisions, became in course of time further disintegrated by subdivision of these. And where, as in this last case, the process of dissolution goes very far, there is a return to something like the primitive condition, under which small predatory societies are engaged in continuous warfare with like small societies around them.

HERBERT SPENCER.

## THE LAND LEGISLATION FOR IRELAND.

IN former days, when the Irish land question was more virgin soil than it is now, I made some careful inquiries, and compared what I saw with my experience of somewhat similar tenures in other parts of the world. Since those days the Land Bill of 1870 has materially altered the position, and there has been such a flood of literature on the subject that no man could attempt to deal with it thoroughly otherwise than as a work of great time and labour. That task has, in fact, been undertaken by the Land Commission, and it would be fruitless for an outsider to go into details. Nevertheless, in view to coming discussions, I have tried during a late visit to Ireland to refresh my memory, and follow what has happened in the last ten years, and I now put in short compass some very general ideas regarding the situation.

In 1869 I tried to see something of what I may call normal or medium Irish tenures in the north, centre and south, but did not much touch the ultra-Irish fringe in the west. This autumn I have supplied the omission by a tour through the Western counties—Donegal, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, and part of Kerry—and I returned again to the north through the central counties; so that I saw a good deal of the country where very small tenancies and spade husbandry mostly prevail, and of the counties where there has been most agitation. Of that agitation not much was visible to a stranger; but I saw what I could, including something of the land meetings—assemblies where the speakers indulged in much tall talk, but which then appeared to on-lookers rather slow and dull, for there was no opposition to excite much enthusiasm. It was, however, the general testimony of the upper classes that an unpleasant spirit was abroad, and that the manners and feelings of the people were much changed.

As I am not going into details of personal observation, I will only further here say that the more I have seen of the primitive and aboriginal parts of Ireland, the more I am convinced that there is foundation for the view I formerly put forth, viz., that down to quite modern days the Irish tenants had not completely emerged from status tenure and old customary law or ideas founded on that law, nor really entered on the stage of social relations which is wholly regulated by contract. On several large small-farm estates in the West of Ireland I have been shown quite recent records of holdings under the name of "Joint Tenancies" and the like, which seemed to be clear survivals of the old village community, and

which have only been settled in modern fashion by agents now living and not yet very old. I more and more, then, believe that before the Land Act the relations between landlord and tenant could not be treated as simply contract relations. And since the Land Act it is patent that certain rights of the tenants being recognised, it cannot possibly be said that there is nothing but contract to deal with.

The near view I have had, during this late tour, of the population of the western counties has brought vividly to my mind what seems to me to be the separate question, preliminary to the land question proper—viz., are we to preserve or to seek to get rid of the population of these over-peopled tracts? Many people say, "Oh, it's all very well to do what you can for the best of the Irish peasantry, but it is madness to do anything that will preserve the warrens where savages are bred." This feeling is so mixed up with discussions on the general question that I would deal with this subject first. Perhaps, then, I may be permitted to quote a letter which I wrote when the scenes which I had witnessed in the west were very fresh in my mind. I said:—"Any one who has seen for himself, as I lately have, must be satisfied that there are considerable parts of Ireland, in the west, north-west, and south-west, inhabited by a great population, in which, so far as their material condition is concerned, the people are as savage as any savages in the world. Whole families habitually live in the same room as cows, pigs, and hens; that is, literally their normal condition. They are clothed in rags and tatters, and subsist in the poorest way; untidily cultivating very small patches of half-reclaimed land, with no implement higher than the spade. In great districts that most ancient and widely-spread of all machines, the plough, is literally unknown. There is, I think, nothing to compare with the condition of these people in any part of Europe. It is constantly said with truth that if they were excused all rent and a present were made to them of the land they cultivate, they would not earn a decent subsistence from it alone. So far, then, there appears to be much to support the views of those who maintain that these poor and populated parts of Ireland are plague-spots on the face of the earth, only to be cured by getting rid of most of the population. But there is a great deal to be said on the other side. To begin with, if these people are crowded together on a miserable soil, not fit properly to support them, that is not their doing, but ours. It is the British colonists who have driven these Celts from the better part of Ireland till, hemmed in between the Saxons and the deep sea, they have taken refuge among the bogs, mountains, and rocks where they now are. In the circumstances, they do not so much deserve blame for living so miserably as credit for having lived at all. If their cultivation is not so good



and tidy as it might be, what could we expect of serfs who have so long lived without any rights of property? After all, low as the condition of these people is when judged by modern standards, this is but primitive man as he has existed ever since he was turned out of Paradise. And even in the exceptionally disadvantageous conditions under which he has lived and multiplied in the West of Ireland, his physical type has not degenerated. There is no better or more prolific nursery of the human race. Looking from the point of view of our own interests, we may well hesitate much before we cut off these sources of fresh vigorous humanity. Does not history show that when nations cease to derive fresh blood from their sources they begin to decline? We have already dried up one of our best sources in the Scotch Highlands. Shall we be wise to destroy the Irish sources also? It is like cutting the national taproots by which sustenance is drawn from the lower soil. Seriously, I do believe that our country would not be what it is without supplies of fresh blood. How many of us are there whose not very remote ancestors were raised in Highland cabins little better than those of the Irish, and had the inestimable advantage of freedom from shoes and stockings? And without going so far back, what should we do without the Irish labour supplied by these populations who, unable to live by the produce of their fields at home, eke it out by labour abroad? Take the ship-building yards of the Clyde. The skilled labour is done by Scotchmen, all the unskilled labour by Irishmen; and if this may seem an elevation of the Scotchman at the expense of the Irishman, the latter has his compensation—for while the Scotch labourer is a mere landless proletaire, the Irishman has his piece of land and his cabin away in Ireland, which he clings to as his home and deems his property, which, if he comes from Donegal, really is in a sense his property, and, if he comes from Galway, security of tenure may transform into a property. After all, the Irishman so prizes these things that if he can only keep them he does not envy the Scotchman. On the whole, I come to the conclusion that it really has been the best and wisest course to try to preserve and improve these Irish rather than to clear them off and get rid of them."

Perhaps after I had just witnessed this style of life I put the matter a little strongly, but in the main I think I am borne out in the description. In spite of the low mode of life, the temperate climate of the West of Ireland is such that the people certainly are healthy and abundantly prolific. The experience of the past season has shown that things have changed since the old potato days. The generous relief afforded to those who had lost their scanty crops was certainly very liberally administered—I found universal testimony to the fact that suffering had been effectually relieved and

there was little or no famine mortality. The worst effect of this scarcity is a diminution of the live stock, and that we may hope will be replaced.

This, however, is certain, that since reliance can no longer be placed on the potato the people of these western tracts cannot live by the land which they cultivate. Those who have in addition good grazing may, but not those whose land is mostly arable or bog. That is so; but then remember they do not attempt to live by the land alone—the men invariably go out for labour, working for some months each year with Scotch or English farmers or in other ways. Now in many parts of the world we find this class, people who own a little land but not enough to live by, and eke out their incomes by labouring for others. All over Ireland such people are found. In some parts of Scotland (especially in Aberdeenshire and the neighbouring counties) they are known as crofters; and in the Southern States of America I found that many of the negroes had settled into this position. Everywhere this kind of half-labourer is very much appreciated. Their presence insures the occasional labour which the larger farmers require, while they have so-much of their own as to make them independent self-respecting men, and to give them something to work at when not hired for labour, as well as wholesome occupation for the women and children. Well, the Irish tenants of the west are of this class, but with the disadvantage that they are massed together by themselves, and must go long distances to get labour. If they were shut up, ignorant and unable to help themselves, it might be necessary to move them. In truth, however, these people thoroughly know the world. Not only is America to them a second country, but each one among them has personal experience of the fields of labour in England and Scotland. They might go from their wretched hovels if they will—they hold them entirely from choice.

One word as to the plan of what is called scattering, that is, giving these people more room by offering them land in other parts of Ireland. No doubt it is true, as the land leaguers say, that there is land enough in Ireland for all the present inhabitants if it were fairly divided among them. But whatever we may do for existing tenants, it is out of the range of practical politics to suppose that Parliament will in these days consent to appropriate the existing large grazing and other farms in order to cut them up and portion them out by an agrarian law. Then as to waste lands—some people in England have a craze on that subject, not remembering that times are changed. Down to very recent times the common lands of England have been enclosed with a view to cultivate waste. Now our policy is quite the other way; the patriot is not he who encloses and ploughs waste land, but he who insists on its being left

open. It is not exactly the same in Ireland, but there, too, there is little or no land lying fit for cultivation and not cultivated; the tendency is for the plough to recede rather than to advance. This only is true, that there is still a good deal of land which may be reclaimed from bog by a very slow and laborious process with the spade, if sufficient security be given to the small tenant who does such work. I believe it never would pay to reclaim the Irish mountain bogs, but on the skirts and slopes reclamation is continually going on.

The spade cultivation, on farms not sufficient to support the people, is mainly confined to the counties of Donegal, Mayo, and Galway, large portions of which are so situated. In Kerry they have more grazing. In all the rest of Ireland, though the farms seem very small to our English and Scotch ideas, most of them are quite sufficient to support Irish families in the Irish way; and for my part I should never wish to turn these farmers into mere labourers. Where spade cultivation prevails many people, who ought to know, say the land is unfitted for the plough, though I think there is some superstition in this. At any rate, I am assured by very reliable men that many of the small spade farmers have suffered less in the late bad times than the larger men.

If it were possible to purchase at a fair price (and not at water-company prices) some estates where cultivation is gradually advancing on the bog, and some which, having been cleared after the great famine, are now found to be less fit for large than for small culture, something might be done in a moderate way to facilitate scattering; but that, I think, is all. Certainly, however anxious colonial speculators may be to get the best of our people, and leave the worst with us, I would not be for artificially promoting emigration; that goes on sufficiently of itself, and we may find our life-blood gone if we too much hasten it. I think we must leave Irish over-population to settle itself, as it well may do under present circumstances. The fact is, that the Act of 1870 has already settled the question in favour of the small tenants. It was then decided to protect and secure them in their holdings. Now, all that we can do is to give them still greater security and incitement to industry and reclamation—to educate them, so far as may be, into cleaner and more decent habits, and to afford them ample freedom to emigrate or migrate for labour if they will. As to the suggestion that you are burdening those who are bound to support the poor, it is a fact that, during the late bad season, in most places the poor-rates have been little, if at all, increased. An extraordinary year of want was met by extraordinary national and extra-national contributions. If this must be so very occasionally, we need not grudge some little reparation for past wrongs—such an extreme want will occur but very rarely indeed, perhaps once in fifty years.

I pass then to the more general tenant-right question. I found less change from the days before the Land Act than one might perhaps have expected. The truth is, that the effect of the Act is rather negative than positive; it has certainly checked the abuses and wholesale evictions of former days, and much prevented the overriding of custom by bad and unscrupulous landlords, but it has introduced little or nothing not before conceded by good landlords. It has not yet altogether shut the door to exceptional opportunities for harsh treatment by those who look out for such opportunities. And with the growth of independent ideas and a new agitation, the demand of the tenantry for something more positive has been greatly developed in the last few months.

The Ulster tenants are certainly not likely to keep back any grievances they have, and no doubt there will be a plentiful crop of objections of detail on both sides with which the Land Commissioners will deal. Yet my impression is that it will be found that in the main the Act has worked well in Ulster. It is said that secure in legally-recognised rights the tenantry live and dress better than they did; and in these bad years they may have contracted some debts, but they do not seem to have broken down or to have lost capital so much as many English and Scotch farmers. I could not hear that there was yet much danger of an excessive use of the credit conferred by property and such disasters at the hands of money-lenders as those which have overtaken the Deccan Ryots. I gather that the fear of "estate rules" has proved to be somewhat exaggerated, and that throughout Ulster the practice is coming pretty near to a general acceptance of the three I's. The main complaints of the tenants will be found to be an alleged "eating away" of the tenant right by a nibbling process in the shape of enhancements of rent on the occurrence of changes of tenancy and the like. And on both sides it will, I believe, be generally agreed that the weak point of the system is the want of some easily available means of settling disputes as to the rent. The "fair rent" is the difficulty.

In other parts of Ireland it is said that a good many landlords, whom the law has forced to concede certain rights of the tenant, make reprisals by invading privileges heretofore enjoyed and not covered by the new law, such as mountain grazing, turf-cutting, &c., for which fees are now exacted. And I believe that a few bad landlords sought to take advantage of the late bad seasons, when the poorer tenants could not pay, to get rid of them without compensation. Still these things have not been by any means general. As a man of much personal experience, who takes a strong view against the agitation, said, "If you could only hang a *few* agitators and a *few* landlords all might be right."

I confess I scarcely think the condition of the agricultural

population of Ireland so *deplorable* as Mr. Bright seems to suppose. There was very much that was bad in their situation; a good deal has been done to remedy the evils which oppressed them; there is room for doing a good deal more, and it ought to be done. And now bad seasons and political agitation combined have brought about a great ferment. When I was in Ireland it did not seem to me that the people themselves were very excited; some of the land-league processions were very like funeral marches; the most active hostility was principally confined to estates where unpopular courses had been followed. I am bound, however, to say there seems no doubt that in the last few weeks agitations have very rapidly advanced, and have more and more taken the shape of large unions to resist and reduce existing rents, in which the good landlords are confounded with the bad. That is the great difference compared to former times—landlords always have been shot, that is nothing new—but formerly rents were paid as regularly as in any country in the world, now they are not paid.

Certainly neither the large landlords nor the absentees are the worst. Wherever there has been harshness it has generally been on the part of smaller proprietors, either purchasers or men whose income is narrow enough, and perhaps already encumbered, and to whom, from their point of view, loss of rent is almost as much want as is loss of food to the peasant. Some of these men with strong political opinions, and an idea that tenant right is landlord's wrong, have pushed things to extremities in Mayo and Galway. But the mass of Irishmen and of Irish landlords are accessible to an Irish view of things, and I quite agree with those who have said that cases of harshness are quite the exception. The estates of great and rich proprietors are generally managed on a system which precludes individual caprice and vexatious interference. On very many of the estates of good and liberal landlords something like the Ulster custom has been permitted to grow up—there is a practical fixity, a certain freedom of sale, and a disposition to settle fair rents. But as in Ulster so throughout Ireland the adjustment of rent is the difficulty, it is the want of some authority to arrange disputes on that point that is constantly felt.

Broadly, then, it may be said that the most crying question with which it is necessary to deal is the mode of settling the rent—there is need of some means of determining what is a fair rent. I am convinced that the main line of advance on the Act of 1870 must be in this direction—there must be some machinery for public valuation of rent. Already the principle is contained in the Land Act. When it comes to a question of eviction and compensation, after the landlord has sought to raise the rent, the Court must in the last resort decide whether the rent demanded was fair and reasonable or not.

What is wanted is a more easy and direct means of getting a decision. Often both parties would really be glad to have it settled without an eviction and action for compensation.

Of all the opponents of any interference between landlord and tenant the most thorough-going is Lord Sherbrooke. I must say that, like every one else, I am astonished how his article in the *Nineteenth Century* can have been written by a man who was a member of Mr. Gladstone's Government. He writes as if he had never heard of the Act of 1870; he does not go the length of noticing anything so impossible as compensation for disturbance—all the force of his artillery is brought to bear on that compensation for improvements which almost all men have admitted to be a tolerable part of Mr. Gladstone's Bill. According to Lord Sherbrooke, law is law, and contract is contract—there is no other law than the law of the land, the admirable law of England, and there can be no relation of landlord and tenant but a pure contract. He will not admit that there can be any inequality between contracting parties. If a man is not in a lunatic asylum he is as good as another, and must take all the consequences of his acts and omissions. The law gives to the landlord whatever is put on the soil, and it is ridiculous to call it the tenant's merely because he put it there.

I cannot but think that after the Act of 1870 and still more after the Ground Game Bill of 1880, this reasoning is somewhat out of date. As to English law it may be admitted that in England it has been elastic enough to cure many difficulties, and ready enough to recognise custom, but it conspicuously failed in this respect in Ireland among an alien people.

Before the settlement of 1870 I submitted to the public my views of Irish history and tenure,<sup>1</sup> and set out reasons for believing that there was a law written in the hearts of the people beyond the English law. I will not attempt to go into all that again. But before I had seen Lord Sherbrooke's article, I had submitted to some of my constituents a view of Irish affairs which is in some sense the converse of his, and without venturing to set it in opposition to so great an authority, I may be permitted to reproduce the substance of it as follows.

In my view we can hardly, as some do, attribute all the ills of Ireland to the race, for our Scotch Highlanders are of precisely the same race, yet they have turned out very differently. I rather think that the English mode of treating Ireland may have more to do with it. Somehow Scotchmen seem to get on much better with the Irish. It seems to me that the English really are the most superstitious people in the world—there are other superstitions than those of religion. The English have in an extreme degree a

(1) *The Irish Land*. Trübner, 1869.

superstitious belief in their own laws, in their own political economy, in their own land-tenure. In these and other things where they differ from the rest of the world they feel sure that they must necessarily be right, and the rest of the world wrong. So, in dealing with the Irish, they have imposed on them institutions after an English pattern; they have given them things very good for a free self-governing people—a free press, free elections, and free juries; but they have not given the one thing the Irish want, viz., the land. God made Ireland a bog. The small cultivators have reclaimed the soil from the bog and put up houses and fences, and done whatever has been done; but the English law said that whatever is attached to the soil belongs to the landlord, and so we would not recognise Irish customs. After the great famine of 1847 we could see no virtue in Irish remedies. Of all English superstitions the most deeply rooted is this, that all evils moral, social, and political, are to be cured by the introduction of capital; so we sold up the needy Irish proprietors, transferred their estates to people with capital, and thought the Millennium was about to begin. We also by an Act of 1860 formally abolished all status-tenure, and gave the landlord summary powers of ejectment, &c., far in excess of those of English landlords, retaining also those singularities of English law which are favourable to the landlord. It turned out, however, that the Irish were so perverse that even capital would not cure them; the speculative purchasers wanted a return for their money, and their idea of improvement and profit was either to turn out the poor Irish farmers and put sheep and cattle in their place, or to raise the rents. The Irish did not like this, and so the last state of the country was worse than the first. Murders and troubles arose, and then was seen the difficulty of working another English superstition in a discontented country—I mean a unanimous jury. The only way to get a conviction under such circumstances was by packing the jury, and that was resorted to in the most barefaced way. Since Lord O'Hagan's Act has introduced fairly-struck juries the difficulty has become greater than ever.

The Land Act of 1870 did much to remedy the grievances of the Irish people. That Act was admirably conceived, it went as far as it was possible to go at the time and wrought a great improvement. But one thing it did not provide for, and that was the possibility of bad times, when, owing to disastrous seasons and importations from America, there might be ground for seeking a reduction of rent. Yet such has come to pass in England, Scotland, and Ireland alike. Where the tenants have rights beyond those of mere contract there is need of a settlement of this matter, and the Government brought in the Disturbance Bill of which so much has been heard, providing that in certain very special circumstances all

the rights of the tenants should not be wholly confiscated on account of a temporary and inevitable failure to pay rent due to the act of God. This principle is recognised in the Roman law, in the old Scotch law, in the modern French law, and seems fair enough. This, too, is the fact, that if there had been neither law nor agitation to prevent the enforcement of harsh demands for rent, the landlords would indirectly have very largely profited by the charitable relief, and the very liberal relief loans, getting much rent which otherwise could not have been paid. However, a panic on the subject of the Disturbance Bill arose among landlords—Irish, English, and Scotch—and it failed to become law. To whomsoever the fault be attributed, there can be no doubt that the abortive attempt to pass a Disturbance Bill and its contemptuous rejection have been most unfortunate, have added fuel to the agitation and given strength to the great Trades Unions for reduction of rent. With the aid of the impetus thus given, Mr. Parnell has probably succeeded in his plan of making the landlord as anxious as any one for a settlement. If there were before any grounds for Government interference between landlord and tenant, those grounds have been so strengthened as to make it a necessity. There is undoubtedly a state of things which must be called intolerable, and which can only be settled by very large and important measures. Unless we are prepared to govern Ireland as a conquered country by means of a great British garrison, we must in some shape try to content the people. I myself believe that, as things now stand, we would be a great deal better quit of Ireland, and that we only hold it for the sake of the English and Scotch colonists established there. I think we may fairly say to the landlord-colonists, "You must yield something of the letter of your strictest rights, or we cannot go on maintaining you at so great expense and trouble." The only way to win over the people to conservatism and order, is to distribute property in land so widely, that the majority of the community shall be on the side of order. Acting on this view very large rights in the land have been conceded to the people in every country in Europe—not only in revolutionary countries, but within recent years in such conservative countries as Austria. Throughout the whole of the Austrian States the lands of the peasants have been enfranchised in recent years, and when I was in that country last year, all were agreed that the system was a complete success. It is only by something of the kind that we may so quiet Ireland as to make constitutional government possible there.

These were my views a few weeks ago, and I have seen no reason to depart from them, in consequence of the increased agitation which has since occurred. Whether any practicable measures will really quiet the Irish I will not attempt to say. It may be that the only



effective means of really uniting Ireland with England would be to drive the disaffected away, and resettle the country on English principles; but at any rate before resorting to the most harsh and desperate remedies we are bound to try other means to the uttermost.

Coming now to the practical question, "What is to be done?" I think it is generally understood that any measures to be adopted can only follow two main lines; one, that of buying out the landlords and establishing a peasant proprietary; the other, that of giving greater security to the tenants without wholly getting rid of the landlords. In favour of the first plan there are at present many strong influences. Mr. Bright has disclaimed the idea of giving his plan of buying out the landlords a universal application, but his authority has always been in favour of going a pretty long way in that direction. And on this subject there is that meeting of extremes which sometimes occurs. Mr. Parnell will have nothing short of the abolition of landlordism; but he prudently suggests that it is better to have the land bought than to fight for it, and so while by combination he would cheapen rents and bring the landlords to beg for a settlement, he looks to a purchase scheme as the eventual solution. On the other hand the landlords of the south and west, and latterly of the north too, have already so far come into his views; they are avid for a voluntary purchase scheme; everywhere they speak favourably of a plan which would save them from risks and anxieties. There is only one thing which seems to make Irishmen tolerably unanimous, and that is the prospect of getting British money to settle their differences.

But, then, who is to find the money to buy the Irish landlords out on their own terms? I believe that the British taxpayer cannot be called on for more than a moderate contribution, and that while some Irish tenants might find the money, the bulk would not. As an Irish tenant said to me, "A scheme for paying off the value of the land in thirty-five years may be all very well for my son and grandson, but for my life, and more, with interest and instalments combined, I shall have to pay more than I ever did before."

Even if the financial difficulty were got over, I have some doubts whether an Irish peasant proprietary is so simple an arrangement as some people seem to suppose. Besides the necessity for a complete reform of our law of real property to make it applicable to small holdings, there is a still more important question, Could you form in a day the institutions necessary for the self-management of a people of very small farmers? It is like the bundle of sticks—united these people may do well; separately they will hardly be able to carry on. Throughout Europe and Asia the village or communal system exists and supplies the machinery of co-operation. In Ireland that has

ceased to be; the landlord has taken the place of the communal organization; the people have no cohesion. Perhaps some estates have already been so well "striped" and roaded and main-drained by landlords that independent small owners might work together without much clashing. But on very many estates disputes about interlacing patches and rights of way and water and other things would be endless; and there would be no means of bringing the people together to carry out common objects.

On the whole, the impression I have formed is that it would not do to attempt the immediate wholesale creation of full-fledged peasant proprietors, and that recourse must be had to improving and extending the provisions of the existing Land Act. The programme must in the main be founded on the "three F's," with auxiliary purchase clauses under which much freehold would, I hope, be gradually acquired. That seems to be the feeling of almost all practical and impartial Irishmen who do not view the matter either from an agitator's or from an English point of view.

A certain fixity of tenure, freedom of sale, and determination of fair rents are not inconsistent with leaving considerable functions to the landlord, such as he still has in Ulster. An Irish landlord generally omits many of the functions of an English landlord; but then he has, in dealing with a much larger number of tenants and much more complicated conditions, other functions which he may continue to fulfil, till in the fulness of time the tenants have further progressed towards complete property and self-government.

In any plan for giving something of the nature of three F's, regard may well be had to our Indian experience. There is a curious identity in the questions which arise in India and Ireland. In India, too, these questions are very burning, and it cannot be said that there is agreement about them, but some things are now pretty well settled. Our early Indian administrators, following native ideas, were very sensible of the claims of the Ryots to protection, and when Lord Cornwallis and his advisers gave a permanent settlement to the Zemindars, they also provided fixity of tenure at fixed rents for all resident Ryots, as clearly laid down in the laws of 1793. That was the legal status of the tenants; but there was no record of individual holdings and no adequate machinery for enforcing the law, and in practice the rights of the Ryots came to be very much invaded. In later days, too, English ideas of the relations of landlord and tenant have much more prevailed—such complete fixity has not been given in our later settlements, and in some of the more recent provinces the provisions for the protection of the tenants have been very much restricted indeed. However, the laws of the Bengal Presidency (in the larger sense), where landlords are chiefly found, still give a large measure of fixity, the nature of which I will briefly state. A sort of

compromise was arrived at in 1859. The rights of the Ryots of 1793 having been much obliterated, the great question was, whether the privileges accorded to resident Ryots at that time extended to modern resident Ryots. It was settled that fixity of rent should be confined to those who could claim back to 1793, but a right of occupation or fixity of tenure, subject to a variable rent, was recognised in all who had held as ordinary resident Ryots for twelve years—the usual Indian term of prescription. These Ryots were declared entitled to hold at a fair rent, and it was enacted that the existing rent should be deemed to be fair till the contrary was shown. The landlord was to be entitled to sue for enhancement of rent if the tenant held at rates below the established customary rates of the neighbourhood, and *also if the productive powers of the land or the value of produce had been increased otherwise than by the labour and at the expense of the tenant*. In case this is shown, the landlord can demand an increase in proportion to the increase of value, but so that, all things considered, a *fair and equitable* rent is not exceeded. The tenant can claim an abatement of rent on grounds the converse of those on which an increase is demandable.

There have not been wanting, in later days, Englishmen and English-educated natives who have denounced this settlement as an invasion of landlord rights, but its main principles have been maintained, and I do not think any one would now seriously propose to abrogate them. The principles on which a variable rent is regulated seem very applicable to Ireland.

In the North-West Provinces and most of the Indian territories acquired in the present century there is a regular field survey and complete record of holdings, but throughout the older provinces of Bengal proper and Behar this is wanting, and it is necessary to ascertain particulars in each case as it arises.

In Ireland fixity of tenure and free sale are very much linked together. There might be fixity of tenure without free sale, but there can hardly be free sale without fixity of tenure—you could not recognise a saleable property, and yet leave the landlord free to take it away when he likes. In so emigrating and migrating a country the right of free sale has assumed a chief importance. While I think that we need not force emigration, I quite feel that farms are so frequently insufficient in size, and the people are sometimes so much crowded, that it would be very undesirable to give a fixity of which a man could not divest himself without sacrificing his rights altogether.

Supposing that, as I expect, the decision is to make the three F's the basis of the new programme, the question is whether privileges such as those now enjoyed in Ulster should simply be extended to the whole of Ireland, or whether fixity is still to be

aimed at by indirect means. To those who say that there is no reason why the present tenants should receive certain rights in land more than any other Irishmen, nor why they should be allowed to sell what some of them never bought, the answer is that the object is not to divide the land of Ireland as a common patrimony so as to do justice to all, but the practical one of giving peace and conservatism to Ireland; it is a question of expediency rather than of the rights of man. And as the tenants and their families, and those who supply and adhere to them, are the great majority of the people, anything that will content them will secure these objects.

It must be admitted, however, that the varieties of tenure and circumstances in different parts of Ireland are such that there would be much difficulty about a law giving to all alike fixity and free sale. In cases where the landlord really has done all that an English landlord does, it would be hard to deprive him of his rights. And the arguments in favour of concessions to small tenants do not apply to the larger commercial farmers holding on pure contract tenancies. Perhaps, then, it might be enough to advance in the lines of the Act of 1870, and to try to attain more complete practical fixity in that way. I would so amend the Act by the light which the Commission will throw on it as to remedy any hardships which are still found to exist. It might be provided, as in the Bill of 1880, that when great calamity occurs, causing such complete loss of crops that a fairly provident tenant could not pay his rent, eviction shall not be allowed without the usual compensation for disturbance less the arrears of rent due. And again, following out the suggestion which came out of the discussion of the Disturbance Bill and the principle contained in the present law, the landlord should in every way be permitted and encouraged to absolve himself of all liabilities by according permission to sell, not when the calamity has come and no one will buy, but in quiet times.

As the converse of this, I would propose the following method of securing a more practical fixity to all tenants who have any substantial claim to it, while excluding those who have not. I would enact that in every case of voiding a tenancy, whether by disturbance by the landlord or voluntarily, in case there shall be awarded to the tenant compensation equal to or exceeding two years' rent, he shall be entitled to claim in lieu thereof fixity of tenure and free sale. The effect would be that in most cases of long possession, and in all cases in which considerable improvements have been made by the tenant, this claim will be allowed; while in cases in which the Court deems that the tenant is not entitled to any large compensation for disturbance, or in which a tenant leaving voluntarily has made no considerable improvements, and in regard to large tenancies holding under special contracts, the right would

not accrue. I think this would give in all suitable cases a qualified fixity and right of sale such as prevails in Ulster. I understand the qualification to be that the landlord may buy up the tenure for full value, under certain circumstances, and may exercise a veto on a purchase on the ground of reasonable objection to the purchaser, to be stated to and sustained before the tribunal charged to decide in case of dispute. So much I would maintain in favour of the landlord and no more.

Then, most important of all, I would declare that in every case in which the tenant has any right to compensation under the law (that is, in fact, in all cases except those of large tenants holding under special contract), the tenant is entitled to hold at a fair rent, and that in case of dispute either party shall be entitled to call in a public authority to decide what is a fair rent. I would have it that the existing rent should be deemed to be fair till the contrary is proved. When it is called in question the decision should aim at determining a fair letting value, exclusive of the tenant's improvements, with due regard to all the previous circumstances of the tenure, and with fair allowance and margin for vicissitudes of seasons, risks, accidents, and outgoings—in fact, it should be such a rent as, on the principle of "live and let live," the tenant might reasonably be expected to pay in all seasons, except, perhaps, a very extreme year of failure and famine. When a fair rent is once settled, either by tacit acceptance of the existing rent or after contention, I would limit the right of the landlord to future enhancement of rent in accordance with the Indian rule. The enhancement should not exceed the proportion in which the productive powers of the land or the prices of produce have been increased otherwise than by the labour or at the expense of the tenant, and always within the limits of a fair rent, on the principles above described. The tenant would have the right to claim abatement of rent on similar grounds.

It is a question to my mind whether there should not be an immediate general survey and valuation of the country. I admit the advantage of standing on existing arrangements, but the present disposition to appeal to Griffiths' valuation is very general, while it is now admittedly a good deal out of date and unequal. I doubt whether the claim to refer to Griffiths will be got rid of without a fresh survey. It is a doubtful point, too, whether a claim to remission in years of total failure and famine should be an acknowledged part of the system, even after the right of sale has been conceded. As I have already said, that has been the rule in jurisprudence designed for a people in the stage in which the Irish now are. In India there has lately been a reaction of opinion against our attempt to throw the risk of seasons too much on the Ryot. At this moment, in Ulster,

as a matter of fact, a certain remission has almost invariably been given on account of the excessive bad seasons. Even in Scotland farmers show an increasing disinclination to accept all the risk for a long period. On the other hand, there is the fear that Irish tenants will too readily take advantage of a loop-hole of this kind, and it may be said that occasional voluntary remission is one of those functions which it would be well to leave to the landlord.

It is part of the Ulster system, and should be a part of any extended system of the kind, that the tenure is absolutely hypothecated to the landlord for the rent. He will always be entitled to a first charge for that in case of a sale.

When we have established the principle of fair rents fairly adjudicated, the next step to aim at would be *fixed rents*. If that could be arrived at, it would be an enormous gain both to landlord and tenant, saving all the complications and difficulties which no doubt attend the question of a fair but variable rent. The advantages of a permanent settlement are so great that I should not despair that the parties might themselves arrange it, the tenant paying a reasonable fine in consideration of the fixing for ever of his fair rent. Still better would it be if he could buy up a portion of the rent so as to leave a margin of value—a property to the tenant and a security to the landlord. So much do I feel this that I for one would be willing to aid such an operation with British money. No one is more opposed to a wholesale buying out of the landlords at a high price, but in consideration of past injuries I would make a moderate contribution. Perhaps in the case of the smaller tenants we might go so far as to say, that to any arrangement approved by a Commission for fixing the rent in perpetuity and reducing it to the extent of, say one-fourth, the British Treasury might contribute to the extent of one-half the fine paid.

For anything beyond that we must look to a gradual process by which the more saving and industrious farmers might in the end acquire complete peasant property. But I cannot get over a very great distrust of any scheme for the acquisition of the rights of the landlords by the State by voluntary arrangements. Even any scheme of purchase on what might seem fair terms might be very deceptive. Suppose the State were willing to give twenty years' purchase and no more, the result would be that the bad estates would be thrown at our heads, and the landlords would keep the good ones. However we view it the plan of State purchase means the coming into the market of a new bidder with his pockets full of money, with the inevitable result of raising values. It comes then to what I have already said, that I would make any such purchases merely auxiliary to other measures. I would confine such operations to liberal assistance to tenants willing to buy and to very exceptional purchases by

the State. In these cases I would strictly confine the purchase-money to *bonâ-fide* selling value, and would utterly repudiate all plans for giving a landlord the same income from consols which he now derives, or should derive, from a precarious Irish rent-roll not paid.

No doubt it is impossible to attempt to satisfy the agitators; they do not want to be satisfied. The critical question, to my mind, is whether the landlords will accept a reasonable compromise. I think they had better do so, on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread. If they do not, the situation is becoming impossible—we are getting sick of this Irish subject, and may be tempted to cut them adrift altogether.

If a fair compromise is arrived at and accepted the landlords may reasonably claim that effect should be given to it; and there, no doubt, may be the main difficulty in case of continued resistance. I feel, with Lord Granville, that there is great need for such a permanent modification of the English law in Ireland as will give both justice to the peasants and security to others. I will not here attempt to discuss the subject of coercion, but only say this, that it seems to me the question is not so much whether the law is to be enforced as how it is to be enforced. In case of an organized project of rebellion, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus and shutting up the leaders might be very effective, but to deal with the resistance of a people such as we are now experiencing I believe that such a crude measure would be very ineffective. Much more careful and considered amendments of the law will be required before the end is attained. To devise an effective system will indeed be no easy task those on whom the burden lies are very little to be envied.

GEORGE CAMPBELL.

## ETIENNE DOLET.<sup>1</sup>

THE emphatic word in the description of Etienne Dolet as "the Martyr of the Renaissance" is the last word. Other martyrs there were and many; but they were martyrs of the Reformation. Servetus and Giordano Bruno were martyrs of philosophy, or of free thought; Dolet stands, in Mr. Christie's presentment of him, as the solitary martyr of the Renaissance. That is to say, he was not a martyr to any set of opinions or peculiar dogmas, but to that general tendency which we all understand to be denoted by the term—become familiar to our age—the Renaissance, that tendency of which Erasmus was the literary representative, and for which, had Erasmus been as indiscreet as Dolet, he might have shared Dolet's fate.

It is to his tragical death in a cause—our cause, and at the hands of a party which still exists, and which, if not so powerful just now as it was in 1547, may easily become so—that Dolet's story owes the interest that it has still after three centuries. The man himself is not very remarkable, and not at all attractive. But besides his cruel end, the name of Etienne Dolet has been kept above the waters of the great ocean of oblivion by the accident of its being associated with Rabelais. Rabelais and Montaigne are, to the eyes of the French literary world, the two great luminaries of the sixteenth century. Every corner of their lives, and every person who was ever connected with either of them, is still the object of the lively curiosity of the French investigators. The name of Dolet is enveloped in the Rabelaisian amber, and thus excepted from the instinctive antipathy which the French, like all people who know no language but the mother-tongue, feel for all those humanists who wrote in Latin, and not in the vernacular. Nor was Dolet's connection with Rabelais only momentary. In the autumn of 1534 they were together at Lyons in close intimacy and friendship. None of Rabelais' biographers omit to mention his sending to Dolet from Rome the receipt for the mysterious Garum, and they all quote two of Dolet's Latin poems, where mention is made of Franciscus Rabelæsius, "the glory of the healing art." Though Dolet's friendship with Rabelais terminated in a quarrel (the fault entirely on Dolet's side), yet it was not till Dolet had immortalised his own name by putting it to an edition of *La Plaisante et Joyeuse Histoyre du grand géant Gargantua*, which he brought out from his press at Lyons.

(1) *Etienne Dolet, the Martyr of the Renaissance: a Biography.* By Richard Copley Christie, M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford, Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester. 1880.



For Etienne Dolet was a printer and publisher, often, indeed, himself writing the books which he printed. He not only published the edition above mentioned of "the book called *Rabelais*," but also three editions of the works of Marot. It is owing to this circumstance, viz. his having published for Rabelais and Marot, that his other books, mostly Latin, are sought after and bought up by French collectors. For though Dolets have never, like Aldines or Elzevirs, been declared to be "game" by general consent of the bibliophiles, nor have been even ranked in the lower category of "ground game," along with Stephenses and Plantins, yet they are always eagerly bought up at high prices. And while none of the eighty-three different editions which issued from Dolet's press between 1538—1544 are common books, some of them are especial varieties, some existing only in a single copy, while of others, again, there is not now one copy extant. Mr. Christie does not tell us by what accident his interest in Dolet's press was first aroused. But for many years it was his amusement, while engaged in the severe duties of an active profession, to collect the specimens of Dolet's printing press. He then became the owner of the most complete collection ever made of these rare volumes, of some of which he possesses the only copy ever known.

Here Mr. Christie, if he had been animated by the true spirit of the collector, should have stopped. He should have locked up his books in a glass case, printed a catalogue of them (for private distribution), and taken them out occasionally to dust them. Instead of this he began to read his treasures! His attention was necessarily drawn to the incidents of Dolet's life. As, besides innumerable articles in their dictionaries, the French have produced two special biographies of Dolet, it might be supposed that all that could be known about him had been told. The mere perusal of Dolet's books, however, soon revealed to Mr. Christie the unsound and superficial character of the *Vies of Dolet*, written by Née de la Rochelle in 1779, and by M. Boulmier in 1857. M. Boulmier is content to transcribe his predecessor, and both of them write without having taken the trouble to read the books of the subject of their memoir. For the only sound piece of original work in illustration of Dolet, we must go back to Michel Maittaire, who in 1720 devoted to Dolet one hundred pages of his *Annales Typographici*. Maittaire has there collected every passage he could find in the writings of Dolet where the writer speaks of himself, and many references to him in contemporary authors. But Maittaire wrote in Latin, and, besides, was contented with heaping together his extracts without any order or arrangement.

Thus Mr. Christie has opened up a corner of the history of the French Renaissance, which is new relatively to the English reader,

and much of which is new absolutely in itself. Upon this fragment of history, the ten years from 1534—1544, Mr. Christie has thrown a flood of light, partly by his accurate statement of the facts in themselves, partly by indefatigable research into collateral events. In Mr. Christie's five hundred pages there is not one which can be called "padding," and from all tall writing he is manifestly averse. No magnificent generalisations or frothy rhapsodies, such as the Renaissance is usually supposed to require from its students, will be found here. But from the patient toil which the pursuit of each minute fact has demanded, Mr. Christie has known how to win a picture of literary life in France during the ten years 1534—1544, which is far more instructive than all the large views which a Renaissance expert can develop from his own consciousness.

Dolet, as I have said, is not in himself an attractive figure; his adventures are few, and not picturesque. The interest of his career lies in the spirit and animus of the persecutions he endured or brought upon himself by his wilfulness and indiscretions. Personally he may be said to have deserved them all, as an ill-conditioned boy at school magnetically attracts the ill-usage that is going. Dolet is always running his head against some wall, or wilfully firing some train of gunpowder. To show what the walls were which hemmed in thought and action, and to analyze the gunpowder which was so plentifully lying about in 1540, is a task the proper performance of which sheds no little light upon the general history of the time. And it is in these detailed studies that we can best learn even the general course of history. What Professor Sayce has said of language is true also of history, that the age for telescopic views is over, and that we have now to begin the microscopic task of studying the minute details. It is only in the details, when these are placed under sufficient light, that we can see the general features of the age.

Vahlen, in his *Laurentius Valla*, says that the humanistic literature of the Renaissance lies still buried in the manuscript-rooms of Italian libraries. This is less the case in France, where the destruction of written documents has been going on always on an enormous scale. Mr. Christie's authorities have chiefly been printed books, especially those of Etienne Dolet himself. These are difficult to find anywhere, and not at all to be found in England. The public cherishes a vague notion that the British Museum contains "all old books." This is far from being the case. It is impossible for any one to write upon the sixteenth century by aid of the national library. But, as I have said, there are special reasons why Dolet's are rare; and when they are found, being written in Latin, on obsolete topics, they have to be minutely searched for the grains of personal allusion embedded here and there in dense masses of mire and clay.

One unpublished source, however, Mr. Christie has been fortunate enough to light upon. The library of Toulouse contains the correspondence of Jean de Boysone, professor of law in the university of that city, and afterwards councillor in the parliament of Chambéry. The series of letters commences in 1532, and extends over the succeeding twenty years. It contains De Boysone's correspondence not only with Dolet himself, but with the whole circle of south of France humanists, Pierre du Châtel, Rabelais, Arnoul du Ferrier, Guillaume Bigot, Alciat, &c. This volume has been of great use to Dolet's biographer, not so much by supplying facts or events, in which it does not seem to abound, but in furnishing the keynote of the characters of the men, and of the situation created for them by popular passion and the dominant superstitions. Besides the De Boysone volume, Mr. Christie has used a MS. volume of Latin poetry, another of French "dixains," contained in the same library, many of them supplying biographical details.

The life of a Latinist, exacted with indefatigable pains from such sources, may be not unnaturally supposed to be a learned work, intended only for the learned. Certainly neither learning nor research have been spared in the preparation of the book. But let me hasten to conciliate the English reader by adding that his interests have been carefully studied and provided for throughout. Especially has the biographer felt that though his bibliographical details may be what will be most prized by the *savant*, yet that general interest could only be claimed for the special illustration which Dolet's private misconduct affords of the public sentiment and social fetishes of his country and nation. Some of Mr. Christie's best pages are those in which he draws, always founding each statement upon an original authority, pictures of Toulouse and Lyons, pictures not topographical to the eye, but of social pressure, of that atmosphere of popular sentiment which hung over the south of France, having its centre of depression in Toulouse.

There was a time when Languedoc had been the most smiling and prosperous province of France; and Toulouse, its capital, the centre of life, joyous and lighthearted, and of an intelligent civilisation not to be met with out of Italy. This civilisation had given umbrage to the Church, which allowed no initiative but from itself. The population of peaceful and industrious peasants was massacred in cold blood by armies of barbarians, sent against them under the banner of the cross by the fathers of Christendom. But the crusade was successful. Civilisation was stamped out, and the old joyous life of the South crushed. Toulouse became the home and capital of ignorance and bigotry. It was at Toulouse that the infamous Inquisition was founded by S. Dominic, and Languedoc was the only province of France in which it ever established its authority. After the

Place Maubert in Paris, there was no spot of ground in France where so many eminent persons were burned alive as in the Place de Salins. Toulouse anticipated the St. Bartholomew by a general massacre of Huguenots in 1562, and in 1572 supplemented the work by the butchery of three hundred Protestants, who were led out of prison and killed one by one by eight students of the university, while three suspected councillors of the Parliament were hung in their scarlet robes in the court of the palace.

It was at Toulouse that Vanini was burnt alive, and Calas broken on the wheel. These facts are well known to history. But Mr. Christie adds to the long catalogue of ecclesiastical crime, the almost incredible statement that a child of nine years of age was tried and condemned to be burned alive for heresy by the Inquisitor-general at Toulouse in 1611. The university of Toulouse became only organised ignorance, and reflected the gross passions and besotted bigotry of the priests and the populace. Any tincture of literature was enough to cause a regent master to be suspected; and to be suspected in a denominational university is enough to insure loss of place and forfeiture of privileges.

If there was any city in France which Dolet ought to have shunned more than another it was Toulouse, and it was precisely at Toulouse that he chose to establish himself. There was no reason whatever for the selection, except that fascination which the candle exerts upon the moth. Mr. Christie hints that it was the reputation of the school of law in the university, which, he says, was the most celebrated at that time in France. But before 1532, the year in which he arrived at Toulouse, Dolet had resolved to renounce the profession of law, and to devote his life to humanistic studies. Specially he had dedicated himself to a comprehensive work on the Latin language, of which he had already, at twenty-two, conceived the plan, and of which he lived to publish two folios under the title of *Commentarii Linguae Latinae*. For the study of classics, and especially of Latin, which all through the Middle Ages had been a familiar instrument, but now first began to be an object of investigation, Toulouse offered no advantages. In this home of routine lawyers, where texts and precedents reigned unquestioned, Ciceronian Latin was suspicious, and the style of Bartholus alone acceptable. This was well enough known to Dolet, who had been brought up in Paris under Nicolas Bérauld and among the Ciceronians, and had afterwards passed by Padua and Venice, where he had come within the fascination which such humanists as Simon of Villanova and Giovanni Baptista Egnatio exercised upon youths just awaking to the charms of classical style and literary form.

For style, and literary form, and the beauty of harmonious language, was the aim and ambition of the early school of French humanists.

They followed in the steps of the Italians and not of Budé. Budé was, for his age, an anticipation of the later school of Scaliger and Casaubon—the school of learning and research, not of style. Budé's Latin was the Latin of a German, or, as Erasmus said, of a Flemish printer. The influence of Italy, as in art so in letters, was in this decade, 1530—1540, the dominant influence in France. This passion for realising the harmonies and shades of verbal expression was known at that time under the name of Ciceronianism. This Ciceronianism was not, as the histories of literature are apt to represent, a pedantic attempt to copy the style of the Roman orator, but a genuine movement of the Renaissance towards beauty and finish. The historians have been misled here by Erasmus' well-known dialogue "Ciceronianus," and by having construed his burlesque literally.

For a young man on fire with literary enthusiasm, and the ambition of a Ciceronian, Toulouse, the focus of ecclesiastical barbarism, was a most unsuitable abode. All that Dolet cherished or ambitioned was here held in contempt or hatred. The antagonism was not long in breaking out into open manifestation. At Toulouse, as in other universities, the scholars formed clubs or associations among themselves for social purposes, and the protection of their interests. Each nation had an annual fête day, on which an orator, elected by vote, made a speech reviewing the events of the preceding year. Dolet had only been a year in Toulouse when he was chosen president of the nation of the French, so the students from the north of the Loire were called in opposition to those from the southern provinces, who were indiscriminately styled Gascons. Much license of personal satire was always allowed to the terre filius of a mediæval university. Had Dolet confined himself to the ordinary vulgarities and scurrilities which pass for wit with the herd of rude students, nothing more would have been heard of his speech. But, with his usual indiscretion, he chose to launch out against the Parliament, the highest authority of the city and university, aiming, not at the personal foibles of individual magistrates, which might have been tolerated, but against their ordinances. He abused the city of Toulouse and slighted the Gascons generally for their barbarism and grovelling superstition. In a second speech, delivered not long after the first, he repeated and enhanced his invectives, and he now went to the extreme length of making an attack upon the favourite pastime of the Toulousans, that of burning heretics alive. It is remarkable that Dolet does this in the name of humanity and common reason, and not as sympathizing with the reformed doctrines. It is not merely that he solemnly protests his orthodoxy—many did this, and did it with sincerity, who were yet in secret inclined to Lutheran heresy—but it is abundantly clear that Dolet's bosom had never been visited by the spirit of pietism, and that, like a true

humanist, he was wholly indifferent to theological disputes, which he regarded as a waste of those powers of the mind which might be given to the study of the classics. The zeal he displays in this oration is purely humanistic zeal, and the ill consequences to himself which followed from it justify Mr. Christie in styling Dolet "The Martyr of the Renaissance."

It is no wonder that the utterance of sentiments so irritating and so contemptuous towards not only the authorities but the public opinion of Toulouse, should be made to know that one young man of three-and-twenty cannot with impunity be wiser than everybody else. The wonder is that some months elapsed before Dolet, as the inevitable consequence of his oration, found his way into the dungeon of the city, and that when there he was released after an imprisonment of a few days. Knowing how justice went in those times, we might be sure that this easy escape implied the intervention of powerful friends. And so it was. Even at Toulouse the spirit of refinement and the new learning had found an entrance. Not only had a few—five or six—of the more distinguished students caught the classical contagion, but at least two persons of age and position sympathized with the intellectual movement. These were Jacques de Minut, first president of the Parliament, and Jean de Pins, Bishop of Rieux. By the influence of these friends Dolet got out of prison, but, like Blanqui, he could not keep out. He was on the point of being again arrested for some fresh outbreak—what, Mr. Christie does not explain—when his friends again saved him by getting him hastily out of the city to a secret retreat in the country, from which he made his way on foot, as a beggar, to Lyons.

The pages in which Mr. Christie draws a picture of Lyons as a literary centre in the first half of the sixteenth century, only second to Paris, are among the most interesting in his volume. In this city, where Dolet arrived, August, 1534, he found a freer atmosphere than in ecclesiastical Toulouse, as well as occupation upon the printing press of Sebastian Gryphius; and from this time, and for the remaining twelve years of his life, Lyons was Dolet's home. Two visits to Paris of no great length, and a flight to Italy in 1544, leave him ten years of hard literary work. But from this time must be deducted two imprisonments of about fifteen months each, for even in liberal Lyons Dolet could not conform himself to what was expected of a peaceable citizen.

His work at Lyons consisted partly in passing books written by others through the press, partly in writing books on his own account. The two occupations were not so separable from each other as they are now in the sixteenth century, when to be a printer was to be a member of a profession which was occupied with the promotion and spread of literature and science. Of the works written by himself

the most considerable, and that to which he looked to create his reputation are his two volumes entitled *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue*. It is a work of immense labour, its compilation having occupied him more than ten years. It cannot, however, claim to be regarded as a work of learning, still less as a contribution to Latin philology. It is, in fact, nothing more than a phrase book on a gigantic scale, calculated to assist young writers in acquiring the use and idiom of that which the grammarians have called the golden age of Latin style. It is a stylist's book, and nothing more. It seems to have had little circulation out of France, and even in France its vast bulk led to its speedy displacement by cheaper abridgments. To the biographer of Dolet the book is interesting through the numerous details respecting his own habits of life and opinions which are scattered through its pages, in the manner afterwards practised by Henri Etienne. One such abridgment, prepared by Dolet himself, has survived in use in schools and colleges down to our own day, having passed, in whole or in part, into the dictionaries of Nizolius and Facciolati. It is illustrative of the taste in reading of the sixteenth century that his most popular book was a translation of Cicero's epistles; of this there were at least twenty-eight editions before the end of the century.

After having for some time superintended the press of Sebastian Gryphius, Dolet set up as a printer on his own account. Of the books published by him "*Apud Stephanum Doletum*," the larger number are in Latin, and therefore now neglected by all except collectors. Of such as are in French the most notable is his edition of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. Of this rare volume two copies only have occurred for sale in our time, and the copy last sold fetched only the very modest sum—for a Rabelais—of £200. It is characteristic of Dolet's lawlessness that this reprint of his friend's work was a piratical edition. It is well known that the definitive text of Rabelais, as revised by the author, was that of the edition of 1542, brought out at the press of François Juste at Lyons. This edition, though by no means an expurgated book, is yet marked by the softening of those passages which had given umbrage to the Sorbonne; such, *e.g.* as substituting "*boire rustement*" for "*boire théologiquement*." We may imagine Rabelais' irritation when he found his friend Dolet bringing out, without his sanction or knowledge, in the very same year—1542—a pirated edition, with all the obnoxious passages and expressions retained, yet stating on the title-page that it was revised and enlarged by the author himself. Mr. Christie tries to apologise for this piece of impudent rascality; but it is characteristic of Dolet, and is one of the many pieces of misconduct which, though we cannot say that they deserve hanging, yet seem not unnaturally to lead up to the gallows as their climax.

When swift fate did overtake Dolet, at the age of thirty-eight, it was not for crime, whether venial or capital, nor even for such a violation of the laws of honour and friendship as he had been guilty of towards Rabelais. On 3rd August, 1546, he was hung, cut down still breathing, and burnt in the Place Maubert, Paris, under a sentence which pronounced him guilty of blasphemy, sedition, and selling prohibited and condemned books. Of the truth or value of the charges affirmed by the sentence, the reader may judge by the following specimen, which occupies the largest space in the *procès*.

In Dolet's translation of the platonic dialogue, *Axiorhus*, occurs this passage: "Quand tu seras décédé, elle ne pourra rien aussi, attendu que tu ne seras plus rien de tout." The last clause in the Greek original may be rendered in English, "for you will have ceased to exist." Dolet's translation, therefore, though it may not be literal, is, as to substance, a correct reproduction of the sense of the dialogue. Yet these three words "rien de tout" contributed in no small degree to Dolet's death, and seem to have formed the sole ground of the charge of blasphemy, one of the three counts of the indictment upon which the sentence of death was based. It may be necessary to say that the first president of the Parliament of Paris, before whom Dolet was tried, was Pierre Lizet, one of the worst scoundrel bigots of the Catholic reaction, to whom Dolet must have been hateful, as combining in his own person the character of printer, scholar, poet, and philosopher.

That such a man should have suffered a cruel and ignominious death for the crime of correctly translating Plato is too horrible. It is, therefore, a relief to the mind to recall the wilful past of the victim, to remember that for the ten years previous to the catastrophe Dolet had been an incessant law-breaker; that he had twice been found guilty of capital offences; twice condemned to death by the courts of Lyons; and that he had been rescued as often upon the representations and by the influence of powerful friends. Instead of showing gratitude to these friends for their exertions, he quarrelled with all of them, acted basely towards at least one of them, and claimed the credit of having got off by his own eloquence or ingenuity. I think it is hardly possible to deny that Dolet was what M. Baudrier calls him, "Mauvaise tête et mauvais cœur." On the other hand, it is equally true that far greater offenders than Dolet went at large and unchallenged if they abstained from provoking the resentment of the clergy, or ostentatiously espoused the side of the hollow and hypocritical orthodoxy of the day.

MARK PATTISON.



## FREEDOM OF CONTRACT.

"FREEDOM of Contract," which has played so large a part in recent political and social reforms, and which may be said to have been the watchword of economical progress, seems, from recent discussions, to be passing into the ranks of the party of resistance. It has been invoked in opposition to many proposed or accomplished changes—to legislative interference with employment of labour, with insurance, with carriage of goods and passengers by sea and land, and with the relations of landlord and tenant, and even with the present law of entail and settlement. The cry of those who oppose change is, "Let us alone: let each person do the best he can for himself: let him make his own contract, and you will have the best results for himself and for all." There is something suspicious about this cry when we find it used by those who were the last to receive the doctrines of Free Trade; who have steadily opposed the removal of obsolete and mischievous restrictions on freedom of speech and action, and who are even now, to use Mr. Herbert Spencer's phrase, the party which represent the militant rather than the industrial type. We are tempted to suspect that there is some fallacy in the use of language, and that when we hear "Freedom of Contract" so loudly and repeatedly invoked, it is "Freedom for those who are in possession to keep what they have got, and to do what they like with their own;" in other words, our old and respectable friend, the sanctity of vested interests.

But no sound economist will deny that there is a real and fundamental truth which underlies the doctrine of Freedom of Contract, and that it is the recognition of this truth which has led to the great industrial reforms of the present century. I believe that this truth may be stated, in its most general form, as follows:—"Each grown person of the average European type under a reasonably good and strong government is likely to do better for himself in matters of gain and profit than the government or other persons are likely to do for him; and, consequently, the best thing to do for him is to leave him free to use his mind, his body, and his property as he finds best for himself." Hence the recent conquests of political economy. Our first economists found capital and labour hampered by a set of restrictions, due partly to obsolete survivals of organizations once useful and necessary, partly to false theories, and partly to the ever-active selfishness of monopoly; and in abolishing these restrictions and in giving free scope to individual self-interest, they have effected a great triumph for mankind.

It so happened, moreover, that the restrictions thus removed were restrictions on the power of free bargaining, restrictions by which the workman was prevented from taking his labour, and the manufacturer his goods, to the best market; so that the victory thus gained was naturally represented by the phrase Freedom of Contract.

If this phrase has since been misused and misunderstood—if, as is so often the case with a newly acknowledged creed, the words have become a shibboleth—if it is worshipped as a fetish, and applied without a distinct understanding of its true meaning and definition, there is the double danger, first, that it will be applied where it ought not to be applied; and secondly, which is the more serious danger, that its misapplication will provoke a reaction in which the real truth involved in it may be lost sight of and neglected.

It is, therefore, important to determine what we really mean by the phrase "Freedom of Contract," what the action involved in these words comprehends, and what are the limitations to which this freedom is and ought to be subject, whether for the purposes of political economy or in the still broader view of sense and justice. In trying to do this I shall have to appeal to a set of ideas which are rather legal than economical: but we shall find that the legal principles involved are consistent with and throw light upon economical considerations. In fact, law has preceded political economy, and the limitations by which lawyers have prevented the obligation of contract from becoming an instrument of injustice are limitations which are no less applicable to contracts when considered as a means of furthering the production and distribution of wealth.

Freedom of Contract is, then, not simple freedom of action or disposition. This is a point of vital importance. Contract involves obligation, which is the opposite of freedom. When a man makes a contract he gives up a portion of his freedom; he binds himself by a promise to another person to do or not to do certain things; and this promise, if binding in the eye of the law, is one which society, with all its crushing and overwhelming power, will compel him to perform. To use the words of a recent book of authority, "Every person not subject to any legal incapacity, may dispose freely of his actions and property within the limits allowed by the general law. Liability on a contract consists in a limitation of this disposing power by a voluntary act of the party which places some definite portion of that power at the command of the other party to the contract. So much of the contractor's individual freedom is taken from him and made over to the other party to the contract."<sup>1</sup> Freedom of Contract is, therefore, a very different thing from the

(1) *Pollock on Contracts*, p. 187, 2nd ed.

freedom of action and disposition which I have referred to as forming the basis of modern political economy. So far from the doctrine of contract being identical with freedom, it is *pro tanto* the reverse. So far from its being non-interference on the part of the State with individual action, it is interference of the most subtle, searching, and overwhelming kind. It brings the whole weight of the social fabric upon the man who has bound himself by a promise. His freedom consists in being able to make or to abstain from making a binding promise. But when he has made it, the State uses its whole despotic power to compel or prevent his free action. No wonder, then, that care should have been taken to prevent the abuse of such a power. The law of contract—a branch of law which is ever growing in importance, in magnitude, and in complexity—is, in fact, a statement of the limitations which it has been found necessary to impose on absolute Freedom of Contract, the definitions of the conditions under which, and of the manner in which, a man may make such a promise as the law will enforce.

The great difference between the system of free contract and the system which it replaced lies, not in the absence of obligation, but in the substitution of a self-imposed obligation for an obligation imposed by some external power. The progress made in the last hundred years has consisted in the abolition of a great number of the restrictions which, whether in the form of feudal, tribal, or family relations, of trade guilds and their rules, or of the protective industrial systems of modern Europe, made a large part of each man's obligation depend, not on his own individual choice, but on certain rules and relations laid down and determined for him by society, by custom, and by law. The substitution of the rights and duties arising from the free contract of the individual for the duties arising from status and relation is one feature in the history of that development of the individual which in the domain of law has been so well illustrated by Sir H. Mayne, and which is no less marked in the domains of political, of social, and religious liberty than in that of political economy.

But great as have been the advances made by virtue of this principle, it is obviously absurd to suppose that individual freedom can be absolute and universal, or that it can ever become the only principle by which human society is regulated. Society involves organization, *i.e.* subordination and regulation.

In the case we are considering, *viz.* Freedom of Contract, we have seen that what has been done in this direction is not to abolish obligation, but to substitute for an obligation devised by custom or law an obligation self-imposed by the individual. But there are, and will always be, many cases in which self-imposed obligations do not answer the purposes of society; and there are many others in

which the individual cannot impose, or ought not to be allowed to impose, obligations on himself. In such cases the law has always declined to recognise Freedom of Contract; and it is the limitations thus imposed which I now proceed to consider.

If we look into any book of law on the subject of contracts, we shall find that it is treated under such<sup>1</sup> heads as the following, viz. :—

The essential elements of a contract, *i.e.* those things without which it cannot exist.

The persons able (and consequently those who are unable) to make a contract.

The forms necessary to make a contract binding.

The consideration without which a promise is not binding.

The persons affected by, and consequently those unaffected by, a contract.

Unlawful contracts.

Contracts which it is impossible to perform.

Contracts which are void or voidable by reason of mistake, misrepresentation, or undue influence.

Contracts of imperfect obligation, *i.e.* contracts on which, for various reasons, the law gives no remedy.

It will be observed that all these heads have one element in common, viz. they are all elaborate definitions of the conditions under which the law will, and consequently of those under which it will not, enforce what purports to be a contract or agreement; and my object in the following observations will be to show, so far as space will permit, how under each head of limitation the law has been compelled by considerations of justice and by the exigencies of society to place restrictions on contract.

It will not be necessary for me to discuss the various degrees of disfavour with which the law regards contracts which it does not enforce. Whether they are made actually criminal, so as to render the parties liable to punishment; or are prohibited and altogether void; or are simply without remedy; or are capable of being rescinded, and voidable at the option of one of the parties, is immaterial for my purpose. In all these cases there is no binding contract, and consequently freedom to make a binding contract does not exist.

Nor is it necessary to distinguish between ancient law and modern law, or between judge-made law and statute law. In both are to

(1) I have taken this and much more from *Pollock on Contracts*—a book which goes far to redeem our books on legal subjects from the reproach, often too well merited, that they are a mere farrago of cases; and which is well worth reading, not by lawyers only.

be found limitations more or less questionable, but in both are to be found sound and living principles. The action of courts of justice is perhaps even more interesting for our present purpose than modern statute law, since that action shows how long and how constantly the notions of justice and of expediency have, without interference from the legislature, led men to the restriction of contract obligations where they were seen to outrage or invade the fundamental principle of individual liberty.

For my purpose it will be more important to distinguish between the class of cases where the "Freedom of Contract" of any given person is limited with a view to the interests of the public, or of third parties, or of the other party to the contract; and the class of cases in which it is limited in the interest of that person himself. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between these classes of cases, and in some instances both grounds of limitation are combined; but the distinction is important, because the latter class of cases shows how much care the law has taken to prevent contract from over-riding that freedom of action and disposition which, as we have seen, is a still more fundamental principle than that of Freedom of Contract itself, and with which Freedom of Contract is too often confounded.

I will take first, then, the case of restraints or limitations which have the interests of the public or of third parties in view.

First of all, we have the rule that no one can bind himself to do an act which is positively forbidden by law, or which is so connected with such an act as to be part of the same transaction. The forbidden act may be a murder, or the obstruction of a highway, or the sale of a sack of coals otherwise than by weight; but all are for this purpose on the same footing and equally illegal.

It is needless and impracticable to point out how various may be the different kinds of dealings which law positively forbids; but, among recent instances, may be mentioned Slave-trading; enlistment of men and equipment of ships for the purpose of making war on a friendly power; insurance without interest; the issue of bank-notes, &c. &c. They illustrate how little scruple modern legislature has in putting an absolute stop to contracts, when the transaction is such as to inflict injury on others, to endanger the public peace, to cause scandal to public morality, or to do other public or private mischief.

But, secondly, the law goes much further in the same direction. It refuses to enforce a great number of agreements which are not contrary to positive law, but are said in vague language to be contrary to morality or to public policy. The former are probably confined to cases where the object of the contract is illicit cohabitation of man and woman, or future separation of husband and

wife; but the latter embrace a large and ill-defined class of cases, and may at any time be extended. Of contracts which have been held void on this ground may be mentioned contracts for the purpose of trading with the enemy; of carrying on hostilities against a friendly nation; of inducing a legislator or a judicial or executive officer to act partially or corruptly for the sale of offices; for the assignment of public salaries; for shifting a criminal prosecution or an election petition; for interference with the due course of justice in civil cases; champerty and maintenance; agreements for giving up the custody or education of children; insurance of seamen's wages; agreements in restraint of marriage, and agreements in restraint of trade. These two latter, as well as agreements for illicit cohabitation and future separation, have regard to the interest of the parties who attempt to bind themselves, as well as to that of others, and I shall recur to them later on. The very existence of a jurisdiction enabling courts of justice to hold transactions or dispositions of property void simply because in the judgment of the court it is against the public good that they should be enforced, although the grounds of the judgment may be new and unknown to existing law, is a very remarkable fact. It is contrary to the tendency of modern thought and legislation, which, when interfering with freedom of contract, generally seeks to do so under well-defined rules. One of the ablest of modern judges<sup>1</sup> has thus spoken of this branch of the law: "It must not be forgotten that you are not to extend arbitrarily those rules which say that a given contract is void as being against public policy, because if there is one thing more than another which public policy requires it is that men of full age and competent understanding shall have the utmost liberty of contracting, and that their contract when entered into freely and voluntarily shall be held sacred, and shall be enforced by courts of justice. Therefore you have this paramount policy to consider, that you ought not lightly to interfere with freedom of contract." This is most true and valuable as a criticism of the doctrine in question; but, nevertheless, the existence of such a doctrine is important as evidence of a sort of consciousness that there must be a limit to Freedom of Contract, which is constantly varying with varying circumstances, and that there ought to be some jurisdiction, whether in the courts or the legislature, to see that this limit is properly observed, and is capable of extension whenever it may be found necessary to extend it.

There is a third class of cases in which the law, with the object of preventing injury to the public, or to the other party to the contract, enforces the contract only when made in accordance with certain rules and restrictions. As examples of this may be

(1) The present Master of the Rolls.

mentioned the laws which regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors, of cattle, of gold and silver plate, of gunbarrels, of explosives, of chain cables: which regulate the mode of building houses; the management of streams and watercourses; the carriage of passengers by land and sea; the employment of seamen, of miners, and of factory labourers, &c., &c. It is by no means necessary to defend all these restrictions. Some of them may be as foolish as others are wise and necessary. But they show how wide has been the interference with contracts, whether of sale or of employment, where it has been thought that special conditions were necessary for the protection of the other party to the contract or of the public.

Connected with the last is a fourth class of cases in which men are prohibited from any dealing at all in the way of their trade or business, unless they first prove certain qualifications or procure an official license and in which their legal competency so to deal is made to cease altogether whenever the qualification or license is withdrawn. The following is a list of these cases, so far as I have been able to make them out:—

Apothecaries	Goldsmiths
Attornies	Marine-store dealers
Barristers	Mercantile Marine officers
Brewers	Pawnbrokers
Brokers	Physicians
Chemists	Publicans
Chimney-sweepers	Seamen
Clergymen	Surgeons
Conveyancers	Tobacco sellers
Game-dealers	

In the case of some of these persons it has been thought necessary, in the interest of those who deal with them, that they should possess certain qualifications; in the case of others it has been thought necessary, in the interests of the revenue, or of public morality, or of legalised sport, that there should be a hold over them, in the shape of a power to take away their licenses. In many of them, and those the most important, the conditions are such as to prevent women from dealing at all. But in all of them the law has not failed to interfere with freedom of occupation and of contract by imposing a preliminary condition when the interests affected by those occupations appeared to the legislature to be sufficiently important or powerful to require such interference. It is to be observed that in the cases in which these conditions and restrictions are imposed for the sake of the other party to the contract, the assumption is that the other party has not the knowledge or power to protect himself without aid from the law; in other words, that the

relation between the parties is such that the elements of a binding contract with full and free and intelligent assent do not exist without such aid.

There is a fifth large and increasing class of cases in which the law does not hesitate to define the terms of a contract of sale, and to prohibit other terms. I refer to the case of great parliamentary undertakings in which, in consideration of privileges amounting to monopoly, or something like it, Parliament imposes on the sellers of certain commodities or utilities strict conditions of price, supply, &c. Such are gas companies, water companies, dock companies, railway companies, tramway companies. In this case, again, the ground of interference is the absence of freedom in the other party. One of the two parties is in a position to dictate his own terms, and the legislature consequently makes the contract in the interest of the other party.

Finally, there is a class of cases in which mere convenience is held by all civilised nations to be a sufficient ground for restrictions on individual freedom. The most striking instance of this is, perhaps, the series of laws which govern money and the currency, and which in effect provide that there shall be certain lawful money; that values shall be measured in the terms of this money; and that no money other than that provided by the State shall be made or used.

Another instance of the same kind is to be found in the laws which provide statutory weights and measures, and which forbid contracts to be made except in terms of such weights and measures.

Another instance of less importance but equally striking is the law which regulates cab fares. Here the ground of interference is simply to prevent the waste of time and trouble which would arise if a bargain were to be made on each occasion.

One curious instance may be mentioned because it raises a question of economical principle. There is a conflict of opinion between Common Law and Chancery as to the extent which should be given to the power of fettering land by covenants running with the land. In the case of covenants made by the owner of land with the purchaser of a neighbouring portion, courts of law have held that such obligations are merely personal, and that they do not bind a subsequent owner; and they have so held on the economical ground that an owner of ground ought not to be able to fetter the future enjoyment of it, and to make it subject to new burdens or obligations at his fancy or caprice. Courts of equity, on the contrary, looking not so much to general freedom of enjoyment as to contract obligations, have held that the successors in title are limited in the use of the land by the covenants of their predecessor. It is obvious that if such a power were exercised capriciously and universally enforced, great economical incon-



venience might ensue. But courts of equity would probably escape from this consequence by means of the discretion exercised in the well-known case of the Duke of Bedford *v.* the Trustees of the British Museum, that, namely, of refusing to enforce a contract where the circumstances under which the contract was entered into have wholly changed.

I come now to the second of the two classes into which I have divided the subject; that, namely, in which the law interferes with the freedom of one of the parties to a contract, in the interest of that party himself.

First among this class of cases may be mentioned those in which the law recognises no ability to make a binding contract, because the status of the party is such as to preclude the notion of that free, full, and intelligent consent which is essential to a binding promise.

For instance, an infant's power of binding himself is very limited. He can bind himself for the supply of necessaries; by marriage with consent of parents; and by marriage settlement; and in some cases the court will make a contract for him. He is liable, too, when an act of his has caused injury to others. But beyond this he is not allowed to bind himself by contract.

Again, a drunken man or a lunatic cannot, strictly speaking, make a contract at all. He may be liable for necessaries, and he may be bound by a contract made with a person who had no reason to suspect his condition.

In both these cases the law practically prohibits contract, because one essential element of a binding contract—full, free, and intelligent consent of one of the parties—is wanting.

The case of a married woman is peculiar and interesting. Originally her property, as well as her debts, became her husband's, and she was incapable of contracting at all. By degrees the Court of Chancery established the practice of settling property through the medium of trustees to her separate use, and as a consequence treated her as capable of owning and dealing with the property thus specially settled on her. In this way she acquired certain rights of contracting and consequently of binding herself with respect to that property. But as it was supposed that she must be under the influence of her husband, and that if she were enabled to deal with her property like any other owner, she would deprive herself of it for his benefit, the lawyers invented a check in the form of a "restraint on anticipation," by which she was prevented from anticipating, by assignment or otherwise, the income of her property in her husband's lifetime. Thus the married woman was originally without Freedom of Contract; she was then made free to contract by a special method, and for a limited purpose; and then, in order that this freedom of disposition might not be used so as to limit her future

freedom, it was itself taken away from her during her coverture, and she was confined to the enjoyment of her income as and when it became payable to her. Recent legislation has given the married woman further power over her own wages and earnings. Under these circumstances it is obvious that the law is in a growing and changing condition. It will not be complete until the married woman is recognised as having perfect freedom of contract with respect to everything which is her own, in whatever manner she becomes possessed of it. Difficulties there no doubt are arising out of the common household and common life, and out of the natural influence exercised by the husband. But these difficulties are scarcely greater than those with which the law has successfully coped in the case of ordinary partnerships, and in the case of contracts made under undue influence; and analogies are therefore not wanting by which the difficulties of giving Freedom of Contract to married women may be solved.

But the principle involved in the cases of infants, lunatics, and married women is carried much further. The law generally, and the Court of Chancery in particular, have always recognised in the fullest sense that behind the apparently fundamental doctrine that a contract must be performed, lies the still more fundamental principle that each contracting party must be free; *i.e.* that he must, in undertaking the obligation, be an intelligent, free, and voluntary agent. Where a contract has been made under a misapprehension of the essential circumstances of the case, it will be set aside; still more where it has been made under absolute physical constraint, or under the threat of some illegal oppression. But courts of equity go further still. The following are passages from judgments or books of authority in which their action is described:—"The question to be decided in each case is whether the party was really a free and voluntary agent. Any influence brought to bear upon a person entering into an agreement or consenting to a disposal of property which, having regard to the age and capacity of the party, the nature of the transaction, and all the circumstances of the case, appears to have been such as to preclude the exercise of free and deliberate judgment, is considered by courts of equity to be undue influence, and is a ground for setting aside the Act procured by its employment." "If it is once established that a person who stands in a position of commanding influence towards another has obtained an advantage from him while in that position, it will be presumed that in the absence of rebutting proof that advantage was obtained by means of that influence; and it is not necessary for the party complaining to show the precise manner in which the influence was exerted. Compulsion or fraud is inferred from an existing relation of dominion on the one part and submission on the other." Habitual influence is presumed to exist as "a natural consequence

of the condition of the parties." These doctrines have been applied to the cases of parent and child, guardian and ward, spiritual adviser and advised, doctor and patient, and to many others, but it is not confined to them. The court refuses to limit this class of cases by definition, and expresses its deliberate intention to apply the doctrine whenever the circumstances are analogous. "Undue influence," it is stated, "may be inferred whenever the benefit is such as the taker has no natural or moral right to demand, and the granter no rational motive to give." "Where there is a very marked inequality between the parties in social position or intelligence, or the transaction arises out of the necessities of one of them, and is of such a nature as to put him to some extent in the power of the other, a court of equity will be inclined to give much more weight to suspicious circumstances attending the formation of the contract, and will be much more exacting in its demands for a satisfactory explanation of them than when the parties are on such a footing as to be presumably of equal competence to understand and protect their respective interests in the matter in question." "A court of equity will inquire whether the parties really did meet on equal terms; and if it be found that the vendor was in distressed circumstances, and that advantage was taken of that distress, it will avoid the contract."

I have quoted the above passages at some length because they show that courts of equity have gone great lengths in interfering with actual contracts by grown-up persons, and that they have done this in the cause of freedom itself. The words thus quoted as established legal principles might be used as arguments in favour of many of the statutes, existing or proposed, which are said to limit Freedom of Contract.

The application of these doctrines to the sale of reversions is a curious instance of the mixed tendencies of our law. Sales of reversions were formerly set aside if it could be only shown that the consideration was inadequate. This is now altered; but the courts still set aside such sales unless the purchaser can show that the transaction was perfectly fair. In this they have been influenced not only by the modern principle, that a contract to be binding must be freely and intelligently made, but by the feudal notions, that such sales were a fraud on the ancestor who made the settlement and created the reversion, and that they would be injurious to the continuance of the great families. A wholesome modern doctrine was thus exaggerated in its application for the purpose of protecting quasi-feudal interests.

In the case of contracts for personal service, the effect given to them by law is specially limited. No person can bind himself by any contract at all with servile incidents, such as unlimited control over person or property. By the French law indefinite contracts of

service are not allowed. And though English law allows such contracts, it does not, unless in very exceptional cases, give any remedy by specific performance for the breach of any contract of service. The only remedy is in damages.

Again, a contract in general restraint of marriage is void ; and though this doctrine may have been derived from ecclesiastical views concerning marriage which do not now prevail, it may also be justified on the modern principle that no one has a right to give up his freedom in a matter of so much importance. According to the law of France, promises to marry are held not to be binding, "*comme portant atteinte à la liberté illimitée qui doit exister dans les mariages*;" and if the present Solicitor-General's Bill should pass, English law will agree with the French in refusing to give damages for the breach of such promises.

Again, it is a well-known doctrine of law that contracts by which a man binds himself not to exercise a lawful profession, trade, or business are invalid. The doctrine is founded partly on the ground that such restraints prevent the public from getting the services of the men who would thus bind themselves, and that they tend to monopoly; but partly also on the ground that the contracting party ought not to be allowed to injure himself by tying his own hands. Thus a contract, either for a strike or a lock-out, cannot be enforced at law ; and it is only recently that combinations to control wages have ceased to be punishable as crimes. Even the exception to the general rule, which gives effect to a contract not to do certain specified work within a certain specified area and under certain specified circumstances, is referable to the same principle of freedom which dictated the original rule, since without so binding himself a man exercising any particular trade or profession would not be free to sell and obtain the best price for his business, his skill, or his knowledge.

Again, contracts by which a man promises not to enforce his legal rights before the ordinary courts are invalid.

Again, under the well-known Statute of Frauds there are many ordinary dealings in which a man is not allowed to bind himself, except with certain specified formalities.

Again, no man can so bind himself as to avoid the consequences of bankruptcy ; and bankruptcy puts an end to all contracts. It does so partly in order that all persons who have contracted with the bankrupt may be dealt with equally ; but partly also in order that the bankrupt himself may become liberated from old obligations and become free to begin business again.

Again, no man can so bind himself as to avoid the effect of the Statutes of Limitations, under which, after a limited time, every executory contract he has made ceases to be enforceable. The real ground for these statutes is probably to be found, not so much in the

alleged maxim, "*Interest reipublicæ ut sit finis litium*," as in the doctrine which, as we have seen, pervades the whole law of contracts, viz. that, when the State undertakes to enforce a voluntary obligation, it will take care that in so doing it does not unduly abridge individual freedom.

I scarcely know on what ground to put the anomalous and exceptional case of physicians and barristers, who are precluded from making any binding contract for their fees. As regards physicians, the rule is a statutory rule, but made at the instance of the profession; whilst in the case of barristers it is a rule made by the lawyers themselves. It certainly is not in the interest either of the public generally or of those who employ barristers that such a rule should exist; and I am disposed to think that we must look upon it as a rule which is adopted by the profession because it enables them to claim their fees before they do their work, and thus prevents any inquiry whether they do it. This is certainly not a case in which the law interferes to protect persons who are unable to protect themselves.

But, to return to the main subject, numerous statutes have restricted free contracts by particular persons and in particular trades on the ground that the persons so restricted are not in a position to protect themselves.

Thus the law has restricted the working of women and children in factories and in mines, whilst under the recent Education Acts the employment of children in agriculture and in other occupations is also seriously restricted.

Under the Truck Acts stipulations by workmen in various trades and manufactures to be paid otherwise than in coin are made void.

Wages of miners must not be paid in a public-house, and in certain cases must be paid according to the weight of the minerals.

In the hosiery manufactures wages must be paid in coin and without stoppage; whilst a bargain to deduct for frame rents is forbidden, and even involves a penalty.

No set-off is allowed against the wages of factory workers except to the extent of damage done.

In the case of seamen the contract of service must be made and put an end to in a particular way before a public officer; certain stipulations concerning the seaworthiness of the ship and concerning the provisions, health, and accommodation of the seamen are made compulsory by law: the seaman is not allowed to sell or assign his wages; and he is now forbidden to stipulate for an advance of wages secured by a written promise to pay on condition of joining his ship. It will be remembered that the latter prohibition, which has become law in 1880, was thrown over in 1877 by the late Prime Minister on the specific ground that it interfered with freedom of contract.

The case of the Deccan peasants is extremely interesting. In that case the English Government had, by making the tenure of the peasant certain, by making his rent fixed and moderate, and by making his interest in his land assignable, much increased his power of disposition. On the other hand, the English Government had also simplified and extended the operation of the law by which effect is given to contracts. The effect of this increased "Freedom of Contract" was to enable the peasant to borrow money freely on the credit of his land, and ultimately to place him in the power of the money-lender. The remedy adopted in 1879 was, in the first place, to throw certain precautions and restrictions round the making of contracts for loans; in the second place, to restrict the remedies for debt against the person and land of the debtor; and, in the third place, to give to the courts of law very large powers of modifying and setting aside contracts. Freedom of contract was abridged because it had led to bondage.

It is unnecessary to give further illustrations. It is beyond all doubt clear that, whether we look to the course of general jurisprudence, or to legislation, ancient or recent, our law and other civilised laws are in the habit of prohibiting contracts, of taking away the power of enforcing them, and of subjecting them to special compulsory conditions, in the case of any persons whose power to bind themselves might, if unrestricted, expose them to injustice or oppression; in other words, when the freedom of contract is likely unduly to limit or destroy personal freedom.

Freedom of Contract, looked at from a legal point of view, is therefore hedged in by limitations on every side; some in the interest of the public; some in the interest of third parties; some in the interest of the other parties to the contract; some, perhaps most of all, in the interest of the contracting party himself. So fundamental are these limitations that they must be looked upon, not so much as exceptions to a general rule, as definitions of the essential elements of a contract. The legal notion of a binding contract comprises the following elements:—

1. Perfect freedom of action in both the contracting parties.
2. Knowledge of the circumstances in both the contracting parties.
3. Mutuality, or, in legal terms, consideration.
4. That the thing contracted to be done shall be possible.
5. That it shall be lawful.
6. That it shall not be such as to injure the legal rights of others.

And it will be seen that out of these elements may be evolved, or upon them may be based, almost all, if not all, of the limitations which I have been discussing.

Before attempting to apply these principles to actual cases, it is

desirable to notice one fallacy by which we are often misled. The great legal principle which governs the cases we have been considering is, that free and intelligent consent is of the essence of such a contract as the law will enforce. This is entirely at one with the economical principle, which relies on free and intelligent choice, dictated by self-interest, as the most efficient agent in the production of wealth. In cases where there is no such free and intelligent consent, no such free choice, the essential elements are wanting which, in the eye of the law and political economy, give sanction to contract obligations. But we are constantly in the habit of assuming that this free choice and consent exists where there is really no choice or consent at all, and no intention of consenting; and the habit is fostered by the fictions to which lawyers, in their custom of referring all obligations to contract, are constantly resorting. We have no right to assume, as we constantly do, that, in matters which have become habitual, each person does or can exercise free choice wherever he makes what is termed a contract. Life would be intolerable if he did. Nine-tenths of the consequences of all our dealings are fixed for us by practice and by custom, and we are as unable to escape from these consequences as if they were enjoined by a specific statute. When we undertake the duties of an office or a situation, when we engage a servant, when we take a railway ticket, when we send a package by land or sea, when we insure our lives, our houses, our ships, or our goods—in short, in almost every dealing of life we subject ourselves to a series of conditions and consequences many of which we do not and cannot know, and from many of which, did we know them, we should be absolutely incapable of freeing ourselves. And yet, whenever a question arises in the law courts as to the effect to be given to any of these conditions, the question which the lawyers put to themselves is almost always, “What did the parties mean?” and the conclusion at which they arrive is justified or even sanctified in their eyes by the assumption of an implied promise, when, if the truth were told, in nine cases out of ten the parties had no meaning about it at all, having never contemplated the contingency which has arisen. And even if the question were put in the more plausible form, “What would they have intended if they had foreseen the contingency?” it is still open to the observation that they might not, and in many cases would not, have been free agents in the matter. To say that a man must be held to have dealt with a view to all the consequences which law or habit or the general dealings of men attach to such dealings, may lead to the conclusions which justice and convenience require. But to say so leads us too often to ignore the fact that he did not as a matter of fact have these consequences in view, and that very often he could not have escaped them if he had.

The case of landlord and tenant affords an excellent illustration.

By the law of England the tenant takes the risk of storms, of bad seasons, of eviction by an enemy—in short, of inevitable accident. This is put by our lawyers on the ground of the intention of the parties; and no doubt is, at the present time, in one sense properly so put, since the tenant, when he takes his lease, knows what the law is. But when the case was first decided it is in the highest degree improbable that there was any such intention. The parties probably had no intention at all, and the courts might without any violence to contracts have decided the other way. As a matter of fact the civil law, and other laws which have followed the civil law, do decide this question in a different way; and the practice of English landlords, who constantly give back part of their rents to their tenants in bad times, shows that, in spite of the habits engendered by a well-settled law, the real intentions of the parties are something very different from those which our law has attributed to them, and which, when appealed to, it enforces.

It is quite possible that the conclusions of the law may be right, although arrived at by the fiction of an intention or a promise which never existed; but the real absence of such an intention or promise is all-important when those conclusions are questioned on the ground of justice, and when they are defended on the ground that they are the result of the free and voluntary action of the parties. It is well that we should remember that habit, custom, analogy, regulate a large part of our doings, and are the real foundation of a great part of our law. As in the beginning they generally spring from convenience, they probably effect this better than any direct action of the legislature; and when they become inconvenient or unjust, they can be moulded to circumstances more easily than a positive rule of law. But there are cases where habit and custom and the legal consequences attached to them become too strong and too firmly fixed to be altered by individual effort, however much justice or convenience may require an alteration; and in these cases a new law, which alters them and determines them afresh, may be an interference justifiable—not so much on the wide ground that convenience justifies interference with freedom—as that freedom itself calls for the interference. At the same time it must not be forgotten that it is a difficult and delicate task to alter by statute the established and well-known incidents of an ordinary contract, and that it is a still more delicate task to make the alteration compulsory. Such a task should only be undertaken where there is little or no chance of the evil curing itself. But what I contend for is that this difficulty should not be increased by the assumption that these incidents are necessarily themselves the results of the free action of the parties; or that interference with them must be interference with free action. It may be so, but it may also be the contrary.

It was my object to conclude the above analysis with a short



summary of the principal reasons which justify interference with contract, and an application of these reasons to the cases which have recently attracted attention. But the reasons in question are so many and various that it is not easy to state them in any simple form, and the following attempt to do so and to apply them to existing problems of legislation must be looked upon as illustrations only.

I need scarcely refer to cases in which the legislature has interfered for the purpose of altering the existing legal incidents to a contract, leaving the parties free either to adopt the altered law, by allowing it to take its course, or to adopt other stipulations if they please. It is obvious that here there is no interference with absolute freedom, but simply with custom or legal decision. This remedy is a sufficient one where, in consequence of the parties being equally matched, or for other reasons, the new law is likely to be left in general to take its course; and it possesses the great advantage that it admits of development and alteration as the convenience of the parties may suggest. The Agricultural Holdings Act would have been a fair specimen of this kind of legislation if it had not been drawn in a half-hearted manner. It proposed to reverse the unjust presumption of law that whatever is annexed to the soil belongs to the landlord; but it did so in a form and manner which has successfully tempted the parties to evade its operation.

I also exclude the cases in which the law requires certain qualifications from different classes of persons before they can exercise particular callings. The grounds for this interference are various and doubtful; and it is not an interference with particular contracts, but with a general course of dealing.

Putting these cases aside and taking those cases only in which the law exercises an absolute control over contracts, I think the circumstances which justify such control may be classed as follows:—

1. Cases in which the evil to third parties or to the public is so great as to require that in their interest the liberty of both the contracting parties shall be restricted. In this case the real difficulty always is to insure the observance of the restrictive law, since, *ex hypothesi*, both parties have an interest in breaking it.

2. Cases in which the dictation of the terms of the contract by the legislature is a convenience or advantage to both parties to the contract.

3. Cases in which the interference of the legislature is directed to the protection or advantage of one only of the two parties to the contract. To justify interference under this last head it should be shown—

- I. That the obligation interfered with is in itself obviously and generally unjust and unreasonable; or—

II. That the party in whose interest the interference is sought is unable to protect himself. This may be from various causes, *e.g.*:—

- (a) The inherent weakness or ignorance of the party himself.
- (b) The superior knowledge, wealth, power, or position of the other party.
- (c) The possession of a monopoly by the other party.
- (d) The power of custom or habit.

I will now try to apply these principles to existing problems of legislation. But it must be remembered that it is a comparatively simple thing to state principles of this kind; the real difficulty is in their application. It is the minor premise of the syllogism which gives the real trouble. The circumstances of each case are the all-important factors, and the real difficulty is to ascertain them correctly.

(1) As regards contracts between landlord and tenant in respect (a) of game, (b) of compensation for improvements, (c) of rent.

If the tenants are, by reason of their capital, their position, their power of association, and the competition of the landlords, in a position to make a bargain with the landlord on fair and equal terms; if, above all, they are able to say to a landlord with whom they differ, "I will take my skill and capital elsewhere," the contracts they make themselves are likely to be better than any that the law can make for them.

If, on the other hand, from the difficulty of removing their capital, from social and feudal habits, from the excessive competition between tenants, or for other reasons, the landlord is in a position to dictate and the tenant in no position to refuse any terms which the landlord chooses to impose, there may be ground for interference on behalf of the tenant.

To take the special case of Ireland. If, as is alleged by those who seek for an alteration of the land system, it is the fact that the tenants are numerous and the landlords few; that the tenant has no other occupation open to him, except by leaving the country; that the conditions are such that the only improvements made in the land are made by the tenant; that these improvements are at the mercy of the landlord; that the whole risk of loss is the tenant's, and the whole prospect of ultimate profit the landlord's; and that these hard conditions are not modified by social usage—then there is as strong a case for the interference of law on behalf of the tenant as ever induced a court of equity to set aside a contract. If, again, these conditions have produced a state of feeling in which the landlord's legal power of removing a tenant, even for purposes of improvement or for non-payment of fair rent, is held in check by fear of assassination, he certainly has not the freedom of action or disposition which both law and political economy require. To talk of freedom of contract in such a case is nonsense.

There is no real freedom on either side. Political economy, as well as law and common sense, demand that the law shall be so altered as to render the landlord free to use his capital, and the tenant his labour and skill, in such a way as will render both profitable.

How far the above is a fair description of the actual case, and how, if so, a change can be made without injustice to the landlord, and so as to make the tenant free, are questions on which it is not for me to discuss here. All I insist on is that, if the facts are as stated, they do not comprise the essential conditions of a free contract.

In the case of landlord and tenant interference may possibly be also justified on the ground of public interest if it can be shown that the existing state of the relations between them prevents the due cultivation of the land, and consequently diminishes the amount of produce which would otherwise go to increase the national wealth. But as it must clearly be the interest of the landlord or tenant, or both, to get as much profit out of the land as possible, we may assume that, if the relation between them is placed on a proper footing, their own interest will do all that the public interest requires.

(2) As regards contracts between employer and employed. This subject affords numerous illustrations. I will select one, viz., the limitation of the hours of labour.

In the case of children under age, legislative restriction is amply justified on the ground that there is no freedom on their part.

In the case of married women a similar reason exists, though in a less degree. And it cannot, I think, be denied that if married women are to be treated in accordance with the tendency of recent legislation—as persons capable of managing their own interests—the reason for interfering to restrict their agreements for labour and service will, *pro tanto*, diminish.

As regards grown men, it certainly appears to me to need some very strong and exceptional circumstances to show that the law ought, in any case, to interfere to prevent them from undertaking to work as long and as much as they choose.

(3) As regards contracts between railway companies and those whose persons or goods they carry. Here the possession of a monopoly, or at any rate of privilege, justifies the imposition on the companies of terms on behalf of the public, who are quite unable to make terms for themselves. The limitation of the right to impose such terms is to be found only in the just expectations which the companies have been led to form from the terms of their concessions. These concessions have, indeed, sometimes been regarded as exhaustive contracts between the public and the companies by which each has defined its own rights and liabilities. But this, as it seems to me, is a view formed under those legal influences above adverted to

which attribute all rights and obligations to an implied contract rather than to the real relations of the parties. Such a view would, in this case, lead to the untenable conclusion that the State has no right to impose any new conditions on railway companies, even for purposes of safety, which are not contained in the Acts under which they were formed. The truer view, as it seems to me, is that certain definite privileges were granted them, and amongst others the right of taking certain payments for certain work; but that the right of the State to impose further conditions in the interest of public safety or convenience remains, subject to the just expectations to which I have referred.

How careful the State should be in imposing such conditions, and how difficult it is to foresee what circumstances may require, is well illustrated by the laws requiring railway companies to run certain cheap trains for poor people, and relieving them from the Passenger Duty in respect of such trains. The companies now, in their own interest, give the poor far more accommodation than the State thought it possible to require for them, and the only effect of this benevolent law is to cause a perpetual wrangle between the companies and the Revenue Department, and to induce the companies, for the purpose of avoiding taxation, to give the poor less accommodation than they otherwise would have given.

There is another ground on which legislative definition of the incidents of contracts for carriage of passengers or goods may be desirable. Such a contract necessarily draws with it a long train of consequences, involving legal questions of the greatest nicety and difficulty. It is idle to say that such consequences are or can be foreseen by the parties when a ticket is taken, or a bale of goods booked, or that they do or can really exercise any choice in the matter. And yet the courts are taken up day by day and year by year in trying to find out what the parties meant, or what, if reasonable persons, they ought to have meant. In such a case it may be greatly to the advantage of both parties that the legislature should determine those conditions. In so doing they would not be interfering with freedom any more than the courts now do.

(1) As regards contracts between insured and insurers.

Here there is no ground for interference for the purpose of protecting either party. Both are entirely capable of taking care of themselves. But the contract may affect third parties—in the case of life insurance by giving one of the parties a direct interest in the death of a third; and in the case of marine insurance, by giving the insured an interest in the loss of life and property, or depriving him of the ordinary motives for protecting life and property which would exist without insurance. These considerations constitute an ample justification for interference, and the law has consequently refused to sanction contracts of insurance where there is no interest. It

would be equally justified in limiting insurances simply to a contract of indemnity, so that for instance the shipowner should not be allowed to have any possible interest in the loss of his vessel. The real difficulty in this case is to make the interference effective, since over-insurance is often to the interest of both insurer and insured.

(5) As regards contracts between shipowners and seamen.

There has been much interference in these contracts, out of which I will select two instances. The law has recently required that every contract shall contain a stipulation that the ship is seaworthy. This is justifiable on the ground that it is a condition which ought never to be dispensed with, and which from his carelessness, from habit, or from other causes, the sailor is unable or unwilling to insist upon.

The law has also, by an Act of the last Session, made the advance-note illegal. This is a contract by which the shipowner agrees to advance to the assignee of the seaman a certain amount of wages on condition that the seaman sails with the ship; and it is cashed for the seaman at a considerable discount. In this case the advance-note is put an end to in the interest of both parties, since the system was injurious to both; and the legislature is to be justified on the ground that in consequence of the prevalence of a bad custom, of recklessness and want of self-control on the part of the sailor, and of the temptations to which he is exposed, it was impossible for either party or for both to break through the existing practice without the aid of legislation.

The above are only a few out of the many cases I might have selected; many others might be mentioned, but the above are sufficient to illustrate the principles at issue.

To resume: the conclusions I am anxious to press are the following:—

It is not Freedom of Contract, but freedom of action and disposition, as dictated by self-interest, which is the fundamental principle of modern political economy.

Freedom of Contract superadds the notion of a binding obligation which in itself is not freedom, but the reverse.

Obligation is, however, necessary in human dealings, and Freedom of Contract is a great step in the direction of freedom of action and disposition; since it substitutes an obligation made by each man for himself, for an obligation created for him by law or custom.

It is, however, of the essence of such an obligation that the consent of both the parties should be full and free and intelligent; and this consideration introduces a series of limitations which were recognised by law long before political economy was heard of; which form an essential part of every law of contract, and which are to be found in the common law no less than in modern statutes.

Such restrictions are entirely consistent with the fundamental maxim of political economy, for they are in the interest of freedom itself.

There are many other restrictions which are justified and required by public convenience; by the convenience of the parties to the contract; or by the interest of third parties.

It must be remembered also that there are a great many so-called incidents of contract, which, though treated by lawyers as the result of contract, are not the result of the free action of the parties, but are forced upon them by custom or by law.

My object will be much mistaken if it is supposed that I desire to restrict the real operations of freedom, whether of contract or of any other kind. The danger at present appears to me to lie in the direction of too much restriction, not of too much freedom. Legislative interference cannot be too cautiously applied. Besides the difficulty of making any general rule which shall apply to the infinite variety of human dealings and circumstances, the still greater difficulty of foreseeing future circumstances, and the further difficulty of altering rules so made as the over-changing circumstances of human society require, there is the danger, more serious still, of rendering men unfit to exercise freedom. Treat grown men or women as incapable of judging and acting for themselves, and you go far to make them incapable. Our daily life is beginning already to be too much hedged round by inspections, regulations, and prohibitions. The democracy which is impending over us has much of promise, but one of its failings is impatience. It cannot bear to see an evil slowly cure itself, which can, as it imagines, be cured at once by the use of its own overwhelming force. It is passionately benevolent and passionately fond of power. To preserve individual liberty will probably be one of the great difficulties of the future; and to aid in meeting this difficulty will be one of the future tasks of political economy. But the science and its professors will be little able to perform this task if it is supposed that their doctrines prohibit the alteration of existing legal rights and relations, or that the Freedom of Contract for which they have contended merely means that each person shall be at liberty to keep what the law now gives him, and to do what he likes with it.

Political economy, in common with jurisprudence, makes no such absurd demands. It supports contract where contract is really free; where it does not limit freedom unduly; and where it causes no injury to third parties. Where contract is not free, or abridges freedom unduly, political economy, in common with jurisprudence, refuses to recognise its obligations.

T. H. FARRER.

## NOTES ON *ENDYMION*.

A FRENCH Senator and Academician remarked, on the accession of Mr. Gladstone to power, that England had only passed from the hands of one artist into those of another, and seemed to have given up her natural rulers altogether : a significant observation from a member of the most artistic and at the same time most practical community in the world, which can decorate its barricade with flowers but repudiates the rule of the florist. Who those natural rulers will be when the reign of these artists is over it is not easy to discern ; but as long as we have them we must make the best of their dominion. Among its advantages we have not only the amusement afforded by the activities, surprises, and originalities of their work in office, but by their continued energies in what used to be the repose, if not the torpor, of ministerial retreat. The redundancy and variety of Mr. Gladstone's effusions are in every one's recollection, combining an Opposition by pamphlets with such fields of literature and speculation that their gleanings fill a book-row, and now within six months the author of *Lothair* is ready with a novel of politics and society which requires a continuation to give it meaning and unity.

*Endymion* has not the serious intention of *Lothair*. The conversion of a young nobleman of immense wealth to the Roman Catholic Church, following that of other important British families, was a subject of statesmanlike and patriotic consideration appropriate to ingenious fiction, and the book was especially valuable from its avoidance of ordinary controversy and its exclusive treatment of the Romish Church as a social and political institution. But there is no special interest discernible in these volumes beyond the diversion of writer and reader. When, indeed, Lord Beaconsfield selects a hero who starts as a Treasury clerk and ends in Prime Minister, the world will insist on seeing simultaneously the artist in fiction and in practice, and however little of his own life the comrades and observers of his career may find in the picture, the public will seek out all kinds of autobiographic secrets, and will insist on the personages and relations being as real as those of Mr. Justin M'Carthy's history. One motive, so to say, of the story is so apparent that it would be almost affronting not to give it recognition, for it is honourable and, as the song goes, "tender and true." *Endymion* trusts to his strong determination, persistent purpose, and seizure of opportunity to win his way to success in life, but he owes the crown and consummation to the love of woman.

The first volume opens with the death of Mr. Canning, another artist who had won the race against privilege and routine, and perished at the goal, no less an example of the conditions and penalties of our political life than Lord Beaconsfield himself, and

closes with the election of 1837, thus giving to the preliminary portion a purely historical character. The principal sketch of the two Ferrars, the elder placeman, the unacknowledged son of an important statesman, the useful subordinate of Pitt and Grenville in the Treasury, perfectly contented with the inferior station, and marrying late into high life; the younger, starting from that good position and entering Parliament as soon as age permitted, well equipped with the accomplishments which were then sufficient for all the responsibilities of statesmanship—Lord Castlereagh's Lord of the Treasury, Lord Liverpool's Under-Secretary of State, rising to the very verge of the Cabinet at the moment when the last entrenchment of the Tories fell before the success of the Reform Bill—the secret pauper and the final suicide—confirms an impression which the student of Mr. Disraeli's earlier works may have often felt, that the frequent combination of portraiture and fiction has acted as a check on a genius, which, if left free to work out its own imaginings, would have left works more permanent and real than those which must depend for their repute and sympathy in a great degree on the accidents and figures of the day. Nor need the success of the writer of romance have excluded the talent that might have followed on the lines of Boileau or St. Simon, and presented in some other form as subtle characters of Society, the Change, and the State. There is in truth in this form of composition an artistic difficulty almost impossible to surmount. The figure round whom the characters ought to cluster is either exaggerated in proportion or dwindles into a mere medium of communication. Even in such a work as *Wilhelm Meister* there is the sense that all this splendid scenery of thoughts and fancy demands a more important central object; but when, as in this work, every other person has an original with whom the reader identifies him, it requires in the piece a singular faculty of impersonation to give importance and actuality to the fictitious hero.

In no one of Lord Beaconsfield's works is this defect so apparent as in *Endymion*, and the author so assiduously keeps him in the background that he is a nullity through the first and second volumes, with a fantastic mission to be something very great in the third. The son and grandson of Privy Councillors, with friends of influence and position and just that kind of misfortune that has an interest to youth, with an interest in politics but with no decided opinions, he really required no mission at all to give him a successful career, and the talents with which he is credited are just those that are adapted to public life. He is placed as a boy in the Treasury, and on his sister's marriage with the Foreign Secretary passes to the Foreign Office, and in his capacity as private secretary affords the opportunity for an allusion to that pleasant relation of which we have lately had so remarkable a recognition.



"The relations between a Minister and his secretary are, or at least should be, among the finest that can subsist between two individuals. Except the married state, there is none in which so great a degree of confidence is involved, in which more forbearance ought to be exercised, or more sympathy ought to exist. There is usually in the relation an identity of interest and that of the highest kind; and the perpetual difficulties, the alternations of triumph and defeat, develop devotion. A youthful secretary will naturally feel some degree of enthusiasm for his chief, and a wise Minister will never stint his regard for one in whose intelligence and honour he finds he can place confidence."

He afterwards obtains a seat in Parliament by a combination of borough-mongers in his favour, and an anonymous gift of twenty thousand pounds transmitted to him in a form which it has exercised the civic mind to understand. At the instigation of his former master, then in opposition, he puts a crafty question that calls up the Minister, and follows it up by moving for Papers that provoke an important debate. With all these favourable circumstances "he walks down to the House in the hope that the exercise may improve his languid circulation, but in vain;" for when his name is called and he has to rise, "his hands and feet were like ice." This may very possibly have been a personal experience, for a nervous organization is not only compatible with oratorical power, but even may have a subtle connection with it, just as the most signal physical courage seems to consist in the conquest of the sense of apprehension by the force of will. I heard Colonel Gurwood say that he never went into action without positive fear, and that when he led a Forlorn Hope the preliminary terror was agony. It is not so clear that this would be the constitution most serviceable for that process of Debate which, after all, is the trial of strength in our parliamentary life, and which requires as an absolute condition of success the combination of the freest play of intellect with the conditions of repose. Endymion's recovery is finely described:—

"He had a kind audience, and an interested one. When he opened his mouth he forgot his first sentence, which he had long prepared. In trying to recall it and failing, he was for a moment confused. But it was only for a moment; the unpremeditated came to his aid, and his voice, at first tremulous, was recognized as distinct and rich. There was a murmur of sympathy, and not merely from his own side. Suddenly, both physically and intellectually, he was quite himself. His arrested circulation flowed, and fed his stagnant brain. His statement was lucid, his arguments were difficult to encounter, and his manner was modest. He sat down amid general applause, and though he was then conscious that he had omitted more than one point on which he had relied, he was on the whole satisfied, and recollected that he might use them in reply, a privilege to which he now looked forward with feelings of comfort and confidence."

There is no member of either House who has taken such full advantage of this privilege as the author of *Endymion* or shown himself so great a master of the art.

We have little more of the hero's parliamentary experience, and we are specially told that he never opened his lips during the Anti-

Corn-law session that broke up the Conservative party. Lord Beaconsfield leaves that turning-point of his own fortunes to the judgment of history, and that decision will rest very much on the estimate of the nature of the contest between himself and Sir Robert Peel. If the action was purely political, the method of opposition was malicious and the personality inexcusable; but if it is regarded as a personal encounter between a great Minister and a member of his party, whose fair claims he had persistently ignored, and who must either have given up the game of politics altogether, or risen into power by means of his discomfiture, there can be small reproach that the assailant used every device of rhetorical art, and every weapon of parliamentary warfare. It is even possible that he never respected his opponent more than in the moment of his defeat, and the historian of later times may trace in the policy that dictated the adoption of the Household Suffrage no imperfect imitation of that of the Repeal of the Corn Laws, conducted, however, with a more adroit manipulation of party, and to a more successful issue. There is, however, an echo of the old strife in the words that here revert to that event:—"The great Bill was carried, but the just hour of retribution at length arrived. The Ministry, though sanguine to the last of success, and not without cause, were completely and ignominiously defeated." It is curious just now to remember that they fell by a combination of Liberals and ultra-Tories against a Peace Preservation Bill for Ireland.

On the formation of the Whig Government, the Foreign Secretary instantly confers the Under-Secretaryship on his brother-in-law; his success in the office is complete, and he retains it after the death of his chief, till the time of the Papal aggression and Lord John Russell's "Durham Letter," which it is here assumed was not communicated to the Cabinet—true in the main—for it was really read out by Lord John Russell himself, and when Lord Palmerston remarked that it was a very good letter, but he hoped it had been headed "Confidential," "Not exactly," replied the writer, "I have sent it to the *Times*:" and when the Irish Secretary took it with some anxiety to the Lord-Lieutenant, the astute Lord Clarendon remarked that he was surprised he should be taken in by the hoax, though the style was well imitated. The importance, however, of the whole event in its bearings on the decline of the Whig Ministry seems here to be overrated. The defections from the party were unimportant; and no Government ever loses in England by an appeal to the No Popery sentiment—rooted in the hearts of the people, and as real at this moment, when we are giving asylum to the monastic orders of Catholic France, as in the days of Lord George Gordon—Lothair and Mr. Dale notwithstanding. The country indeed would have supported the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill as a reality of intolerance, instead of a phantasmal protest. It was from very different

causes that the change of administration came about, here described with vivacity, truth, and with an interesting personal application :—

“The Whigs tottered on for a year after the rude assault of Cardinal Penraddock, but they were doomed, and the Protectionists were called upon to form an administration. As they had no one in their ranks who had ever been in office except their chief, who was in the House of Lords, the affair seemed impossible. The attempt, however, could not be avoided. A dozen men, without the slightest experience of official life, had to be sworn in as privy councillors, before even they could receive the seals and insignia of their intended offices. On their knees, according to the constitutional custom, a dozen men, all in the act of genuflection at the same moment, and headed, too, by one of the most powerful peers in the country, the Lord of Alnwick Castle himself, humbled themselves before a female sovereign, who looked serene and imperturbable before a spectacle never seen before, and which, in all probability, will never be seen again.

“One of this band, a gentleman without any official experience whatever, was not only placed in the Cabinet, but was absolutely required to become the leader of the House of Commons, which had never occurred before, except in the instance of Mr. Pitt in 1782. It has been said that it was unwise in the Protectionists assuming office when, on this occasion and on subsequent ones, they were far from being certain of a majority in the House of Commons. It should, however, be remembered, that unless they had dared these ventures they never could have found a body of men competent, from their official experience and their practice in debate, to form a Ministry. The result has rather proved that they were right. Had they continued to refrain from incurring responsibility, they must have broken up and merged in different connections, which, for a party numerically so strong as the Protectionists, would have been a sorry business, and probably have led to disastrous results.”

It was this array of untried officials that Lord Derby called his “nuggets” which he had dug out from the political mine: the “gentleman” here mentioned with so much simplicity being one of those of which he had not been the first to discover the weight and value, but which the blindness or prejudice of the miners had, fortunately for its own future, left unrecognised so long. It might otherwise have been molten down into an ordinary official seal instead of being used in the formation of the chain of British history. No contemporary of that event will forget the success of the Budget speech of that tyro Chancellor of the Exchequer commencing with the grammar of finance, and leading on his audience to the complicated details of the situation, with a combination of accurate knowledge and literary skill that prognosticated the artist that might rise to the highest grade of politician.

Before this crisis, however, the great event of this romance occurred, to which allusion has been already made. Endymion's sister, the widow of the Foreign Minister, marries the Fairy Prince of the story, rather to gratify her ambition for him than her own; and, when she has done so, she calls on him to fulfil her wish by an alliance of a not dissimilar character with the greatest commercial heiress of the day. She urges her point in these remarkable words, when it is remembered who writes them :—

“Your present position, if you persist in it, is one most perilous. You have no root in the country; but for an accident you could not maintain the public

position you have nobly gained. As for the great crowning consummation of your life, which we dreamed over at unhappy Hurstley, which I have sometimes dared to prophesy, that must be surrendered. The country at the best will look upon you only as a reputable adventurer to be endured, even trusted and supported, in some secondary post, but nothing more."

At the instant he shrinks from the effort of consent, the door opens as by the wand of the sorcerer, and the death of the husband of the lady who is at once the object of his long and earnest affection is announced, and who is so rich and powerful that the one is just as good a match as the other.

It has been pleasantly said that the English aristocracy would have gone the way of their order all over the world but for the two MM's—Marriage and Minerals. *Endymion* is certainly an illustration of half this apologue; there never was a novel with so little love and with so many proposals of marriage, marriages, and re-marriages, and it includes, if not especially Mr. Mill's "unearned increment," yet its meaning—an undeserved accession of wealth. Nor let any one look on the importance of this element in the fabrication of any man's political fortune as in the least exaggerated. Mr. Canning is known to have said that the life of a poor man in the House of Commons was a torment of continual suspicion. And, in fact, it must be so, and ought to be so. In an assembly where competition is keen and ambition open, pecuniary independence is the first requisite for consideration, and there should be every barrier against unworthy motives and venal desires. There must be the clearest possible line between the adventurer and the politician. Instances may be cited of men who have made capital out of their poverty, as Robespierre did out of his incorruption; but that is only where the individual has been tried and tested by long experience, and found to be as proud as he is poor.

The political "féerie" winds up very quick. *Endymion* becomes Foreign Minister by his own talents and the charms and wealth of his wife, and passes naturally from the most important office in the Cabinet to the highest.

What *Endymion* did after he became Premier lies in the undiscovered vale between fiction and history. He probably acted on the suggestion made to him that the popularity and greatness of a Ministry does not depend on prosperous finance, but on a successful stroke of foreign policy. If he carried this out with sufficient adroitness and courage, so as to prevent a disastrous war between a people whom England was bound to protect by tradition and interest, and a gigantic neighbour animated by the instincts and appetencies of Attila, whatever may have been the immediate effect on the duration of his own Government, he has had the gratitude of Europe and humanity; but "peace with honour" for England alone would fall short of a successful administration, and be a poor compensation for the world.

The commixture of real and ideal personages of itself produces a phantasmagoric effect which is heightened by the fictitious character of that social atmosphere which is here described as "the world of all those dazzling people whose sayings and doings give the taste and supply the conversation and leaven the existence of admiring and wondering millions," a world of which a Prime Minister of England has, by a strange contingency of taste and circumstance, made himself the historian. "I know we are not clever," said a member of one of the great families he had described in one of these novels, "but surely we are not so foolish as he makes us." And it is impossible to throw off the impression of a secret satire pervading all the complimentary phraseology and brilliant colouring. The writer is himself conscious enough of this insincerity when he contrasts the occasional pleasures of the occupied with the constant amusements of the idle classes. "Banquets are not rare, nor choice guests, nor "gracious hosts, but when do we ever see a person enjoying anything? "But these gay children of wit and brain, and successful labour and "happy speculation, some of them very rich and some of them without a sou, seemed only to think of the festive hour and all its joys. "Neither wealth nor poverty heighten their cares. Every face "sparkled, every word seemed witty, and every sound seemed sweet." He can, too, find pleasure in picturing the capture of high life by two adventuresses (in the honest sense of the word), of whom we should like to know more than their personal charms and astonishing marriages, for we think we know them. One of them might almost have been suggested by that curious adventure in the life of William Hazlitt, which he has embalmed in that delightful book, the *Liber Amoris*, the story of the wondrous servant-girl who drove him mad by the dignity that petrified her beauty and froze the passion it inflamed.

But when Lord Beaconsfield touches the inner and mental life of a larger and sincerer order of society, he either will not or cannot get beyond the satirical purpose. In the character of Job Thornberry he delineates those middle-class aspirations which, with a contemptuous humour, he calls "democratic opinions," and while crediting him with the "highest faculty of speech—a voice than which there is nothing clearer than his meaning,—a power of statement with pellucid art—facts marshalled with such vivid simplicity, and inferences so natural and spontaneous and irresistible that they seemed as it were borrowed from his audience, though none of that audience had arrived at them before"—and landing him in the Cabinet, he still only presents him as a "frightful example" of what becomes of a political reformer when he rises into the higher spheres of Office and Religion. His son cares for nothing but land, and his wife is a Ritualist: very good fun—but not quite a statesman's proof that the Radical was wrong.

It is, however, in the treatment of the literary character that

the exclusive and partial observation of Lord Beaconsfield is most apparent. Bred in a house of Letters, it is, as we often find, not unnatural that the pursuit should have been distasteful to him ; but, as in his writings he fully availed himself of its advantages, and from his early youth mingled, so to say, in the profession, though decidedly with other besides literary purposes, there is no reason that when he had achieved both literary and political distinction he should have dissociated himself completely from the class from which he sprang. He had the opportunity (of which his colleague in both, Lord Lytton, so amply avails himself) of that delightful exercise of patronage, that seems rather to desire equality than to ask for that gratitude which intellectual men are so shy to acknowledge, and which may be made to flatter in the very benefits it confers. In the speech of Lord Beaconsfield on the only occasion of late years when he has been pleased to forward any object in the interest, or to the honour, of literature—the Meeting for the erection of a statue to Lord Byron, to which the public so coldly responded—he accompanied his homage to that poet by derogatory remarks on the contemporaries and followers of his fame. There is in truth no reason to suppose that with him the subtler intellectual emotions respond to the call of language and thought so as to find in literature the charm of life. Nor should it be forgotten that the rough demands of political action, while they exercise coarsen the faculties, and while Parliament is every day summoning the intelligence to “stand and deliver,” it can hardly be expected to remain wealthy and full. Yet, if for such reasons literature would hardly expect to find in those social dramas very genial or dignified representatives, there is no reason why they should be made ridiculous and offensive. The caricature here exhibited with a monotonous repetition of words and actions only worthy of the circus, and with no relation to the incidents or purpose of the story, indicates either a malignant personal object or a general satire on the susceptibilities of the literary character. The critics have generally assumed the former ; and if it is intended to be a representation of the author of *Vanity Fair*, the execution is at once false and feeble. Mr. Thackeray was a member of a family that had contributed important men to every walk of life, and possessed an adequate patrimony for any profession. He spent most of his fortune imprudently in youth, and then had a harder fight in life than was agreeable to his luxurious tastes and not active habits. He was of too kindly a nature for the differences of wealth and position with which he came in contact to engender malice or even envy, but he let his sense of it be felt in humorous comparisons and exaggerated distinctions, and at times, when the great gloom of his existence fell too heavy on him, he did not entirely conquer a morbid discontent at the happier fates and circumstances of those he justly thought no better or wiser than

himself. But his good education at a high-class school, which gave to his writings a classical flavour that distinguishes them so prominently from those of his great competitor in fiction, and his association at Cambridge with all the best of past and present culture, would alone have saved him from any similitude to the impersonation of bad taste and temper which disfigures these volumes.

There is a character shadowed within this book to which it is well that some justice should be done. Mr. Vigo, the Yorkshireman and rich London tailor, becomes the impersonation of the marvellous development of the Railway interest, which all England now accepts almost as an incident of nature, with little or no sense of obligation to the men who produced it. The original of this figure is George Hudson, the owner and manager of the great central shop at York to which the whole county resorted to buy everything, from blankets to lace. There must have been some strange ability about this shopman for him to find himself associated with the elder Stephenson in the creation of the railway system of England. Yet so it was, and the Northern County has not forgotten the banquet of honour to his genius and enterprise at which Lord George Bentinck, the Tory leader, sat by the chairman, and which brought together the whole nobility and gentry of the north. In the present transformation the ability and worth of this man of middle-class life, of provincial speech and plain manners, but of most cordial and generous disposition, is depicted as successful and as winning its full reward. In the real struggle of commerce it was otherwise: George Hudson—who said, “They took me from behind the counter and gave me to administer a larger revenue than even Mr. Pitt undertook during the great war. I had some seventy millions to manage, and I may have made some mistakes in it;” who said, “Those men who have lost pounds by me are hounding me to death; but where are those who have made thousands by me?”—died in poverty and obscurity, only supported by a scanty subscription from the landowners whom he had fabulously enriched, and without assistance from the country whose resources of agriculture and commerce he had developed to an incredible extent of prosperity. He was ruined by the sanguine disposition which induced him to believe that the branch lines opening up a country would be the feeder of the main channels. That was his sole great miscalculation. They exhausted when he believed they would supply; but if he could have waited he would have found all his provisions justified, and year by year every main line is ever throwing out productive branches, and the anticipations that crushed poor George Hudson have become the wealth and comfort of Great Britain.

The social and political portraits which are intentionally recognisable are here drawn with no less force and with more delicacy than in the preceding works. The caricature of Sidonia is toned down to the commodious life—not without splendour—of the shrewd city banker, his charming wife who abjures even the semblance of wealth,

and the great heiress who will be married for herself alone. Zenobia, one of the visitors at Brandenburg House, who in her Whig days was the courtier of Queen Caroline, and whose high but somewhat ungentle beauty Lawrence has transmitted to posterity, and is stigmatised by Theodore Hook in *John Bull*:—

“The Countess of Jersey  
Who ought to wear korsey,  
If we all had our dues here below,”

who became the Queen of the Tories that repudiated Huskisson and Palmerston, is here faithfully drawn by a hand perfectly justified in his impartiality by his own relations with the family, in all her combination of current good-nature with party bitterness, of natural vivacity with a constant eye to the main chance. The comic touch of her conviction that she can dictate political events according to her caprice is given with the irony which pervades all the writer's descriptions of that feminine influence in politics which he so willingly admits, but always with a condescension by no means flattering to the serious claims of the advocates of the equality of the sexes, and hardly compatible with a respectful and elevated affection.

The delineation of Lord Palmerston as “the man from whose continued force and flexibility of character the country had confidence, that in all their councils there would be no lack of courage, though tempered with adroit discretion;”—in private life “playful and good-tempered, as if he could not say a cross word or do an unkind act, yet a very soverer man in business:” his conversation, “a medley of graceful whim, interspersed now and then with a very short anecdote of a very famous person or some deeply interesting reminiscence of some critical events,”—is most true, but he would not have gone to Newmarket “in the midst of an European crisis,” though he would not have scrupled to talk about it. He is here made to say, “There is no gambling like politics,” and he may have said it; for never was there gambler to whom the game was so valued for its own sake, irrespective of loss or gain. Even the weight of responsibility was unfelt by him. He would say, “When a man has done his best, why should he care about results that are not of his making?”

In the *Lives of the Strangfords*, from which, perhaps, the name “Endymion” was taken, there is a tragic story of the youth of George Smythe, which should give more interest to his name than all he can get from his place in *Coningsby*, or by the idealisation in these pages of what might have been his career had he lived. His literary productions had nothing in them that could last, and the earnestness of paradoxical opinion which is attributed to him is mythical. With the key to his real life, as given in the pitiable letters and from those from others about him, the development of his character in these volumes, though by no means amiable, is clearly drawn in the light of an old affection and modified by happy reminiscences. And however little pleasure or honour Lord Beaconsfield might actually have



derived from the prolonged career of this member of Young England, it is well that he should retain some affection for that accidental connection with a transitory form of political thought, for it has given him the most faithful associate of his political life in a colleague who, in continuous Tory Governments, has been the best representative of the honesty and sincerity of the aristocratic condition in its combination with every noble and human sympathy.

Everybody would be glad to see more of Baron Sergius. There are members of the House of Commons still living who remember their terror lest some one should get up and ask whether it was true that a German gentleman lived in his own rooms in Buckingham Palace, came and went without notice, dined without being named in the Court Circular, was scarcely seen by the Household, yet had private interviews with the highest personages, and intimate relations with the representatives of foreign courts. It was true, and we have since had the confirmation of all this in Memoirs that somehow or other—it may be by enforced omissions—have just failed of being of permanent interest, but from which the annalist of our times will derive valuable material with regard to the English Court and European diplomacy. It was well said of him by a German friend, that he had had “a subterranean and anonymous destiny.” He is here mixed up with Pozzo di Borgo and a touch of Talleyrand.

The introduction of Louis Napoleon is an illustration of Lord Beaconsfield’s delight in the incredibilities of history. This fairy tale is no more wonderful than the reality; it can hardly be said to be overdrawn. He might well have given us a fuller and finer delineation of the character of that strangely-fated man, as studied in that composite society of Gore House with which he himself was so familiar, and which was not only the home of the exile, but the centre of the Presidential conspiracy, which was the first step to the Empire. Even his marriage with the sister of Endymion is no more than the image of the alliance which brought that splendid and sorrowful destiny on the “*Mater Dolorosa*” of the present time. The gorgeous description of the Eglinton tournament is only inaccurate in the omission of the disastrous dismissal of the dinnerless multitude by the Scotch rain that inundated the banquet-hall and ball-room, and in the jousting of the prince, which M. de Persigny, then not yet the Duke of St. Angelo, would not permit, saying “he must take part in no fictitious contest,” even though he personated and wore the armour of the Chevalier Bayard.

There will, no doubt, be some reproach that this is a political novel without political principles, and a picture of success in life without ethical considerations; but the author may well say that that is his affair. He chooses to depict political life as he has found it, and he leaves it to others to invest it with graver forms, and to draw from it more solemn conclusions. He is the artist, not the political philosopher.

Houghton.

## AËRIAL NAVIGATION.

CONSIDERING the vast development of mechanical invention and enterprise that has taken place in the last century, it is singular that so little serious attention should have been bestowed on the balloon. The brilliant invention of Montgolfier and Charles, from which so much was expected on its first appearance, has been hitherto little more than a toy ; the attempts to take advantage of it for any useful object have been but few, and of very limited scope. Balloons have been used to provide elevated posts of observation for military purposes, and they have also served to aid the investigation of meteorological phenomena ; but otherwise little or nothing has been done with them. It would seem that the most obvious function of a balloon is to afford a means of transport through the air, just as the most obvious function of a boat is to provide transport on the water ; yet, strange to say, this function has been, so far as any general application of it is concerned, entirely ignored. The aëronaut who usually accompanies a balloon is content simply to go wherever the wind may carry him ; the idea that he should exercise any volition as to his course or his goal is one that is scarcely ever entertained.

We cannot have a better proof of this than by referring to the scheme lately discussed for a new voyage of Arctic discovery. It is believed that the North Pole is surrounded by a tract of rough hummocky ice, which can neither be penetrated by boats nor traversed by sledges ; and it has been proposed, reasonably enough, to explore it by the aid of balloons. There has been much discussion as to the best mode of using these, but no one appears to have contemplated the possibility of exercising any mechanical control over their movements, a resource which, it is hardly necessary to say, would, under the circumstances, be of the greatest value. We hear from time to time of aëronautical societies, and even of aërostatic competitions, but we look in vain for any attempts to convert balloons into useful locomotive machines ; and it is a fair inference from this fact that such an idea has been generally considered too chimerical to deserve serious study. There cannot be two opinions as to the extreme interest that would attach to the use of balloons for aërial locomotion, if such an object could be brought about. Man has obtained a command over the means of transport by land and by water ; why should he not exercise a similar dominion over the regions of the air ? I propose to inquire into the state of this question. It can be shown that the problem is one perfectly amenable

to mechanical investigation; that it has already received some careful study from very competent men; and that practical attempts have been made at its solution, which have not only given favourable results, but have furnished valuable data for carrying the investigation further. It will be instructive, therefore, to endeavour to ascertain, in the first place, what prospect of success is offered by reasoning, theoretically, on these data, and secondly, what is the nature of the practical difficulties that lie in the way.

The desire expressed by the poetical aspiration, "Oh that I had wings like a dove," must have been one of the earliest known to man; and the perception that flying was a purely mechanical operation must always have prevented the desire being entirely hopeless. But the difficulties were enormous until the invention of the balloon did away with the most formidable of them by counteracting the gravity of the flying body. This was so great a step that the first result of the invention was to produce a general impression that aerial locomotion was at once about to become universal. Indeed, the unreasoning enthusiasm of the multitude went so far as even to anticipate the possibility of visiting the moon and the planets, or of exploring the realms of infinite space among the fixed stars.

Sensible men, though they did not indulge in such fancies, still set themselves to work to cultivate the newly acquired power; for no sooner had the buoyancy of the balloon been established than attempts were made to gain a control over the direction of its flight. As early as December, 1783, *i.e.* only six months after Montgolfier's first public experiment, the great philosopher Lavoisier gave before the French Academy<sup>1</sup> an admirable *résumé* of the conditions which should be fulfilled in aërostatic machines, and which are as perfectly applicable now as they were then. In studying the subject he saw clearly that a control might be obtained over the movement of the balloon by reaction against the air, on the principle of wings or oars; and accordingly the last of his conditions runs thus—

"Enfin, en employant la force des hommes, il paraît constant qu'on pourra l'écarter de la direction du vent sous un angle de plusieurs degrés."

This, as we shall see, exactly describes what was practically done a century later; and thus we find that (to use a word that has been coined for the purpose) the idea of a *dirigible* balloon is as old as the balloon itself.

Lavoisier's idea was discussed by the Montgolfiers, who proposed to adapt oars to their machines; and other early aëronauts from time to time made experiments with apparatus of the same kind. But although the general principle was incontestably sound, the conditions of the problem had not been sufficiently studied, and none of these attempts had any practical result. Hence arose an impres-

(1) Reprinted in the *Comptes Rendus*, vol. lxxi. p. 608.

sion that aerial navigation was unattainable, and this impression appears to have prevailed down to the present day. People have made up their minds that a balloon can only float in the atmosphere, being carried passively along by any current that may happen to prevail.

It was only a few years ago that two clever and enterprising individuals undertook to reinvestigate the question, and to try whether the principle of reaction against the air might not, when more favourably applied, be made really to influence the path of the balloon. The problem, they perceived, was one largely analogous to that of aquatic navigation. In ships the *steering* is done by means of that very simple and elegant contrivance the *rudder*; but to make the rudder act the vessel must have "way" through the fluid in which she floats; and it was seen that if the balloon could only be given some independent velocity *through* the fluid, instead of moving helplessly *with* it, the rudder could be brought into action and the whole machine might be efficiently steered.

The first person who did this was a M. Henri Giffard, a young French engineer, who, though then unknown, has since made his name famous by other brilliant mechanical inventions; and it will be instructive to note the way in which he set about his work, as it will give a fair idea of the conditions of the problem.

He saw, in the first place, that the *form* of the balloon must be changed. If a balloon has only to float passively in the air, the globular shape is the most proper, as giving the greatest ascending power with the smallest surface of envelope; but if it has to move through the air, this shape is objectionable, as offering too great a resistance to motion. This is the same principle that obtains in water navigation; a globular shape would be proper enough for a buoy, but is quite unsuitable for a boat, which must be elongated, diminishing at the bow and stern, so as to reduce as low as possible the proportion of resistance to capacity. A dirigible balloon must be similarly formed, and, though it will lose in floating power, the loss must be submitted to as a necessity if any speed worth having is to be attained. To complete the analogy of water navigation, this elongated vessel must have a keel, to preserve its general linear motion, and a rudder, to allow of lateral deviations when desired.

The next requisite was to provide the propelling surfaces to act against the surrounding air. There are many models of these of different kinds; there are the natural provisions of wings and fins, and there are also the artificial arrangements adopted by human ingenuity for aquatic motion, such as oars, paddle-wheels, and the screw propeller. Of these a mechanic would clearly choose the last as by far the most convenient. And it is worthy of remark that this is already applied to aerial purposes, although conversely,

in the common windmill. A current of air blowing on the sails turns the axis with a certain force. It is easy to suppose the action reversed, *i.e.* to suppose a power applied to the axis inside the mill, which, turning the sails, would create a current of air, or by reaction against it would give propulsion to the whole building if it were free to move.

Finally, M. Giffard wanted a *power* to work his screw, and for this he resolved to follow directly the model of modern marine navigation by employing a steam-engine.

Having duly settled his design, he made his balloon. It was of elongated shape, pointed at the ends, nearly 40 feet diameter in the middle and 144 feet long. The car was suspended by a net in the usual way, and there was a large movable triangular sail attached to the stern, serving as keel and rudder. The car contained a small steam-engine of three horse-power. It was a bold measure to put a roaring fiery furnace within a few feet of an immense reservoir of inflammable gas; but he took effective precautions for safety, among which was the ingenious expedient of turning the funnel downwards, and producing the draught by a steam blast, as in the railway locomotive. The engine turned a screw 11 feet diameter, which could be given 110 revolutions per minute.

M. Giffard ascended from the Hippodrome, in Paris, on the 24th September, 1852.<sup>1</sup> Having arrived at a convenient height, he started his engine; and what was his delight, on pulling one of the cords of the rudder, to see the horizon begin to turn round like the moving picture in a diorama! The machine was really "under way;" it was being steered like a ship at sea. In short, the balloon was "dirigible," and the problem of aerial navigation was practically solved. The wind was too high for him to hope to move against it, but he performed with perfect success several manœuvres of circular movement and lateral deviation. He descended safely, and he found, when he came to calculate his course, that his engine and screw had impressed on the balloon an independent velocity through the air of from 2 to 3 metres per second, or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles per hour.

Reviewing his results, he says that, in the absence of all previous experience, he had conceived some doubts about the stability of the new form, but he adds—

"L'expérience est venue pleinement rassurer à cet égard, et prouver que l'emploi d'un aérostat allongé, le seul que l'on puisse espérer diriger convenablement, était, sous tous les autres rapports, aussi avantageux que possible, et que

(1) His description of the balloon and its voyage was published in *La Presse*, of the 25th of September, and was reprinted eighteen years later in the *Comptes Rendus*, vol. lxxi. p. 683.

le danger résultant de la réunion du feu et d'un gaz inflammable pouvait être complètement illusoire. . . . Si l'on réfléchit aux difficultés de toute nature qui doivent entourer ces premières expériences avec les moyens d'exécution excessivement restreints, et à l'aide de matériaux imparfaits, on sera convaincu que les résultats obtenus, quelque incomplets qu'ils soient encore, doivent conduire, dans un avenir prochain, à quelque chose de positif et de pratique."

His experiment made a great sensation, and he was called the Fulton of aerial navigation. Victor Hugo, some years later, having, no doubt, this experiment in view, wrote as follows to Gaston Tissandier :—

"I believe in all kinds of progress. The navigation of the air must follow that of the ocean. Man will penetrate into every part of the creation where respiration is possible to him. Our sole limit is life. At that point where we cease to find a column of air of sufficient pressure to prevent our machine from bursting man should stop. But he can go, ought to go, and will go thus far. The future is for aerial navigation, and the duty of the present is to work for the future."

The other attempt at aerial navigation was not, like M. Giffard's, one of mere scientific experiment, but was dictated by an important need. During the siege of Paris by the Germans in 1870, balloons were used to a large extent, as is matter of history, in order to get dispatches out of the city. They were unfortunately not available for communication in the opposite direction, but it occurred to the authorities that if it were possible to give them even a slight guiding power they might be made so. The subject was accordingly taken up by M. Dupuy de Lôme, the chief naval architect of this great maritime power, and certainly a more competent person could not have been chosen. He was allowed a grant of money by the Government for the experiments, and he proceeded at once to design a balloon. His proceedings were interrupted by the Communist insurrection, and peace was restored before the machine could actually be tried; but the trial was afterwards made, and the results, which were perfectly successful so far as they went, were put on record, in communications from M. Dupuy de Lôme to the Academy of Sciences.<sup>1</sup>

It is singular that M. Giffard's proceedings should, in eighteen years, have so completely slipped out of memory as to be unknown to M. de Lôme; but such was the case, and it was not till after this gentleman had completed his preliminary investigation, and had communicated it in full detail to the Academy, that the previous experiment was brought to his notice. And it is an important fact that the independent studies of the two investigators led them to the adoption of the same general principles on which the trial should be

(1) *Comptes Rendus*, vols. lxxi. and lxxiv.

made. The special merit of M. de Lôme's work consists in the full and able manner in which, applying to the subject his great knowledge of marine navigation, he has discussed all the elements of the problem; such as the stability of the whole structure, its resistance to motion, and the power necessary to drive it; the proportions of the screw, the velocity attainable, and so on. And he has rendered his labours doubly valuable by the lucid descriptions and explanations he has put on record of everything that was done, both theoretically and practically, thus giving a firm basis for the extension of the principles to a wider range.

As an instance of the care bestowed on the design, one difficulty specially studied by M. de Lôme may be worth mention. As a balloon rises or falls, the contained gas expands or contracts in bulk, in consequence of the variations in the atmospheric pressure. With the ordinary globular balloon, this is of no consequence, as the envelope is only partially filled at starting, and plenty of room is left in the lower part for the expansion. But with a navigable balloon this would not do, as it is desirable that the external shape should be maintained smooth and unaltered at all elevations. This he accomplished by taking advantage of a suggestion made by Gen. Meusnier at the end of the last century, namely, by putting an air-pocket, or reservoir, inside the balloon, controllable from the car, and the expansion or contraction of which would compensate for any difference in the bulk of the gas caused either by variation in height, or by loss in escape or leakage. This internal vessel might also be given a more extended use in regulating the vertical movements of the balloon, and it was considered by M. de Lôme a very important and useful appendage.

M. de Lôme's balloon was 120 feet long, and 50 feet maximum diameter, diminishing at the ends, like that of M. Giffard. In order to get a large buoyancy, he filled it not with coal gas, but with hydrogen. The total ascending power was 8,400 lbs., and the weight of the structure 3,885 lbs. The screw was 30 feet diameter. He appears to have been shy of the steam motor, contenting himself with human power; he arranged for the screw shaft to be turned by four men, carrying also four others to relieve them. The weight of the men took up three-tenths of the whole buoyancy disposable.

Thus equipped, he ascended from Vincennes on the 2nd February, 1872. The wind was blowing strongly, but by putting the head of the balloon at right angles to the current, and working the screw, he produced a deviation which, when afterwards calculated, showed a resulting velocity through the air of upwards of 5 miles per hour: when the eight men were all working together, the velocity was 6.4 miles per hour. The behaviour of the balloon, in respect to stability

and ease of management (which had caused the most anxiety), was all that could be desired.

We may now endeavour to generalise the results obtained in the two experiments above described, and to draw some inferences from them.

In the first place, it has been fully established that it is possible to design and construct a balloon which shall possess the conditions necessary to fit it for aerial navigation, *i.e.* which shall have a form of small resistance, which shall be stable and easy to manage, which shall carry machinery and motive-power sufficient to propel it *through* the air, by reaction *against* the air, with a steady rectilinear velocity, and which shall then be capable of *steering* by a proper obedience to the rudder. This is a *dirigible balloon*, and the general problem of aerial navigation has therefore certainly been shown to be capable of solution.

But, as in all first attempts, the success has been small in degree; it is necessary to inquire what prospect is offered of future extension; and, by applying the ordinary formulæ of mechanics to the data furnished by the experiments, we are able to form, theoretically at least, a fair judgment on the point. It would be out of place to give, in this periodical, details of the calculations;<sup>1</sup> it will suffice to state the principal results to which they lead.

Taking, in the first place, M. de Lôme's own balloon, we find that the kind of power he used was exceedingly disadvantageous, by reason of its great weight. His eight men weighed 1,325 lbs., and as a man is usually estimated to produce one-tenth of a horse-power, this would be equal to 1,656 lbs. per horse-power. But it was necessary to allow 25 per cent. of the power used for loss by the "slip" and friction of the screw, so that his eight men only gave six-tenths of a horse-power effective in driving the balloon, which is equivalent to 2,210 lbs. per effective horse-power, or with full relays = 4,420 lbs. Now this is most extravagant as compared with steam. M. Giffard's engine weighed only 112 lbs. per horse-power, and engines are now in use in England that weigh only 60 or 70 lbs., or even less. We have to add for a condenser to prevent waste of water (as hereafter explained), but we shall be well within actual experience if we estimate the weight of the engine at 100 lbs. per horse-power, or including the loss by the screw at 133 lbs. per horse-power effective in driving the balloon. M. de Lôme fully admits the possibility of great improvement by the use of steam-power; but his object was limited, and, under the circumstances, he took, no doubt, the wisest mode of attaining it. An independent velocity of a few miles an hour would, by taking proper advantage of the wind, certainly have sufficed

(1) These details will be published in a well-known technical journal, *Engineering*, which is specially devoted to mechanical subjects.



to enable balloons to enter the city during the siege. For a more extended object there appears, so far as can at present be seen, no kind of power that could compete with steam. A good deal is now done by storage of power in compressed air, but this would require far too much weight in the reservoirs.

Again, M. Dupuy de Lôme did not make so full an application as he might have done of the well-known advantage of *length* in diminishing the proportion of resistance to capacity. His length was only 2·4 times the diameter, whereas M. Giffard's was nearly 3·7 times. M. de Lôme admits this also, but in his first trial, for certain practical reasons, he did not wish to exaggerate the departure from the globular form. Adopting M. Giffard's proportions the balloon would, for nearly the same resistance, have about 50 per cent. more carrying power, and would have other advantages in steering properties.

By taking advantage of this, and by substituting the steam for the human motor, the speed obtainable in M. Dupuy de Lôme's balloon would be increased from 6·4 to about 18 miles an hour.

We must not, however, forget that in using steam-power we have to provide, not only for the weight of the engine and boiler, but also for that of the fuel and water consumed. This is a large addition. The weight of fuel may be estimated at about 2 to 5 lbs. per horse-power per hour, but the water is much more, being 25 to 28 lbs. The arrangements for the transport of these provisions require careful consideration in all portable steam motors. In steam vessels the only store necessary to be carried is the fuel; but in land locomotive engines both must be provided. The "tender" used on railways for this purpose is a formidable addition to the load, and even this, though it will carry a good store of fuel, requires to be replenished with water at short intervals. The recent application of steam-power to tram-cars has given the difficulty much prominence, particularly in regard to the water, which, for light street traffic, is not only inconvenient to carry, but costly to obtain. Hence an ingenious expedient has been resorted to, namely *air condensation*. The water used in steam-engines is not, like the fuel, decomposed, and it need not necessarily be dissipated; it is only changed in form, and by the simple process of cooling in thin pipes exposed to the air, it can be restored to its original condition, and so used over and over again. The idea of applying this process was published by M. Giffard in 1863, and it has lately been adapted successfully by Messrs. Kitson and Co., of Leeds, to steam tramways in that town. The steam, after leaving the engine, is caused to pass through a series of very light tubes on the top of

the car, where a large portion condenses and is restored to the boilers.

Such an apparatus, the extra weight of which is not large, would be a proper adjunct to a balloon engine, and with its aid, allowing for some waste, probably 10 lbs. per horse-power per hour would be an ample allowance for the necessary fuel and water. In M. de Lôme's balloon the engine which we have above supposed to be substituted for the eight men would be about 10 horse-power, requiring 100 lbs. per hour for fuel and water, and the disposable buoyancy, after deducting for the engine, being 3,190 lbs., it is evident that provision for many hours' working might be carried, and still leave a good allowance for cargo.

But it is found, by the theoretical formulæ applicable to the case, that the navigating capabilities of balloons increase with the size. Let us, therefore, take another example, increasing the maximum diameter to 100 feet, and (retaining the same proportions) the length to 370 feet. These figures sound large, but the machine would only be about the size of an ordinary coasting steamer. It would have, if filled with hydrogen, a gross ascending power of about 45 tons, and its weight would be about 10 tons, leaving 35 tons disposable buoyancy. Let us further, in order to form an idea of what could be done, increase the proportions for the motor from 0.3 to 0.5, which would give us 300 useful horse-power, and leave  $17\frac{1}{2}$  tons free. The supply of fuel and water would weigh  $1\frac{3}{4}$  tons per hour, so that we might allow for 4 or 5 hours' consumption and still have 10 tons disposable for traffic, enough for 100 people and a good allowance of baggage. With these data the calculations show that a velocity of motion through the air might be obtained at the rate of no less than *thirty miles per hour*!

Such is the result of theory; but we must now look at the question under another aspect, and see how it is affected by practical considerations.

In the first place, the provision of the light gas, and its preservation in an envelope that shall be at once light, impervious, and strong, are conditions of ordinary study in regard to balloons generally. M. de Lôme considered his arrangements on this head satisfactory, and they might be further perfected if the demand arose. The construction of the motor, also, would be only an every-day task to those who are accustomed to work of the kind. The only point on which we need speak with hesitation is in regard to the construction and application of the propelling apparatus, there being, hitherto, no experience of aerial propulsion on the scale of power and speed here proposed. But this, after all, is only a matter of practical mechanics, and after the wonderful exhibitions of mecha-

nical skill we see around us in all directions we need not despair. Many a difficulty that has appeared much greater than this has been satisfactorily got over by ingenuity and perseverance.

On the whole, therefore, looking at the question as a matter of practice, there is nothing to discourage the idea, except what we may hope would give way before skill and experience. It must be recollected that all our data have been taken on things as they are; but when the whole arrangement came to be studied and tried, no doubt improvements would take place in many particulars.

It is hardly necessary to say that the introduction of a locomotive machine which would transport a large number of people through the air, in any direction required, at the rate of 30 miles an hour, would be a startling novelty in our travelling arrangements. Let us glance at the advantages it would offer. Comparing it first with aquatic locomotion, it would be far quicker than any boat hitherto made,<sup>1</sup> vastly less expensive in first outlay and cost of working, would require no harbours, would produce no seasickness, and would escape the greatest dangers inherent in water navigation.

Viewing it secondly as a means of land transport, it would be quicker than common road travelling, and would compare fairly with the ordinary speed on railways, while it would entirely dispense with the enormous and costly provisions requisite for both these modes of getting over the ground, and be free from the multitude of liabilities to accident attending them.

But it may naturally be objected that such a mode of locomotion would have peculiar dangers of its own. No doubt balloons have hitherto been very subject to accidents, and the bare idea of anything going wrong at a height of thousands of feet above the earth has in it something very appalling. But much of this impression will vanish before common-sense reasoning. It must always be borne in mind that for the purposes of locomotion there would be no reason for ascending high into the air; it would only be necessary to keep at a sufficient altitude to clear terrestrial impediments, and this would not only do away with much of the terror of the idea, but would greatly increase the probability of a safe escape from accidents of whatever kind.

Let us see in what direction danger might, in extreme cases, lie. The loss of gas, by rupture of the envelope or otherwise, is a remote possibility, but the experience of many actual cases has proved that the resistance of the air to the large surface exposed has sufficed to prevent any rapid fall; special measures might be easily provided,

(1) Probably the fastest steamers afloat are the new boats just started by the South-Eastern Railway between Folkestone and Boulogne, which carry unusually powerful engines, and steam twenty-one statute miles per hour.

and at low elevations over land no serious catastrophe need be feared on this ground. In crossing over water precautions would still be possible, and the case would not be so hopeless as in many marine casualties. The danger of fire, if properly guarded against, need not be greater than in a ship at sea. Indeed, if we believe M. Giffard, who has tried the experiment, the idea of such danger is quite an illusion.

The accidents that arise to ordinary balloons almost always occur in the descent, which, if the wind is high, requires great care and skilful management. In this case the propelling power would be most especially useful; the aëronaut could choose his place of landing with precision, and, by turning his head to the wind, he could avoid the dragging which is so dangerous, and which has so often brought a fatal termination to balloon voyages. The worst conjuncture conceivable would be a breakdown of the propelling machinery at a time when it was wanted to aid the descent in a gale. But the risk of such a breakdown could be made very slight by ordinary mechanical precautions.

On the whole there can be no good reason to believe that the dangers would be more formidable with this than with other kinds of locomotion; and when we remember the frightful casualties that so frequently now occur in land, river, and sea traffic, and consider how many of their causes would be absent in the free paths of the air, we may probably even venture to assert that balloons would be the safest as well as the pleasantest mode of travelling.

As a set-off against all this, however, there is one great objection to aërial locomotion, namely, the *uncertainty* it must always be liable to in consequence of the effect of the wind. We must not ignore this; on the contrary, we will endeavour to estimate its exact value. We will assume that we can steam through the air in any direction at the rate of 30 miles an hour; but this will only count for useful locomotion in a dead calm; if there is any wind, by carrying the balloon along with it, it will clearly influence both the effective direction and the effective speed. To investigate the result of this, we must get the chief facts as to the wind's action.

According to the best tables, what may be called an ordinary breeze blows between 10 and 20 miles an hour; a strong breeze between 20 and 30; a high wind between 30 and 40; and a gale up to 50 or more. But I have taken some pains to get more specific data from the most authoritative source we have in this country, namely, the published records of the Meteorological Establishment at Greenwich Observatory. The anemometers there register the velocity of the wind every day, and taking the year 1877, I find the results as follow:—

				Miles per hour.
During 17 days in the year the mean velocity of the wind was between				0 & 5
„	103	„	„	5 „ 10
„	127	„	„	10 „ 15
„	75	„	„	15 „ 20
„	29	„	„	20 „ 25
„	10	„	„	25 „ 30
<hr/>				
	361			
„	3	„	„	30 „ 35
„	1	„	„	35 „ 40
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	365			
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The mean over the whole year was 13 miles an hour. It must be explained, in the first place, that the velocity registered on each day represents the average over the whole 24 hours, and that, therefore, during some portions of the day the speed will be greater than is here shown. And secondly, that in places nearer the coast higher winds will be found than at this inland station. Bearing in mind these reservations, and reasoning on the average figures given, we can easily form an idea how the wind will affect balloon travelling. To direct a navigable balloon, under the combined action of the wind and of its own independent motion, is the same problem as the familiar case of navigation in a current of water; as, for example, when a boatman has to cross a river running with a powerful stream. The head of the balloon must be set in such a direction that the resultant of the two actions will give the course required. M. de Lôme, having always in view the design of getting balloons into Paris, published a comprehensive investigation of the problem, and gave ingenious directions how the aéronaut should proceed to carry out successfully this design. We need not here go into such detail, it will suffice to give some general results. It will be found that so long as the velocity of the wind is less than that of the balloon's proper motion, it will be possible to travel in any direction, only with modified speed; but if the wind is equal to the proper velocity, then half the circle is cut off, or if the wind exceeds it, still more. But in any case there will be a considerable range on each side the wind's direction. For example, if (the balloon steaming 30 miles per hour) the wind blow 25 miles per hour, we may go in any direction; if it blow 30 miles an hour, say due north, we cannot go anywhere to the northward, but have a range of nearly 90 degrees on each side of south; if it blow 40 miles an hour we may go any course between S.E. and S.W. and so on; and what we lose in direction we should gain in speed, as running due south we should make 70 miles an hour.

The following table will explain this in more detail. The wind is assumed due north, but the relations will be similar for any other direction.

TABLE showing the speed, in miles per hour, that can be commanded on any proposed course, by a dirigible balloon having an independent motion through the air of 30 miles per hour. Wind supposed due north, blowing with velocities varying from 0 to 50 miles per hour.

## PROPOSED COURSE.

Velocity of Wind.	N.	N.N.E. or N.N.W.	N.E. or N.W.	E.N.E. or W.N.W.	E. or W.	E.S.E. or W.S.W.	S.E. or S.W.	S.S.E. or S.S.W.	S.
Calm	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
5	25	25	26	27	29	31	31	35	35
10	20	20	22	25	28	33	37	39	40
15	15	15	17	20	25	32	39	44	45
20	10	10	13	16	22	31	41	48	50
25	5	5	7	9	17	29	43	51	55
30	..	..	..	..	..	22	43	56	60
35	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	59	65
40	..	..	..	..	..	..	38	63	70
45	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	67	75
50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	70	80

The practical result of this would be as follows :—

(1) In storms and gales, say exceeding 40 miles an hour, it would not be prudent for the balloon to travel at all. Ships only sail "wind and weather permitting," and balloons must submit to the same restriction.

(2) In high winds, say from 30 to 40 miles an hour, it could only go in a course generally corresponding with that of the wind; but it would have a considerable range and a high velocity in this direction, and would have power to command its descent without danger. These circumstances, according to the Greenwich observations, would only occur a few days in each year.

(3) In light and moderate winds, under 30 miles an hour, which the Greenwich observations show to prevail all the year with the exception of a few days, it could travel in any direction, the speed varying from 5 to nearly 60 miles an hour.

Such a result would be amply sufficient to establish aerial navigation as a feasible practical addition to our means of locomotion; although, no doubt, the uncertainty as to the speed of transit would be against it in a business point of view, and would therefore limit its commercial value. Indeed, the chief obstacle I see to its coming into use is the want of sufficient inducement to inventors to take it up with energy and perseverance.

At any rate it is worth while to clear up the matter on the ground of principle; and before concluding I may devote a few words to an extraordinary delusion which appears to have prevailed somewhat extensively, and which has probably been one cause why aerial navigation has been so little studied by those who have taken

an interest in balloons. About 1863, M. Nadar, of Paris, a clever aëronaut, took a fancy that it was impossible to control the direction of balloons, on account of their lightness and large surface; and he considered that he had discovered an important scientific principle, namely, that "*pour lutter contre l'air il faut être plus lourd que l'air.*" He wrote a book (the most readable and entertaining work on balloons ever written) for the purpose of publishing the principle, and he founded a society to carry it into practice, by constructing flying machines in which buoyancy would have no part. Some years later the same idea was given a much wider circulation, by being propounded in a well-known work entitled "*The Reign of Law,*" by the Duke of Argyll. The book contains a series of observations on the flying of birds, and the passage in question is as follows; the italics are mine:—

"It is remarkable that the force which seems so adverse—the force of gravitation, drawing down all bodies to the earth—is the *very force which is the principal one concerned in flight and without which flight would be impossible.* It is curious how completely this has been forgotten in almost all human attempts to navigate the air. Birds are not lighter than the air, but immensely heavier. If they were lighter than the air they might float, but they *could not fly.* This is the difference between a Bird and a Balloon. A balloon rises because it is lighter than the air, and floats upon it, *consequently it is incapable of being directed, because it possesses no active force enabling it to resist the currents of the air in which it is immersed, and because, if it had such a force, it would have no fulcrum, or resisting medium against which to exert it.* It becomes, as it were, part of the atmosphere, and must go with it wherever it goes. No bird is ever for an instant of time lighter than the air in which it flies; but being, on the contrary, always greatly heavier, it keeps possession of a force capable of supplying momentum, and therefore capable of overcoming any lesser force, such as the ordinary resistance of the atmosphere, and even of heavy gales of wind. The law of gravitation, therefore, is used in the flight of birds as one of the most essential of the forces which are available for the accomplishment of the end in view."<sup>1</sup>

The effect of the *ex cathedra* dissemination of such opinions has been to discourage the study of aërial navigation by balloons, and to turn attention rather towards the invention of flying machines.

Persons acquainted with the mechanics of fluids must be somewhat puzzled to understand how such strange ideas as those involved in the above extract can have come into being. I think they may perhaps be capable of some degree of explanation by two considerations. In the first place, good observers of flying, like the author of this passage, cannot fail to have remarked, particularly when watching the larger birds, the great use they make of *momentum* in their flying manœuvres. A bird will be often seen sailing along for great distances without a single impulsive movement of his wings; and as we are usually in the habit of measuring the *mass* of a body by its *weight*, many persons are led to confound

(1) *The Reign of Law*, p. 130. London, 1868.

one with the other, and to imagine that the gravity of the bird's body is the agent in this motion. But all mechanical students know that this is a mistake; the motion of the bird exactly corresponds with that of a cannon-ball or of a railway train when the steam is suddenly shut off. A quantity of "work" previously developed by a certain power has given motion to, and becomes stored up in, a certain mass of matter, and that mass will continue in motion, and will, if necessary, overcome resistance till the work stored up in it is exhausted, when the body will come to rest again. All this is totally independent of gravity, and would take place if the attracting earth were entirely away. All that the bird does in this passive motion is simply the result of active muscular power exerted previously.

Secondly, a case often occurs where the Duke of Argyll's theory is apparently true; namely, the case where the bird, being already at a high level, *descends* in flying. Here, undoubtedly, gravity is an active power which will aid the bird's flight, just as it would aid the passage through the air of a stone or any other body. Some observation of this effect has probably led to the inference that gravity was a flying power; but the observer so inferring would have forgotten that the bird, in order to raise himself to the elevated position, must have previously exerted an amount of muscular power or energy exactly equal to that which is restored in his fall. So that gravity does not *furnish* the power, it only acts as a reservoir to store it up, just as power is stored up in the spring or weight of a clock, to be given out again at a future time. Thus gravity, like momentum, does nothing more than give the bird some facility for modifying his manœuvres. The only power used in flight is muscular force, and all resistance must be overcome by that, and that alone. The idea that birds could not fly unless they were heavier than air is surely a hallucination; if it were true we ought to improve their flying by loading them, which would be an absurdity. On the contrary, common sense tells us that gravity is the chief impediment to flying, and it is precisely by getting rid of it that the invention of the balloon has rendered aerial navigation practicable.

The passage in the extract which I have underlined referring to the balloon is altogether incomprehensible. A balloon is "capable of being directed;" and if we provide it with a screw, turned by steam or human power, it *will* "possess an active force, enabling it to resist the currents of the air in which it is immersed," or, in other words, giving it an independent motion; and when provided with such a force, it *will* have a "fulcrum or resisting medium against which to exert it," namely, the inertia of the surrounding atmosphere. All this is dictated by common mechanics, and is confirmed by experience. Lavoisier saw and expressed it clearly a century ago,



and M. Giffard and M. de Lôme have added the practical demonstration of it in our own time.

The fallacy of the argument will be glaringly apparent if it is applied to the analogous case of motion through water. Flying and swimming are identical actions, only differing according to the density of the fluid they have to be performed in. Fishes have, I believe, generally about the same specific gravity as water; and, therefore, gravitation gives them no aid; yet they swim about perfectly well. And suppose we were to apply to a rowing or steam boat the language that the Duke of Argyll applies to a balloon, "A boat remains on the surface because it is lighter than the water, and floats upon it; consequently it is incapable of being directed, because it possesses no active force enabling it to resist the tides and currents of the water in which it is immersed; and because, if it had such a force, it would have no fulcrum or resisting medium against which to exert it. It becomes, as it were, part of the water, and must go with it wherever it goes." And suppose on this sort of argument we were to exhort the world to abolish rowing and steam boats, and to substitute swimming machines "plus lourds que l'eau!"

Nadar's objection to dirigible balloons was much more reasonable. He said that to get the requisite floating power we must have great bulk, which would offer corresponding resistance to motion. This is true enough in principle; but the amount has been much overrated. The resistance to M. Dupuy de Lôme's balloon was only 40 lbs.; and though for our proposed 100-foot machine we have, at 30 miles an hour, 3,500 lbs. to overcome, this is a cheap price at which to purchase freedom from the necessity of lifting, by mechanical power, 35 tons into the air.

There is no occasion to discourage the attempts that are made from time to time to produce flying machines. The problem involves no impossibility, like the perpetual motion or squaring the circle; and if any mechanic can invent a motor, at once so powerful and so light as to be able to raise itself in the air, the thing is done. But we are a long, long way off that yet; and in the meantime we have actually got navigable balloons, which only want improving.

WILLIAM POLE.

## COUNTY BOARDS.

FOR nearly thirty years the subject of the administration of county affairs by Boards in some degree representative of the inhabitants of rural districts and of country towns and villages has been from time to time brought before Parliament. No practical result, however, has as yet been achieved, and the bulk of those who pay the rates administered in quarter sessions remain unrepresented. Consequently candidates for county seats at the recent election were expected to give assurance of their willingness to support any efficient measure tending to that end. The topic is one which has also frequently formed the subject of discussion among Chambers of Agriculture and other such debating societies. In the years 1850, 1851, 1852, 1860, 1868, 1869, 1871, 1878, 1879, Bills were brought forward.

The first three were introduced by Mr. Milner Gibson. In the first two of his Bills it was proposed that the County Board should consist half of ratepayers, to be elected by boards of guardians, and half of magistrates, to be elected at quarter sessions. In the third Bill (1852) quarter sessions were ignored, and the whole Board was to be elected by boards of guardians, with a qualification of £30 rateable value for members of the County Board.

In 1860 Sir John Trelawney brought in a Bill by which each board of guardians was to elect two members to the County Board with a qualification of £100 rateable value, one of such members elected by each board of guardians to be a magistrate.

In 1868 Mr. Wyld reverted to the division of the Board into one-half consisting of elective members, to be chosen by the elected guardians of each union (with a £50 qualification), and another half to consist of magistrates chosen at quarter sessions. By this Bill alone, the question of the adoption of the measure by any county was left to be decided by the majority of boards of guardians in each county. In 1869 Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen continued the proposed division of the Board into ratepayers and magistrates, but reduced the proportion of the ratepayers' representatives to one in five of the magistrates who were to be official members.

The most vigorous attempt to deal efficiently with the reform of local government was that of Mr. Goschen in 1871. The chief features of that attempt which had any relation to our subject were the consolidation of rates and the institution of parochial boards, whose chairmen were to elect from among themselves a certain number (to be fixed by the justices) of parochial representatives for each petty sessional division. Such chairmen were to have a £40 qualification. The magistrates in quarter sessions were to elect from among themselves a number of members equivalent to the total number of parochial representatives.

In 1878 Mr. Selater-Booth again adopted the petty sessional divisions, and proposed to apportion to each division two magistrates, to be chosen at quarter sessions, and two elective members, to be elected by the guardians in such petty sessional division from among persons qualified to be guardians. In 1879 a plan was suggested for combining parishes into wards for the election of members to the County Boards. One-third of the Board was to consist of magistrates, to be chosen at quarter sessions, and the remaining two-thirds were to be chosen by the elected guardians in each ward from among persons qualified to be guardians. It is impossible not to be struck by the reckless disregard of the consequences of further increasing the chaotic confusion of local administration shown by the framers of the two last-mentioned proposals.

It is not probable that the present Parliament will show that lack of interest in this subject which was characteristic of the last, and it is to be hoped that the present Government will avail itself of the strength of the Liberal party not only to introduce but to carry through a measure which shall deal thoroughly with the subject, and which may avoid the rocks and sands on which all previous endeavours have been wrecked or stranded.

There are two points on which it is desirable that the current phraseology should be, if possible, corrected. One is the use of the word *ratepayers*, as denoting the smaller occupiers and not including owners, whereas it cannot be denied that in rural districts the landlords pay all rates except any increase which takes place during a holding. The second is the use of the word *magistrates* as representing the owners. This is no less inaccurate than the other, for though it may be true that nearly all the magistrates are in some way connected with either ownership or large occupancy, it is certainly not true that in any sense they can be accepted as representing the smaller owners, who in number, if not in value or area, are at least as much entitled to representation as the larger owners. The forty-shilling freeholder has a recognised position in the State, and those who have experience in local matters know well enough how widely different are his ideas from the ideas of his neighbour, who counts his value not in shillings but in thousands of pounds. Consequently it is submitted that the right division (if there must be a division) of the County Board would be into representatives of owners as such and representatives of occupiers as such. An old county member has suggested that instead of magistrates being elected at quarter sessions to represent the owners, all persons who possess the necessary qualification for the magistracy ought to be eligible, the election being made by a much wider constituency, including, perhaps, even all persons whose names are on the rate-book.

It is manifest that the interest of the owner differs from that of the occupier in being not only immediate but permanent, while that

of the occupier is immediate and direct in all cases, the owner's interest in the case of an absentee being in a certain sense indirect.

It is no doubt important that this distinction should be borne in mind in considering the course to be adopted. But it must be also borne in mind that the ultimate aim of both occupier and owner is identical, as both are interested in economy, efficiency, and durability in the expenditure of the rates.

There seems, therefore, to be no sufficient ground for giving to either interest a preponderance in the representation. As, however, the assumption appears to have been generally made that some arrangement is necessary for apportioning representation on the County Boards to different classes, it may be well to proceed for a while on this assumption. Reasons, however, may be found for considering this an unwise principle, and for leaving the development of party government to nature in County Boards as in the Imperial Legislature.

It has been occasionally suggested that the establishment of County Boards is only asked for to gratify a sentimental grievance, and that the proportion of the local expenditure which will be subject to their control will be very small, and not worth any disturbance of a system which works so well as the present. But although it is true that in a majority of cases the county rate barely amounts to one-fifth part of the whole local taxation, so that the business at first may perhaps seem light and trifling, yet it is certain that if at the outset the right constitution of County Boards is adopted, so that they may really represent the opinion and command the confidence of the counties they govern, they will at once begin to attract to themselves far the larger proportion of local business, and thus relieve Parliament of a considerable amount of work which need not (as a constitutional necessity) be brought before the Imperial Legislature if a local one be provided which can answer the purpose of giving public sanction to local measures. We may, for instance, hope that the readjustment of county, union, and parish boundaries; the complete revision and rearrangement of the system of workhouses and asylums and reformatory and industrial schools; the mutual relation of the different rating and spending authorities; the making, maintaining, and diversion or improvement of highways; questions connected with drainage, irrigation, water supply, and sewerage, with pollution of rivers and the abatement of nuisances; the administration of local endowments, educational and charitable alike, and numerous kindred subjects, will in time be intrusted to them, and will afford opportunities for improvement in economy, efficiency, and equity, such as breadth of area and thorough representation may be relied upon to secure.

This being so, the importance of thoroughness in dealing with the subject, and of achieving at the outset the nearest possible approach to finality, is obvious. And it cannot be admitted that any of the

proposals yet made has this characteristic. There is reason rather to fear that great encouragement to agitation, obstruction, and jobbing would be afforded by merely inviting a few of the so-called "rate-payers" (it matters not how they are chosen) to sit by the side of the magistrates for the transaction of county business. They would either have no practical influence at all, or they would control or embarrass the magistrates. They would either oppose them in a body (as an "interest") or they would acquiesce and amalgamate. If they oppose and obstruct, there will be no chance of business being well done; if they do nothing they will do no good; if, as is much to be feared, they only attend fitfully, or come to vote when appointments are to be made to vacant posts, they will do harm. It will be well, then, to reconsider the whole question *de novo*, in the light afforded us by the information collected, and the discussions which have taken place already.

The principal debate to which it is worth while to draw attention for the present purpose is that which took place in the session of 1878 on the County Government Bill brought in by Mr. Selater-Booth on January 28, discussed on second reading (14th and 18th February), and again discussed on the motion that the speaker leave the chair (7th March). This Bill was brought in during the fifth session of the late Conservative Government in fulfilment of a pledge given by the Government in compliance with a motion by Mr. Clare Sewell Read, against which the whole strength of the Government majority had been mustered by an emphatic whip to hear the announcement of a sudden change of intention if not of opinion on the part of the Ministry.

As has been already stated, the measure never became law. But during the debates to which it gave rise most of the broad principles at issue were fully discussed. The feeling of the Liberal party appears to have been in favour of direct rather than of indirect election of the members of County Boards, and the grounds of this feeling were so clearly and broadly stated by Mr. Rylands that it is worth while to quote his words.

"We ought to give the widest possible interest among the ratepayers in the selection of the members of the County Board, and having got a wide basis of popular representation I think we ought to give to that County Board the greatest possible responsibility in the administration as far as possible of the affairs of the county. . . . What we want is to stir the dull level uniformity of the rural districts where there is not the same amount of intellectual life as in the towns, and if we can get the people to take an interest in their own affairs we are giving them political education, and bracing them for political action on a larger scale.

"The true Conservative policy is to throw open by means of popularly elected County Boards a new opportunity for the exercise of public rights, and for the fulfilment of public duties by the inhabitants of our rural parishes, and by so doing we shall make the people more fitted to take part in the working of our institutions, and make them value more highly the institutions under which we live."

The principle thus enunciated is one of those on which all truly Liberal legislation is based. The occasion of its enunciation was the proposal of indirect election by means of guardians voting in petty sessional divisions, a method of proceeding which has the characteristic ring of Conservative attempts at reform. The legitimate area for the guardians as a college of electors is surely that which they are elected to represent and to administer. The first thing that we have to secure is a good, clear, broad representative basis, one which shall be adopted on a principle that is intelligible to all concerned, and which needs no argument for its defence. When that has been secured it is to be hoped that the correction of existing boundaries with regard to the convenience of the inhabitants will be one of the first cares of the elected body; therefore no principle ought to be sacrificed or mutilated in the permanent constitution of the Board in order not to disturb old boundaries which new circumstances are tending to render inconvenient, and which it may be one of the first functions of the Board to render obsolete. It is important that the parish should be taken as a unit, and the constitution of the Board built on that basis. Useful suggestions, which space will not permit to be inserted here, were made by Mr. Stansfeld and Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice in the debate already referred to.

Assuming (what need not be admitted) that the owner and the occupier need separate representation at the Board, it would seem not unreasonable to divide the representation equally. For the importance of economy and efficiency is even greater to those whose interests are fixed and permanent than it is to those whose number, perhaps, may be larger, but whose interests are movable and transient, and scarcely more immediate.

But this claim to an equal share for owners with occupiers is not inconsistent with the protest already made against the theory that the magistrates as such are representatives of ownership.

Magistrates are, as all administrators of justice ought to be, nominees of a higher authority, and it is of their essence not to be elective or representative. Besides this constitutional reason it is also far more important that adequate representation be secured for yeomen and forty-shilling freeholders, than for the class from which magistrates are taken. That class may be trusted to take care of itself; it has the means and methods always at hand; the others have not.

It is no doubt to be desired that a large portion of the Board should be elected from that class, and the suggestion of an old county member already mentioned would be an easy practical way of securing this result if any need is felt for special measures for that purpose.

But at least a hope may be expressed that if owners as such are anxious to have representation of their own, they may not be restricted in their choice. There are two ways in which the election may be thrown open. One way is that owners shall be free to elect

whom they choose without restriction, and that occupiers should have the same privilege, all owners and all occupiers in each district alike having votes, and it would probably be better that the votes should be given indiscriminately (on grounds to be given below), and not separately to owners' members and occupiers' members. Another way is to give to all owners and occupiers alike votes in the election, but to require for half the Board the same qualification as is now required for the magistracy. Each owner in any district ought undoubtedly to have a vote in that district, but there may be a difficulty in taking votes by ballot if all the elections in a county take place as they ought to simultaneously, and on the same day as the elections for the parochial officers.

Thorough representation of "owners and occupiers," or, to use a phrase which is on many grounds preferable, of "the inhabitants and persons interested" in each district, cannot be attained but by direct household or ratepaying franchise; which, it cannot be too often repeated, is not likely to do more harm in the election of local than in the election of imperial parliaments. One chief requisite being the utmost attainable liberty of election, there appears to be no more reason for enforcing residence as a qualification for election of a representative of any area at a County Board than in the case of a member of Parliament. It may on the other hand frequently be most advantageous for a remote area to be represented by a man who may not be a resident, though more deeply interested in its welfare than any one else, and who may be able to be in constant attendance at the centre where the county business has to be done. If an area chooses an inefficient representative it can alter its choice better, if unrestricted, when the occasion offers. And no one who is acquainted with the nature of the transaction of county business can be unaware that constant attendance is a first requisite for efficiency, and that many men who can attend constantly to their local business (*e.g.* as guardians or waywardens) at their own market town might be utterly unable to give the time or to afford the expense of constant attendance in a county town, perhaps forty miles off.

Nothing is more detrimental to continuous equitable and economical conduct of business than the irregular attendance of the persons who are responsible for it, and that is the inevitable consequence of restricting the choice of representatives in remote districts.

The object to be attained is not what, from some of the attempts to legislate, it might appear to have been, the maintenance of quarter sessions as an administrative authority, nor the support of the administration of the magistrates. Nor is it in order to reconcile the "ratepayers" by admitting some of them to act with the magistrates that County Boards are desired. They are needed for the purpose of placing local, financial, sanitary, educational, poor-law, and other administrations, in the hand of a responsible representa-

tive body in which all classes and all interests shall have their advocates, and by means of which the inhabitants of rural districts may gain such training and education in the duties of a citizen as shall make them year by year more fit to govern themselves, and thus relieve the Imperial Legislature of tasks which take up a larger share of its already over-filled time than is commensurate with the general importance of those tasks to the whole realm.

If, then, the parish be taken as a unit, and some group of parishes as an electoral area, such as the petty sessional division, which has the present advantage of not crossing parish or county boundaries, and if freedom of election be given both to owners and occupiers, it is probable that a really representative body would be elected. But there are several requisites which must be found in that body if it is to answer the purpose for which it is intended. Efficient expression of popular opinion, intimate knowledge of local circumstances, independence of undue influence, uninterrupted attention, constant attendance, and continuous conduct of business, are all needed and must be secured.

The tenure of seats at the Board for three or five years would go far to counteract the effects of agitation and the tendency to oscillation which seems to become stronger as the electoral basis grows wider. Sufficient numbers must be elected to enable the Board to divide itself into committees of sufficient size to be widely representative without overburdening members. Freedom to elect men of education and means and industry will go far to insure most of the above-mentioned requisites.

A fear has been often expressed that these Boards will be too numerous for the conduct of business; but in the first place, as at present, details will be settled by committees; and in the second, if the Boards are large enough, they will be able to divide themselves and meet in different centres, as may be convenient, without losing their integral character as a Board. In the county of Lancashire there are 31 petty sessional divisions, and about 750 magistrates; in Yorkshire, West Riding, 500 magistrates, and 25 divisions; in Norfolk, 240 magistrates, 26 divisions. If, therefore, in these counties there were two members annually elected for each petty sessional division, and if these members held their seats for five years, so making a total number of ten members for each division, the numbers would not be overwhelming—would not, indeed, exceed the number of magistrates which the Lord Lieutenants, and, it may be presumed, the present magistrates, do not think excessive.

The probable result of the adoption of the principle of direct and free election (paupers, lunatics, foreigners, criminals, and bankrupts only excluded) would be the choice of men in various ways qualified and anxious to conduct the public business of their neighbourhood. Magistrates, peers, clergy, yeomen, manufacturers, farmers, and



tradesmen would, it is to be hoped, gain seats at such Boards if the election be free and direct. And in such a body it may be hoped that the log-rolling and jobbing which are too common in the conduct of local business at present might be greatly reduced.

It is, indeed, difficult to see what advantage is to be hoped for from either indirect election or a restricted field for choice. And either provision will certainly frequently prevent the best men from being chosen. Moreover, the annual recurrence of elections of this description will tend greatly to familiarise electors with their privileges and duties, and to diminish the present disturbing effect of the rare occurrence of a county contested Parliamentary election.

There is another consideration of very great importance, which affects owners, perhaps, more generally than occupiers. Its weight would seem rather to tell against than in favour of giving preponderance of voting power to large owners. It is this. The weight of the burden of rates is far greater in proportion to the income of small ratepayers than of large ones. The proportion of sixpence in the pound, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., to the available income of a man whose whole rental does not exceed £100 a year (derived, it may be, from ten or a dozen cottages, or one small farm or house) is enormous when compared with the same rate levied on an income of £10,000 a year. The 50s. paid by one man makes far more difference to his expenditure than the £250 paid by the other. And the experience gained by efforts to promote sanitary, or highway, or educational improvements in rural districts, goes to prove that the delicacy of the sense of this difference of proportion is most accurately and minutely graduated, and increases in an inverse ratio to the wealth of the ratepayer.

In proportion, therefore, to the delicacy of that sense, that is to say, in an inverse ratio to the amount of property, is the necessity of providing by legislation for representation of ownership. The smaller the property rated, the keener is the sense of injustice from inadequate representation.

The obvious objection to this, from a practical point of view, is that if the smaller owners are able to gain undue influence on the board, a cheeseparing habit of mind may be engendered. For this objection there are no doubt some grounds, but against it are to be set two other considerations of no less importance. The first of these is that owners of large properties invariably (if they deserve it) possess, or can if they choose, gain great influence in their districts, and that influence will surely show itself both in the election and in the policy of the Board.

In these words there is not intended so much as a hint at bribery or undue influence. So far is any such allusion from their meaning, that it may be said with equal force and with equal truth that the more a man is known to be incapable of such a crime as an attempt

at bribery or illegitimate influence, the wider and the more powerful will be his legitimate influence. Therefore, the large landowners need not tremble at direct election of members to the County Boards by smaller owners and by occupiers on equal terms with themselves.

The second consideration is this. The larger the stake of any owner in his district the more evidently is it his duty, and still more evidently his interest, to supplement the sum contributed by the ratepayers for public improvements from his own resources, to take on his own shoulders a larger proportion of the expense needed to insure the durability and efficiency of such improvements than might from the driest legal point of view be said to be his exact share. Such a course tends to improve his property, to keep down the increase of rates, and thereby to succour his tenants, and it adds to his own influence and weight.

It is already the fact that by far the larger number of great landowners act at present on such principles as these, and there cannot be much doubt that the cries of the "increase of the burdens on land," the "rise of the rates," and so forth, that are sometimes heard even within the walls of Parliament itself, are, when heard there, not the utterance by the country gentlemen of their own feelings, so much as the conscientious expression by them of what they know to be the feeling of the great bulk of those rural electors whom they represent. Feelings those, and opinions, far more justified by facts with reference to the less ample purses and properties of the average county electors, than they are with reference to the rent-rolls of those whom the electors confidently send to Parliament as their spokesmen.

If these considerations be rejected as Utopian and unpractical, what alternative remains but that the larger the property the heavier should be the rate, especially if any privilege of representation is accorded with reference to the size of the landed properties?

But although in such matters as succession duty or income-tax, which are levied by imperial authority, the burden of taxation may be, to a certain extent, thus graduated and borne without a murmur, it is not likely that such a system of rating as that would at once meet the ordinary Briton's sense of justice, which, if crude, is at least clear and forcible. Moreover, the increase of the preponderating influence of large owners, which must in equity ensue on the adoption of such a plan, would of itself render it unpopular.

The question of the representation of owners and occupiers on County Boards has so far been treated on the assumption that some kind of separate representation is needed, or will at any rate be demanded. But is it needed? Ought the demand to be conceded? What good is to result from it? If it is required in the interest of one class, is it equally in the interest of the other? Can any advantage which may be expected from it compensate in any degree

for the disadvantage of artificially creating two hostile or opposing parties on the Board? If they are not likely to be hostile or to oppose each other, why should they not be amalgamated?

It would be far better if they were. The invaluable national institution of party government springs from roots deep down in the human heart, and is fostered by the liberty that is the privilege of Englishmen. It is certain to develop itself without extraneous aid whenever and wherever men meet in council. If there is no fear of a division between owners and occupiers, it can only be because there is no cause likely to produce it. If there is no cause likely to produce it, what is there to justify so cumbersome and complicating a provision? If there is such a cause, why not let it work out its own results in a fair field with no favour? Results thus produced would be more true, more solid, more enduring, and, therefore, far more worth attaining than would ever be the fruits of the combats of parties artificially created by the ingenious, if not ingenuous, provisions of legislators. There is one more point which it is earnestly hoped will not be any longer neglected, for the sake of justice and expediency, and without attention to which there is small hope of settled content among the "ratepayers." The simple expedient of dividing equally the increase of any rate during a holding between the landlord and the tenant has been long overlooked. If that were done, owners would be more active than they are in local affairs, occupiers would regard the well-meant efforts of owners to further public improvements with much less suspicion. The suggestion has already been made in Parliament by a county member; and now that an efficient re-arrangement of local finance seems to be dawning upon us, it is not much to ask that it may be incorporated in the measure to be proposed, or in some way concurrently provided for.

An opportunity is now offered to a strong Liberal Government which ought not to be let slip. The Liberal party is stronger in the counties than perhaps ever before. The field is open for a thorough and permanent re-settlement of a portion of the national finance which is yearly increasing in importance.

An instrument of political education may now be established; and if the Government shows itself to be unshackled by prejudice, fearless of interests, and not so careful of existing arrangements, which answer *their* purpose, but not the *whole* purpose, as to fall into patchwork with new cloth on an old garment, this instrument may become an institution as great, as national, and as permanent as the older parts of the Constitution. But this will not be done unless the old spirit of liberty and confidence in the people, which has given a watchword to the party that will be responsible for this measure, is allowed as of old to have its full sway. The full importance of the end in view must be grasped, and no party feeling allowed to weaken the strength of the grip. CHARLES T. D. ACLAND.

## THE TRAGIC COMEDIANS:

### A STUDY IN AN OLD STORY.

#### CHAPTER X.

THE story of Clotilde's departure from the city, like that of Alvan's, communicated to her by her maid, was an anticipation of the truth disseminated by her parents. She was removed when the swarm of spies and secret letter-bearers were attaining a position of dignity through the rumour of legal gentlemen about to direct the besieging army.

A stir seemed to her to prognosticate a rescue and she went not unwillingly. To be in motion, to see roadside faces, pricked her senses with some hope. She had gained the peace she needed, and in that state her heart began to be agitated by a fresh awakening, luxurious at first rather than troublesome. She had sunk so low that the light of Alvan seemed too distant for a positive expectation of him; but few approached her whom she did not fancy under strange disguises: the gentlemen were servants, the blouses were gentlemen; she looked wistfully at old women bearing baskets for the forbidden fruit to peep out in the form of an envelope. All passed her blankly, noticing her eyes.

The journey was short; she was taken to a place a little beyond the head of the lake, and there, though she had liberty to breathe the air, fast fixed within the walls of a daily sameness that became gradually the hum of voices accusing Alvan of one in excess of the many sins laid against him by his enemies. Was he not possibly an empty pretender to power—a mere great talker? Perhaps he was really unacquainted with her—thought her stronger than she was! The idea reflected a shadow on his intelligence. She was not in a situation that could bear of her blaming herself.

While she was thus devoured by the legions of her enfeebled wits, Clotilde was assiduously courted by her family, and her father from time to time brought pen and paper for her to write anew from his dictation. He was pleased to hail her as his fair secretary, and when the letters were unimportant she wrote flowingly, happy to be praised. They were occasionally addressed to friends; she discovered herself writing one to the professor, in which he was about to be informed that she had resolved to banish Alvan from her mind for ever. She stopped; her heart stopped; the pen fell from her hand outfingered in loathing. Her father warily bade her proceed. She could not; she signified it choking. Only a few days before she had written to the professor exultingly of her engagement. She refused to belie herself in such a manner; retrospectively her rapid

contradictions appeared impossible; the picture of her was not human, and she gave out a negative of her whole frame convulsed, whereat the general was not slow to remind her of the scourgings she had undergone by a sudden burst of his wrath. He knew the proper physic. "You girls want the lesson we read to skittish recruits; you shall have it. Write: '*He is now as nothing to me.*' You shall write that you hate him, if you hesitate! Why, you unreasonable slut, you have given him up; you have told him you have given him up, and what objection can you have to telling others now you have done it?"

"I was forced to it, body and soul!" cried Clotilde, sobbing and bursting into desperation out of a weak show of petulance that she had put on to propitiate him. "If I have to tell I will tell how it was. For that my heart is unchanged, and Alvan is, and will be, my lord, all the world may see. I would rather write that I hate him."

"You write, *the man is now as nothing to me!*" said her father, dashing his finger in a fiery zig-zag along the line for her pen to follow. "Or else, my girl, you've been playing us a pretty farce!" He strung himself for a mad gallop of wrath, gave her a shudder, and relapsed. "No, no, you're wiser, you're a better girl than that. Write it. I must have it written—here, come! The worst is over; the rest is child's play. Come, take the pen, I'll guide your hand."

The pen was fixed in her hand, and the first words formed. They looked such sprawling skeletons that Clotilde had the comfort of feeling sure they would be discerned as the work of compulsion. So she wrote on mechanically, solacing herself for what she did with vows of future revolt.

She had forgotten her signature to the letter to the professor when his answer arrived. The sight of the handwriting of one of her lover's faithfulest friends was like a peal of bells to her, and she tore the letter open, and began to blink and spell at a strange language, taking the frosty sentences piecemeal. He begged her to be firm in her resolution, give up Alvan and obey her parents! This man of high intelligence and cultivation wrote like a provincial schoolmistress moralizing. Though he knew the depth of her passion for Alvan, and had within the month received her lark-song of her betrothal, he, this man—if living man he could be thought—counselled her to endeavour to deserve the love and respect of her parents, alluded to Alvan's age and her better birth, approved her resolve to consult the wishes of her family, and in fine was as rank a traitor to friendship as any chronicled. Out on him! She swept him from earth.

And she had built some of her hopes on the professor! "False friend!" she cried.

She wept over Alvan for having had so false a friend.

There remained no one that could be expected to intervene with a strong arm save the baroness.

A letter of reply from that noble lady was due. Possibly she had determined not to write, but to act. She was a lady of exalted birth, a lady of the upper aristocracy, who could, if she would, bring both a social and official pressure upon the general: and it might be in motion now behind the scenes. Clotilde laid hold of her phantom baroness, almost happy under the phantom's whisper that she need not despair.

Dressed in black to the throat, she sat and waited the arrival of her phantom friend, the baroness—that angel! who proved her goodness in consenting to be the friend of Alvan's beloved, because she was the true friend of Alvan!

The mountain heights were in dusty sunlight. She had seen them day after day thinly lined on the dead sky, inviting thunder and doomed to sultriness. She looked on the garden of the house, a desert under bee and butterfly. Looking beyond the garden she perceived her father on the glaring road, and one with him, the sight of whom did not flush her cheek or spring her heart to a throb, though she pitied the poor boy:—he was useless to her, utterly.

Soon her Indian Bacchus was in the room, and alone with her, and at her feet. Her father had given him hope. He came bearing eyes that were like hope's own; and kneeling, kissing her hands, her knees, her hair, he seemed unaware that she was inanimate.

There was nothing imaginable in which he could be of use.

He was only another dust-cloud of the sultry sameness. She had been expecting a woman, a tempest choral with sky and mountain and valley-hollows as the overture to Alvan's appearance.

But he roused her. With Marko she had never felt her cowardice, and his passionately beseeching, trembling, "Will you have me?" called up the tiger in the girl; in spite of pity for his voice she retorted on her parents: "Will I have you? I? You ask me what is my will? It sounds oddly from you, seeing that I wrote to you in Lucerne what I would have, and nothing has changed in me since then, nothing! My feeling for him is unaltered, and everything you have heard of me was wrung out of me by my unhappiness. The world is dead to me and all in it that is not Sigismund Alvan. To you I am accustomed to speak every thought of my soul, and I tell you the world and all it has is dead to me, even my parents—I hate them."

Clotilde allowed him to press her hand, assuring herself she was unconscious he did so. He brought her peace, he brought her old

throning self back to her, and he was handsome and tame as a leopard-skin at her feet.

If she was doomed to reach to Alvan through him, at least she had warned him. The vision of the truthfulness of her nature threw a celestial wan beam on her guilty destiny.

She patted his head and bade him leave her, narrowing her shoulders on the breast to let it be seen that the dark household within was locked and shuttered.

Her mother could not fail to notice a change in Clotilde's wintry face now that Marko was among them; her inference tallied with his report of their interview; so she supposed the girl to have accepted more or less heartily Marko's forgiveness. This had the appearance of renewed affection; consequently her parents lost much of their fear of the besieger outside; and she was removed to the city.

Two parties were in the city, one favouring Alvan, and one abhorring the audacious Jew. Together they managed to spread incredible reports of his doings, which required little exaggeration to convince an enemy that he was a man with whom hostility could not be left to sleep. The general heard of the man's pleading his cause in all directions to get pressure put upon him, showing something like a devilish persuasiveness, Jew and demagogue though he was; for there seemed to be a feeling abroad that the interview this howling lover claimed with Clotilde ought to be granted. The latest report spoke of him as off to the general's Court for an audience of his official chief. General von Rüdiger looked to his defences, and he had sufficient penetration to see that the weakest point of them might be a submissive daughter.

A letter to Clotilde from the baroness was brought to the house by messenger. The general thought over it. The letter was by no means a seductive letter for a young lady to receive from such a person, yet he did not anticipate the whole effect it would produce when ultimately he decided to give it to her, being of course unaware of the noble style of Clotilde's address to the baroness. He stipulated that there must be no reply to it except through him, and Clotilde had the coveted letter in her hands at last. Here was the mediatrix—the veritable goddess with the sword to cut the knot! Here was the manifestation of Alvan!

She ran out to the shade of the garden walls to be by herself and in the air, and she read; and instantly her own letter to the baroness crashed sentence upon sentence, in retort, springing up with the combative instinct of a beast, to make discord of the stuff she read, and deride it. Twice she went over the lines with this defensive accompaniment; then they laid octopus-limbs on her. The writing struck chill as a glacier cave. Oh, what an answer to

that letter of fervid respectfulness, of innocent supplication for maternal affection, for some degree of benignant friendship!

The baroness coldly stated that she had arrived in the city to do her best in assisting to arrange matters which had come to a most unfortunate and impracticable pass. She alluded to her established friendship for Alvan, but it was chiefly in the interests of Clotilde that the latter was requested to perceive the necessity for bringing her relations with Dr. Alvan to an end in the discreetest manner now possible to the circumstances. This, the baroness pursued, could only be done by her intervention, and her friendship for Dr. Alvan had caused her to undertake the little agreeable office. For which purpose, promising her an exemption from anything in the nature of tragedy scenes, the baroness desired Clotilde to call on her the following day between certain stated hours of the afternoon.

That was all.

The girl in her letter to the baroness had constrained herself to write, and therefore to think, in so beautiful a spirit of ignorant innocence, that the vileness of an answer thus brutally throwing off the mask of personal disinterestedness appeared to her both an abominable piece of cynicism on the part of a scandalous old woman, and an insulting rejection of the cover of decency proposed to the creature by a daisy-minded maiden.

She scribbled a single line in receipt of the letter and signed her initials.

"The woman is hateful!" she said to her father; she was ready to agree with him about the woman and Alvan. She was ashamed to have hoped anything of the woman, and stamped down her disappointment under a vehement indignation that disfigured the man as well. Contempt of the square-jawed withered woman was too great for Clotilde to have a sensation of her driving jealousy until painful glimpses of the man made jealousy so sharp that she flew for refuge to contempt of the pair. That beldam had him back: she had him fast. Oh! let her keep him! Was he to be regretted who could make that choice?

Her father did not let the occasion slip to speak insistingly as the world opined of Alvan and his baroness. He forced her to swallow the calumny, and draw away with her family against herself through strong disgust.

On the morning after the information of Alvan's return her father, who deserved credit as a tactician, came to her to say that Alvan had sent to demand his letters and presents. The demand was unlike what her stunned heart recollected of Alvan; but a hint that the baroness was behind it, and that a refusal would bring the baroness down on her with another piece of insolence, was effective.



She dealt out the letters, arranged the presents, made up the books, pamphlets, trinkets, amulet coins, lock of black hair, and worn post-marked paper addressed in his hand to Clotilde von Rüdiger, carefully, and half as a souvenir, half with the forlorn yearning of the look of lovers when they break asunder—or of one of them—she signed inside the packet not “Clotilde,” but the gentlest title he had bestowed on her, trusting to the pathos of the word “child” to tell him that she was enforced and still true, if he should be interested in knowing it. Weak souls are much moved by having the pathos on their side. They are consoled too. Time passed, whole days: the tender reminder had no effect on him! It had been her last appeal: she reflected that she had really felt when he had not been feeling at all: and this marks a division.

She was next requested to write a letter to Alvan signifying his release by the notification of her engagement to Prince Marko. She was personally to deliver it to a gentleman who was of neither party, and who would give her a letter from Alvan in exchange, which, while assuring the gentleman she was acting with perfect freedom, she was to be under her oath not to read, and dutifully to hand to Marko, her betrothed. Her father assumed the fact of her renewed engagement to the prince, as her whole family did; strangely, she thought: it struck her as a fatality. He said that Alvan was working him great mischief, doing him deadly injury in his position, and for no just reason, inasmuch as he—a bold bad man striving to ruin the family on a point of pride—had declared that he simply considered himself bound in honour to her, only a little doubtful of her independent action at pressure; and a release of him, accompanied by her plain statement of her being under no compulsion, voluntarily the betrothed of another, would solve the difficulty. A certain old woman, it seemed, was anxious to have him formally released.

With the usual dose for such a patient of cajoleries and threats, the general begged her to comply, pulling the hands he squeezed in a way to strongly emphasize his affectionate entreaty.

She went straight to Marko, consenting that he should have Alvan's letter unopened (she cared not to read it, she said), on his promise to give it up to her within a stated period.

She wrote the letter to Alvan, feeling in the words that said she was plighted to Prince Marko, that she said, and clearly said, the baroness is now relieved of a rival, and may take you! She felt it so acutely as to feel that she said nothing else.

Severances are accomplished within the heart stroke by stroke: within the craven's heart each new step resulting from a blow is temporarily an absolute severance. Her letter to Alvan written, she thought not tenderly of him but of the prince, who had always loved a young woman, and was unhampered by an old one. The composi-

tion of the letter, and the sense that the thing was done, made her stony to Alvan.

On the introduction of Colonel von Tresten, whose name she knew, but was dull to it, she delivered him her letter with unaffected composure, received from him Alvan's in exchange, left the room as if to read it, and after giving it unopened to Marko, composedly reappeared before the colonel to state that the letter could make no difference, and all was to be as she had written it.

The colonel bowed stiffly.

It would have comforted her to have been allowed to say: "I cease to be the rival of that execrable harridan!"

He had departed before Clotilde heard a step.

Immediately thereupon it came to her mind that Tresten was one of Alvan's bosom friends. How, then, could he be of neither party? And her father spoke of him as an upright rational man, who, although strangely enough he entertained, as it appeared, something like a profound reverence for the baroness, could see and confess the downright impossibility of the marriage Alvan proposed. Naturally, she must be hated by the man reverencing the baroness. If ever man had *executioner* stamped on his face, it was he! Like the professor, nay, like Alvan himself, he would not see that she was the victim of tyranny: none of her signs would they see. They judged of her by her inanimate frame in the hands of her torturers breaking her on the wheel. She called to mind a fancy that she had looked at Tresten out of her deadness earnestly for just one instant: more than an instant she could not, beneath her father's vigilant watch and into those repellant cold blue butcher eyes. Tresten might clearly have understood the fleeting look. What were her words! what her deeds! The look was the truth revealed—her soul. It begged for life like an infant: and the man's face was an iron rock in reply! No wonder—he worshipped the baroness! So great was Clotilde's hatred of him that it overflowed the image of Alvan, who called him friend, and deputed him to act as friend. Such blindness, weakness, folly, on the part of one of Alvan's pretensions, incurred a shade of her contempt.

The letter of the baroness and the visit of the woman's admirer had vitiated Clotilde's blood. She was not only not mistress of her thoughts, she was undirected either in thinking or wishing by any desires, except that the people about her should caress and warm her, until, with no gaze backward, she could say good-bye to them, full of meaning as a good-bye to the covered grave, as unreluctantly as the swallow quits her eaves-nest in autumn: and they were to learn that they were chargeable with the sequel of the history. There would be a sequel, she was sure, if it came only to punish them for the cruelty which thwarted her timid anticipation of it by

pressing on her natural instinct at all costs to bargain for an escape from pain, and making her simulate contentment to cheat her muffled wound and them.

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#### CHAPTER XI.

HIS love meantime was the mission and the burden of Alvan, and he was not ashamed to speak of it and plead for it; and the pleading was not done troubadourishly, in soft flute-notes, as for easement of tuneful emotions beseeching sympathy. He was liker to a sturdy beggar demanding his crust to support life, of corporations that can be talked into admitting the rights of man, and he vollied close logical argumentation on the basis of the laws in defence of his most natural hunger, thunder in his breast and bright new heavenly morning alternating or clashing while the electric wires and post smote him with evil tidings of Clotilde, and the success of his efforts caught her back to him.

It was justly matter for triumph, due to an extraordinary fervour of pleading upon a plain statement of the case, that Alvan should return from his foray bringing with him an emissary deputed by General von Rüdiger's official chief to see that the young lady, so passionately pursued by the foremost of his time in political genius and oratory, was not subjected to parental tyranny, but stood free to exercise her choice. Of the few who would ever have thought of attempting, a diminished number would have equalled that feat. Alvan was no vain boaster; he could gain the ears of grave men as well as mobs and women. The interview with Clotilde was therefore assured to him, and the distracting telegrams and letters forwarded to him by Tresten during his absence were consequently stabs already promising to heal. They were brutal stabs: her packet of his letters and presents on his table made them bleed afresh, and the odd scrawl of the couple of words on the paper set him wondering at the imbecile irony of her calling herself "The child" in accompaniment to such an act, for it reminded him of his epithet for her, while it dealt him a tremendous blow; it seemed senselessly malign, perhaps flippant, as she could be, he knew. She could be anything weak and shallow when out of his hands; she had recently proved it: still, in view of the interview, and on the tide of his labours to come to that wished end, he struck his breast to brave himself with a good hopeful spirit. "Once mine!" he said.

Moreover, to the better account, Clotilde's English friend had sent him the lines addressed to her, in which the writer dwelt on her love of him with a whimper of the voice of love.

Before visiting his Mentor, Alvan applied for an audience of

General von Rüdiger, who granted it at once to a man coming so well armed to claim the privilege. Tresten walked part of the way to the general's house with him, and then turned aside to visit the baroness.

Lucie, Baroness von Orefeldt was one of those persons who, after a probationary term in the character of woman, have become men, but of whom offended man, amazed by the flowering up of that hard rough jaw from the tender blooming promise of a petticoat, finds it impossible to imagine they had once on a sweet spring time the sex's gentleness and charm of aspect. Mistress Flanders, breeched and hatted like a man, pulling at the man's short pipe and heartily invoking frowzy deities, committing a whole sackful of unfeminine etcetera, is an impenetrable wall to her maiden past; yet there was an opening day when nothing of us moustached her. She was a clear-faced girl and mother of young blushes before the years were at their work of transformation upon her countenance and behind her bosom. The years were rough artists: perhaps she was combative, and fought them for touching her ungallantly; and that perhaps was her first manly step. Baroness Lucie was of high birth, a wife openly maltreated, a woman of breeding, but with a man's head, capable of inspiring man-like friendships, and of entertaining them. She was radically-minded, strongly of the Radical profession of faith, and a correspondent of revolutionary chiefs; both the trusted adviser and devoted slave of him whose future glorious career she measured by his abilities. Rumour blew out a candle and left the wick to smoke in relation to their former intercourse. The Philistines revenged themselves on an old aristocratic Radical and a Jew demagogue with the weapon that scandal hands to virtue. They are virtuous or nothing, and they must show that they are so when they can; and best do they show it by publicly dishonouring the friendship of a man and a woman; for to be in error in malice does not hurt them, but they profoundly feel that they are fools if they are duped.

She was aware of the recent course of events; she had, as she protested, nothing to accuse herself of, and she could hardly part her lips without a self-exculpation.

"It will fall on me!" she said to Tresten, in her emphatic tone. "He will have his interview with the girl. He will subdue the girl. He will manacle himself in the chains he makes her wear. You will see. She cannot forgive me for not pretending to enter into her enthusiasm. She will make him believe I conspired against her. What have I not done to aid him! At his instance, I went to the archbishop, to implore one of the princes of the Church for succour. I knelt to an ecclesiastic! I did a ludicrous and a shameful thing, knowing it in advance to be a barren farce. I obeyed his

wish. The tale will be laughable. I obeyed him. I would not have it on my conscience that the commission of any deed ennomie, however unwonted, was refused by me to serve Alvan. You are my witness, Tresten, that for a young woman of common honesty I was ready to pack and march. He has never understood women—cannot read them. Could a girl like that keep a secret? She's a Cressida—a creature of every camp! Not an idea of the cause he is vowed to! not a sentiment in harmony with it! She is viler than any of those Berlin light o' loves on the eve of Jena. Stable as a Viennese dancing slut home from Mariazell! This is the girl—transparent to the whole world! But his heart is on her, and he must have her, I suppose; and I shall have to bear her impertinences, or sign my demission and cease to labour for the cause—at least in conjunction with Alvan. And how otherwise? He is the life of it, and I am doomed to uselessness."

Tresten nodded a protesting assent.

"Not quite so bad," he said, with the encouraging smile which would persuade a friend to put away bilious visions. "Of the two, if you two are divisible, we could better dispense with him. She'll slip him, she's an eel. Of every camp! as you say. She was not worth carrying off. I consented to try it to quiet him. He sets no bounds to his own devotion to friendship, and we must take pattern by him. It's a mad love."

"A Titan's love!" the baroness exclaimed, groaning. "The woman!—no matter how or at what cost! I can admire that primal barbarism of a great man's passion, which counts for nothing the stains and accidents fraught with extinction for it to meaner men. It reads ill, it sounds badly, but there is grand stuff in it. See the royalty of the man for whom no degradation of the woman can be, so long as it brings her to him! He—that great *he*—covers all. He burns her to ashes, and takes the flame—the pure spirit of her—to himself. Were men like him!—they would have less to pardon. It is the snake's nature of the girl which distracts him; she is in his blood. Had she come to me, I would have helped her to cure him; or had you succeeded in carrying her off, I would have stood by their union; or, were she a different creature, and not the shifty thing she is, I could desire him to win her. A peasant girl, a workman's daughter, a tradesman's, a professional singer, actress, artist—I would have given my hand to one of these in good faith, thankful to her! As it is, I have acted in obedience to his wishes, without idle remonstrances—I know him too well; and with as much cordiality as I could put into an evil service. She will drag him down, down, Tresten!"

"They are not joined yet," said the colonel.

"She has him by the worst half of him. Her correspondence

with me—her letter to excuse her insolence, which she does like a prim chit—throws a light on the girl she is. This girl will drain him of all his nobler fire.”

“She shows mighty little of the inclination,” said the colonel.

“To you. But when they come together? I know his voice!”

The colonel protested his doubts of their coming together.

“And he cajoled Count Hollinger to send an envoy to see him righted!” the baroness ejaculated. “Hollinger is not a sentimental person, I assure you, and not likely to have taken a step apparently hostile to the Rüdigers, if he had not been extraordinarily shaken by Alvan.”

Late in the day Alvan was himself able to inform her that he had overcome Clotilde’s father after a struggle of hours. The general had not consented to everything: he had granted enough, evidently in terror of the man who had captured Count Hollinger; and it was arranged that Trcsten and Störchel, the count’s deputy, were to wait on Clotilde next morning, and hear from her mouth whether she yielded or not to Alvan’s request to speak with her alone before the official interview in the presence of the notary, when she was publicly to state her decision and freedom of choice, according to Count Hollinger’s amicable arrangement through his envoy.

“She will see me—and the thing is done!” said Alvan. “But I have worked for it, I have worked! I have been talking to-day for six hours uninterruptedly at a stretch to her father, who reminds me of a caged bear I saw at a travelling menagerie, and the beast would perform none of his evolutions for the edification of us lads till his keeper touched a particular pole, and the touch of it set him to work like the winding of a key. Hollinger’s name was my magic wand with the general. I could get no sense from him, nor any acquiescence in sense, till I called up Hollinger, when the general’s alacrity was immediately that of the bear, or a little boy castigated for his share of original sin. They have been hard at her, the whole family! and I shall want the two hours I stipulated for to the full. What do you say?—come, I wager I do it within one hour! They have stockaded her pretty closely, and it will be some time before I shall get her to have a clear view of me behind her defences; but an hour’s an age with a woman. Clotilde? I wager I have her on her knees in half an hour! These notions of duty, and station, and her fiddle-de-dee betrothal to that Danube osier with Indian-idol eyes, count for so much mist. She was and is mine, I swear to strike to her heart in ten minutes! But, madam, if not, you may pronounce me incapable of conquering any woman, or of taking an absolute impression of facts. I say I will do it! I am insane if I may not judge from antecedents that my voice, my touch, my face, will draw her to me at one signal—at a look! I am prepared to stake my

reason on her running to me before I speak a word :—and I will not beckon. I promise to fold my arms and simply look.”

“Your task of two hours, then, will be accomplished, I compute, in about half a minute—but it is on the assumption that she consents to see you alone,” said the baroness.

Alvan opened his eyes. He perceived in his deep sagaciousness woman at the bottom of her remark, and replied: “You will know Clotilde in time. She points to me straight; but of course if you agitate the compass the needle’s all in a tremble: and the vessel is weak, I admit, but the instinct’s positive. To doubt it would upset my understanding. I have had three distinct experiences of my influence over her, and each time, curiously, each time exactly in proportion to *my* degree of resolve—but, baroness, I tell you it was *minutely* in proportion to it; weighed down to the grain!—each time did that girl respond to me with a similar degree of earnestness. As I waned, she waned; as I heated, so did she, and from spark-heat to flame and to furnace-heat!”

“A refraction of the rays according to the altitude of the orb,” observed the baroness in a tone of assent, and she smiled to herself at the condition of the man who could accept it for that.

He did not protest beyond presently a transient frown as at a bad taste on his tongue, and a rather petulant objection to her use of analogies, which he called the sapping of language. She forbore to remind him in retort of his employment of metaphor when the figure served his purpose.

“Marvellously,” cried Alvan, “marvellously that girl answered to my lead! and to-morrow—you’ll own me right—I must double the attraction. I shall have to hand her back to her people for twenty-four hours, and the dose must be doubled to keep her fast and safe. You see I read her flatly. I read and am charitable. I have a perfect philosophical tolerance. I’m in the mood to-day of Horace hymning one of his fair Grecks.”

“No, no! that is a comparison past my endurance,” interposed the baroness. “Friend Sigismund, you have no philosophy, you never had any; and the small crow and croon of Horace would be the last you could take up. It is the chanted philosophy of comfortable stipendiaries, retired merchants, gouty patients on a restricted allowance of the grape, old men who have given over thinking, and young men who never had feeling—the philosophy of swine grunting their carmen as they turn to fat in the sun. Horace avaunt! You have too much poetry in you to quote that unsanguine sensualist for your case. His love distressed his liver, and gave him a jaundice once or twice, but where his love yields its poor ghost to his philosophy, yours begins its labours. That everlasting Horace! He is the versifier of the cushioned enemy, not of us, who march along

flinty ways: the piper of the bourgeois in soul, poet of the conforming unbolievers!"

"Pyrrha, Lydia, Lalage, Chlce, Glycera," Alvan murmured, amorous of the musical names. "Clotilde is a Greek of one of the Isles, an Ionian. I see her in the Horatian ode as in one of those old round shield-mirrors which give you a speck of the figure on a silver-solar beam, brilliant, not much bigger than a dewdrop. And so should a man's heart reflect her! Take her on the light in it,—she is perfection. We won't take her in the shady part or on your flat looking-glasses. There never was necessity for accuracy of line in the portraiture of women. The idea of them is all we want: it's the best of them. You will own she's Greek; she's a Perinthian, Andrian, Olynthian, Samian, Messenian. One of those delicious girls in the New Comedy, I remember, was called *THE POSTPONER*, *THE DEFERRER*, or, as we might say, *THE TO-MORROWER*. There you have Clotilde: she's a *TO-MORROWER*. You climb the peak of to-morrow, and to see her at all you must see her on the next peak: but she leaves you her promise to hug on every yesterday, and that keeps you going. Ay, so long as we have patience! Feeding on a young woman's promises of yesterday in one's fortieth year!—it must end to-morrow, though I kill something."

Kill, he meant, the aerial wild spirit he could admire as her character, when he had the prospect of extinguishing it in his grasp.

"What do you meditate killing?" said the baroness.

"The fool of the years behind me," he replied, "and entering on my forty-first a sage."

"To be the mate and equal of your companion?"

"To prove I have had good training under the wisest to act as her guide and master."

If she——" the baroness checked her exclamation, saying: "She declined to come to me. I would have plumbed her for some solid ground, something to rest one's faith on. Your Pyrrhas, Glyceras, and others of the like, were not stable persons for a man of our days to bind his life to one of them. Harness is harness, and a light yoke-fellow can make a proud career deviate."

"But I give her a soul!" said Alvan. "I am the wine, and she the crystal cup. She has avowed it again and again. You read her as she is when away from me. Then she is a reed, a weed, what you will; she is unfit to contend when she stands alone. But when I am beside her, when we are together—the moment I have her at arms' length she will be part of me by the magic I have seen each time we encountered. She knows it well."

"She may know it too well."

"For what?" Ho frowned.

"For the chances of your meeting."



"You think it possible she will refuse?" A blackness passing to lividness crossed his face. He fetched a big breath. "Then finish my history, shut up the book; I am a phantom of a man, and everything written there is imposture. I can account for all that she has done hitherto, but not that she would refuse to see me. Not that she should refuse to see me now when I come armed to demand it! Refuse? But I have done my work, done what I said I would do. I stand in my order of battle, and she refuses? No! I stake my head on it! I have not a clod's perception, I have not a spark of sense to distinguish me from a flat-headed Lapp, if she refuses—call me a mountebank who has gained his position by clever tumbling; a lucky gamester; whatever plays blind with chance." He started up in agitation. "Lucie! I am a grinning skull without a brain if that girl refuses! She will not." He took his hat to leave, adding, to seem rational to the cool understanding he addressed: "She will not refuse; I am bound to think so in common respect for myself; I have done tricks to make me appear a raging ape if she—oh! she cannot, she will not refuse. Never! I have eyes, I have wits, I am not tottering yet on my grave—or it's blindly, if I am. I have my clear judgment, I am not an imbecile. It seems to me a foolish suspicion that she can possibly refuse. Her manners are generally good; freakish, but good in the main. Perhaps she takes a sting . . . but there is no sting here. It would be bad manners to refuse;—to say nothing of . . . she has a heart! Well, then, good manners and right feeling forbid her to refuse. She is an exceedingly intelligent girl, and I half fear I have helped you to a wrong impression of her. You will really appreciate her wit; you will indeed; believe me, you will. We pardon nonsense in a girl. Married, she will put on the matron with becoming decency, and I am responsible for her then; I stand surety for her then; when I have her with me I warrant her mine and all mine, head and heels, at a whistle, like the Cossack's horse. I fancy that at forty I am about as young as most young men. I promise her another forty manful working years. Are you dubious of that?"

"I nod to you from the palsied summit of ninety," said the baroness.

Alvan gave a short laugh and stammered excuses for his naked egoism, comparing him to a forester who has sharpened such an appetite in toiling to slay his roe that he can think of nothing but the fire preparing the feast. "Hymen and things hymenaeal!" he said, laughing at himself for resuming the offence on the apology for it. "I could talk with interest of a trousseau. I have debated in my mind with Parliamentary acrimony about a choice of wedding-presents. As she is legally free to bestow her hand on me—and only a brute's horns could contest the fact—she may decide to be

married the day after to-morrow, and get the trousseau in Paris. She has a turn for startling. I can imagine that if I proposed a run for it she would be readier to spring to be on the road with me than in acquiescing in a quiet arrangement about a ceremonial day; partly because, in the first case, she would throw herself and the rest of the adventure on me, at no other cost than the enjoyment of one of her impulses; and in the second, because she is a girl who would require a full band of the best Berlin orchestra in perpetual play to keep up her spirits among her people during the preparations for espousing a democrat, demagogue and Jew, of a presumed inferior station by birth to her own. Give Momus a sister, Clotilde is the lady! I know her. I would undertake to put a spell on her and keep her contented on a frontier—not Russian, any barbarous frontier where there is a sun. She must have sun. One might wrap her in sables, but sun is best. She loves it best, though she looks remarkably well in sables. Never shall I forget . . . she is *frileuse*, and shivers into them! There are Frenchmen who could paint it—only Frenchmen. Our artists, no. She is very French. Born in France she would have been a matchless Parisienne. Oh! she's a riddle, of course. I don't pretend to spell every letter of her. The returning of my presents is odd. No, I maintain that she is a coward acting under domination, and there's no other way of explaining the puzzle. I was out of sight, they bullied her, and she yielded—bewilderingly, past comprehension it seems—cat!—until you remember what she's made of—she's a reed. Now I reappear armed with powers to give her a free course, and she, *that abject* whom you beheld recently renouncing me, is, you will see, the young Aurora she was when she came striking at my door on the upper Alp. That was a morning! That morning is Clotilde till my eyes turn over! She is all young heaven and the mountains for me! She's the filmy light above the mountains that weds white snow and sky. By the way, I dreamt last night she was half a woman, half a tree, and her hair was like a dead yew-bough, which is as you know of a brown burnt-out colour, suitable to the popular conception of widows. She stood, and whatever turning you took, you struck back on her. Whether *my* widow, I can't say: she must first be my wife. Oh, for to-morrow!"

"What sort of evening is it?" said the baroness.

"A Mont Blanc evening: I saw him as I came along," Alvan replied, and seized his hat to be out to look on the sovereign mountain again. They touched hands. He promised to call in the forenoon next day.

"Be cool," she counselled him.

"Oh!" He flung back his head, making light of the crisis. "After all, it's only a girl. But, you know, what I set myself to win! . . . The thing's too small—I have been at such pains

about it that I should be ridiculous if I allowed myself to be beaten. There is no other reason for the trouble we're at, except that, as I have said a thousand times, she suits me. No man can be cooler than I."

"Keep so," said the baroness.

He walked to where the strenuous blue lake, finding outlet, propels a shoulder, like a bright-muscled athlete in action, and makes the Rhone-stream. There he stood for an hour, dishevelled by the limpid liquid tumult, inspirited by the glancing volumes of a force that knows no abatement, and is the skiey Alps behind, the great historic citted plains ahead.

His meditation ended with a resolution half in the form of a prayer (to mixed deities undefined) never to ask for a small thing any more if this one were granted him!

He had won it, of course, having brought all his powers to bear on the task: and he rejoiced in winning it: his heart leapt, his imagination spun radiant webs of colour: but he was a little ashamed of his frenzies, though he did not distinctly recall them; he fancied he had made some noise, loud or not, because his intentions were so pure that it was infamous to thwart them. At a certain age honest men made sacrifice of their liberty to society, and he had been ready to perform the duty of husbanding a woman. A man should have a wife and rear children, not to be forgotten in the land, and to help mankind by transmitting to future times qualities he has proved priceless: he thought of the children, and yearned to the generations of men physically and morally through them.

This was his apology to the world for his distantly-recollected excesses of temper.

Was she so small a thing? Not if she succumbed. She was petty, vexatious, irritating, stinging, while she resisted: she cast an evil beam on his reputation, strength and knowledge of himself, and roused the giants of his nature to discharge missiles at her, justified as they were by his pure intentions and the approbation of society. But he had a broad full heart for the woman who would come to him, forgiving her, uplifting her, richly endowing her. No meanness of heart was in him. He lay down at night thinking of Clotilde in an abandonment of tenderness. "To-morrow! you bird of to-morrow!" he let fly his good-night to her.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

THE true character of the Irish crisis is now clear and well defined to any one who views it in the light of previous movements of a similar aim and description. What we see is an agrarian agitation, originally promoted by men who had failed in their attempts to persuade the Irish peasantry to fling themselves in earnest into a political agitation. The calculation of the founders of the Land League proved correct, and the earlier aims of their confederacy have rapidly received the adherence of the great bulk of the tenant-farmers. Even Ulster, while cursing the prophets of agrarian reform, has taken up their cry. Agrarian revolts are always among the most formidable of social perturbations. Those who make them are the most ignorant and inexperienced part of the population. Such revolts spring from the fiercest of instincts, self-preservation, and the desire in its most urgent form for the rudiments of material well-being. In the history of agrarian revolts it would be difficult—in Ireland it would be impossible—to find one that has been on the whole less ferocious than the revolt of this year. There have been many detestable incidents, and if we measure their atrocity by the proportions which similar incidents would have in Suffolk or Yorkshire, they would be alarming indeed. Of course no sensible man thinks of adopting any such standard in the case of Ireland. We have to compare the agitation of to-day with previous agitations in the same community. If we do that, then we see that where there were a hundred assassinations fifty years ago to-day there is one, and where there are a hundred acts of outrage to-day there were at the last great outbreak more than a thousand. The whole scale of violence has been reduced to a fraction of what it was.

This is a very striking peculiarity, and to what is it due? It is obviously due to the same cause which gave a new and an improved character to the struggle of labour in England. It is due to organization. Whatever may be said either of the ultimate objects of that organization or of the character of the politicians who have devised and controlled it, what cannot be denied is, that it has so far succeeded in mitigating to a considerable degree the wild fury, the unbridled cruelty, that has hitherto marked all such movements both in Ireland and other countries. All humane and reasonable men do well to be angry with the acts of fury and cruelty that have recently been perpetrated in spite of organization. But anger does not much help us in dealing with these great popular storms,

any more than it would help the navigator in a tempest on the ocean. What we have to recognise is that the sources of commotion have been for once reduced within more moderate bounds than on any previous outbreak.

Much has been said about the system of "terrorism" which deprives unpopular persons, landlords and others, of the benefits of social life. People speak as if this were a new feature in Ireland. It is not at all new. Any one who informs himself of the state of Ireland in 1834, will find that in the disturbed parts of the country this particular exercise of public opinion was as rife and as effective then as it is now. To bring collective opinion to bear is the natural and historic resource of all bodies of men who cannot bring force to bear. The Pope is said, according to the last reports, to have spoken very strongly against Boycotting, but in fact, one of the strongest and most frequently used of all the weapons in the armoury of the Pope's predecessors was that form of Boycotting which was dreaded under the name of excommunication. In the long struggle of the artisans to secure the right of combination in England, the same method was habitually resorted to. We are not concerned to pass judgment on any particular employment of this dangerous engine; but what is certain is that it is an improvement on murder. It is said that action of this kind is not spontaneous in Ireland, but is due to the pressure put upon the peasants by a few "idle loafing spouters." *Credat Judæus.* So we used to be told that the great industrial strikes were entirely the work of a paid secretary or two, who issued decrees from a pot-house, and fattened in idleness at the cost of their dupes. It is true that there might have been no agitation in Ireland if there had been no leaders. But the leaders would have found no following if the grievances to which they appealed had not been real, substantial, and present. It is childish to doubt it. We may say, if we please, that the Land League found a voice for a passionate feeling of wrong and injustice that might otherwise have lain silent for a time longer. But any one who seriously asserts either that the Irish peasant has no grievance, or that he is not bitterly conscious of it, or that he will miss any opportunity of making his masters aware of it, must be ignorant of Irish history even for the last fifty years, as well as of the facts of life in Ireland to-day, and is not worth reasoning with.

It is very convenient to the enemies of Reform in Ireland to distract attention and confuse the public mind by dwelling on the enormous and undeniable difficulties that stand in the way of Reform. This move as a piece of obstructive tactics is obvious enough. It is true that the social condition of Ireland has now become so grie-

vously bad, that it may well seem desperate. If you enable the peasants to root themselves in the soil, we are told, you are encouraging propagation and subdivision, and sowing the seeds of beggary in perpetuity. By lessening the authority of the landlord you are removing the one chance of improving agriculture, and the last hope of leading the population to better habits. If you lend ever so many millions of money, the interest will practically be paid to English capitalists, and this will in effect reproduce on a larger scale the drain of wealth and all the other evils of absenteeism. Everybody says that nothing short of Free Sale (the third of the three F.'s) will satisfy any party; yet free sale will be another way of enhancing the mischief of competitive rents, and will equally withdraw capital from the soil. In another field, the proper remedy would seem to be the extension of local self-government, but you cannot resort to measures in that direction, because you cannot find residents in whom to vest local authority. If in despair you say that the Irish ought to be left to themselves, even that last resource is cut off by the assumed certainty that the violent hatreds of religion and race would instantly burst out into flames of civil war. Every proposal in short is met by an objection which not only seems to be, but really is, a good and solid objection so far as it goes.

There are some situations so complicated with evil that no remedy appears possible. Nobody can yet pretend that this is now definitely established in the case of Ireland, for nobody can pretend that there has been any great and comprehensive attempt to provide a remedy. If we persist in looking only at the difficulties that confront any and every proposal to amend the land system, or the system of local administration, it is easy to lose heart. But it is not allowed to the statesman to lose heart. The task must be attempted, and if it is only attempted in vigorous earnest half the difficulties will, as usual, vanish. So long as politicians in the United States thought only of the practical difficulties of the abolition of slavery, Emancipation was justly regarded as hopeless. But time and circumstances deprived them of choice. There came a day when Emancipation was necessary. Then the practical difficulties of free labour were forgotten, and were in no small measure overcome. The condition of the Southern States is not exactly that of Paradise now, but every impartial statesman regards it as an improvement on the Inferno of the days of slavery. If England emancipates the peasantry of Ireland, that will not bring poverty and degradation to an end in a day. But it may do much; it must do something; and in either case that the enterprise should be undertaken is inevitable. If we once clearly admit that, then we shall be less willing to waste precious time in denouncing the men who have forced the duty

upon us; or in finding out how, while seeming to perform the duty, we can in substance evade it.

As for the disorder that exists, nothing can be more futile than the steady attempt of some politicians to bring that out into an exclusive prominence as the great central fact of the situation. What is the record of the men who follow this discouraging and sinister course? Are they not the same men who have lost verdict after verdict in the assize of contemporary history? Do we not recognise exactly the same publicists who were for the slaveholding States in the great struggle in America; who withstood the full recognition of the rights of workmen to combine in Great Britain; who thought that everything was to be said for the Irish Church; and who persisted up to the eleventh hour that no change should be made in the representation of the people? They are the same men, because the present crisis in Ireland is an issue between the same principles, and is in the same way and sense a struggle for Justice. Yes, it will be said, for justice to the tenant, but at the cost of injustice to the landlord. There is no reason why this should be so. Cases of temporary hardship must inevitably occur to individuals, but no stop towards the introduction of a new and better social order has ever been taken without inflicting some suffering on those whose lives are bound up with the old and worse order. This is the nature of things, and is part of the penalty that has to be paid for every wrong system, when the time has come for it to pass away. In devising a new system, that will be best and most likely to endure which involves least hardship, and gives least shock to vested interests. But it is the many, and not the few, who have to be first considered. This consideration for the many, when their interests clash with those of the few, is now called by people who use words loosely, Communism, Socialism, and the like; but if the utilitarian standard of morals means anything, it is precisely this which constitutes Political Justice. If a great measure of justice and order comes out of the present disorder, nobody will say that it has been too dearly purchased. "It is in the eternal decrees of providence," Mr. Bright once said, "that so long as the population of a country are prevented from the possibility of possessing any portion of their native soil by legal enactments and legal chicanery, then outrages should be committed, were they but as beacons and warnings to call the legislature to a sense of the duties it owed to the country which it governed."

A Dublin pamphleteer has done well to remind us in the heats of the present crisis of the well-known words of a wise and great statesman,

uttered in a more momentous crisis in the last century. "I have constantly observed," says Burko, "that the generality of people are fifty years, at least, behindhand in their politics. . . . In books everything is settled for them, without the exertion of any considerable diligence or sagacity. For which reason men are wise with but little reflexion, and good with little self-denial, in the business of all times except their own. We are very uncorrupt and tolerably enlightened judges of the transactions of past ages; where no passions deceive, and where the whole train of circumstances, from the trifling cause to the tragical event, is set in an orderly series before us. Few are the partisans of departed tyranny; and to be a Whig in the business of an hundred years ago, is very consistent with every advantage of present servility." Just as applicable is this other quotation from the same far-seeing man. "I am not one of those who think that the people are never in the wrong. They have been so, frequently and outrageously, both in other countries and in this. But I do say, that in all disputes between them and their rulers, *the presumption is at least upon a par in favour of the people.* Experience may perhaps justify me in going further. *When popular discontents have been very prevalent, it may well be affirmed and supported, that there has been generally something found amiss in the Constitution, or in the conduct of Government.*"

No doubt there are those in England who would agree that the present popular discontents in Ireland are the result of something amiss in the conduct of Government; that is to say, they contend, with some force, that the Government ought to have suppressed the signs of popular discontent. We have no wish to press into details a comparison between the Irish revolt and the colonial revolt a hundred years ago. But it is clear that the temper of those who, a hundred years ago, were bent on restoring law and order in Massachusetts before they would consider the question of American taxation, is the temper of those to-day who are clamouring for repression in Ireland in the hope of stifling in the dark silence of arbitrary rule the voice of popular discontent. It is no easy thing, however, for men to recognise their own identity with the "partisans of departed tyranny," and those who are "fifty years behindhand in their politics" are notoriously the last to know it. It is so easy to forget in the circumstances of our own time and our own country, what we in England are so singularly prompt to remember about past ages and in foreign societies, that in disputes between the people and their rulers, "the presumption is at least upon a par in favour of the people."

Not many years ago the application of this truth to Ireland would have seemed hopeless. Political power in the governing country was still in effect in the hands of the territorial oligarchy. There is



no more odious chapter in the history of class selfishness than the chapter which describes the dealings of the British parliament with the tillers of the Irish soil. We are not now thinking of the transactions of the last century, but of those of our own generation. The story of the Irish Land Question since Catholic emancipation, has just been told in an admirably simple and unpretending volume, which is all the more striking by reason of its simplicity.<sup>1</sup> The bare record of the facts is the most effective condemnation of the political landlords. Such a curious mixture of carelessness and selfishness is almost unique in the history of misrule. As has often been said, if the tenants had actually been slaves, the very selfishness of their masters would have made them more careful of their property. If, on the other hand, the Anglo-Irish landlords and the Irish people had been left to fight it out, the relations of landlord and tenant would have been settled long ago. As Mr. O'Brien says, the landlords would either have been compelled to do their duty or they would have been exterminated. But "the landlords had England at their back, and her power and arms were used, not in ameliorating the conduct of the Irish tenant, but in supporting and maintaining a land system which has been fatal to Ireland." Take this one fact that, for twenty-eight years—a whole generation—after the Devon Commission had reported, its recommendations remained still unheeded. The Devon Commission was composed exclusively of landlords, and still they were constrained to express "their strong sense of the patient endurance which the [Irish] labouring classes have generally exhibited under sufferings greater than the people of any other country in Europe have to sustain." What was the remedy? "Although it is certainly desirable," says the report, "that the fair remuneration to which a tenant is entitled for his outlay of capital or of labour in permanent improvements, should be secured to him by voluntary agreement rather than by compulsion of law; yet, upon a review of all the evidence furnished to us upon the subject, we believe that some legislative measure will be found necessary in order to give efficacy to such agreements, as well as to provide for those cases which cannot be settled by private arrangement. We earnestly hope that the Legislature will be disposed to entertain a bill of this nature, and to pass it into law with as little delay as is consistent with a full discussion of its principles and details." With as little delay! It is not done even now.

An attempt was at once made (1845) by Lord Stanley (the late Lord Derby) to carry out the recommendation. The Bill which he introduced, he defended by the excellent principle that "the remedy

(1) *The Parliamentary History of the Irish Land Question from 1829 to 1869.* By R. Barry O'Brien. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

for the evils of Ireland is not emigration, but a system under which the tenant would be induced to invest his labour and capital in the land." Though brought in and energetically pressed by one of the most powerful members of a Conservative cabinet, the measure was finally abandoned in consequence of the hostility of the Lords. When the Conservatives went out, the Whigs came in. The Whigs left the land question and the recommendation of the Devon Commissioners where they found them. They passed no remedial measure whatever. But they lost no time in suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and their last word before the periodic revolution of the great party fly-wheel had again flung them out of power, was that the thing to do was to put agitation down by "the strong arm." (O'Brien, p. 90). And so it has gone on until the present time, when there is too much reason to apprehend another Coercion Bill and another inadequate Land Bill.

Two things, however, have come out clearly during the last month or two. One is that the Irish have at last discovered effective means, parliamentary and other, of keeping their question before the nation that professes to govern them. The other is that the political condition of England makes it more and more impossible that we should govern Ireland on the old terms. With democratic constituencies such as those which now possess decisive power in Great Britain, and are incessantly animated by democratic ideas and sentiments in a growing degree, the day has gone by when Ireland could be held down by mere force. The same moral strain which suddenly destroyed slavery in the United States will destroy the old system of slovenly misrule in Ireland. The hypocrisy of the situation is too strong for the moral sense of free men. The Irish are not popular with the great industrial communities of England, but there is a feeling of political justice, an instinct of equal government, and a sympathy for labouring populations, which will not endure the sight almost on their own soil of rents collected by bayonets. It is not impossible that in a sudden blaze of passion the English constituencies might allow the introduction of some sort of "strong" government into Ireland. But the passion would not last. Democratic principles would speedily revive. And the strong government would vanish as swiftly as it had arisen. To talk of the spirit of the age sounds vague; but the spirit of the age is a reality, and in a country like England it is finally and absolutely against governing a nation by force in the interests of a class. And the spirit of the age, moreover, is against all positions where one nation undertakes to impress its own social ideals on another. If the Irish will not have our land system, in the long run it will be found that we cannot make them have it. Our own principles will prevent

it. Every strong political tendency of the time is against it. The new popular constitution of this country—and it must inevitably become more and not any less popular within the next four or five years—will give to these tendencies a more expansive and irresistible force. The territorial oligarchy will do well to agree with their Irish adversaries while they are yet on the way with them. Each postponement will only make the final reckoning harder. The true danger of the hour is lest the Ministry should fail to see the full force of this, and should allow one more opportunity of a direct settlement to pass away unused.

It is easy to see the sources of this danger. The landlords are strong in the Government, strong in the House of Commons, and omnipotent in the House of Lords. The situation has been described with the acuteness of bitter enmity by Mr. Parnell himself. "I wish to warn you," Mr. Parnell said to an audience at Waterford three weeks ago, "not to expect too much from the present Parliament. I was a very careful observer of the events of last Session, when Mr. Gladstone was trying to pass a miserable little Bill of one clause, called the Compensation for Disturbance Bill; and I said then that he had not the forces behind him to carry any measure of real value to this country. He has got in the first place to contend with the Whig territorial influence in his Cabinet before he even drafts his Bill, and so from the very start any Bill that he brings forward must be a compromise with the great Whigs of England and the Irish landowners. If he brings it into the House or Commons he finds himself face to face with a determined and powerful Tory obstructive party, and the Whigs in his party he is scarcely sure of for twenty-four hours together. Consequently, to secure the passage of his inception, he has to agree to still further compromises; and when at length his Bill struggles into the House of Lords, if he hopes to carry it through, it must be at the price of still further compromise there." Every English politician recognises the disheartening truthfulness of the picture. The only consideration that may be expected to weigh on the other side against all these reasons for compromise, is that a weak Bill will inevitably leave the Land League stronger than ever. A weak Bill, moreover, will also play into the hands of those whose ultimate aim is the separation of Ireland from England. It will prove effectually to the Irish, who have hitherto listened to the statement with no very lively interest, that there really is then no hope of procuring a remedy for their social mischief from a British parliament. The anticipation of such an effect as this may perhaps make even the House of Lords pause. England cannot govern Ireland by Coercion Bills for ever; and now that the Irish have

found their power, both in Parliament and out of it, even Coercion Bills will fail to repress organized agitation of the kind that has been tried during the past autumn.

Meantime, there seems to be every likelihood of another Ireland being created for us in the Transvaal. When Lord Carnarvon copied out the Canadian Confederation Act and sent it to South Africa as the original product of his own imagination, he could hardly have foreseen, we may be sure, that from the seed thus scattered would spring up a whole crop of wars, each one more unnecessary and disgraceful than the last. Yet so it has been. Lord Carnarvon planted; Sir Bartle Frere watered; and to-day we have the increase with a vengeance. Having failed to please the Boers by going to war with the Zulus, we have now gone to war with the Boers to please ourselves. This, at least, seems the only assumption left open to us, the three years' fiction of the consent of the Boers to the act of annexation being now finally exploded. There was one means left, and one only, for the Transvaal Boers to give an emphatic contradiction to this fiction, and these means they have, after a patience which seems little short of miraculous, adopted. They have, as they long threatened to do, hoisted the flag of the South African Republic, and declared their resolve to fight for their independence. Taking an effete and incredulous administration by surprise, they have at the outset succeeded to a degree which probably astonishes even themselves. They have gained possession of Potchefstroom, the former capital of the territory; they have completely severed communication between the Governor at Pretoria and his superior in Natal; they have, by the exhibition of an enterprise of which any soldier might be proud, annihilated a hostile force, and, as it would seem, captured an important convoy. Copying a bad habit from the other side of the Channel, journals in the interest of "the services" have raised a cry of treachery and massacre. There is not the smallest ground to justify these assertions. The Boers assembled near Pretoria, and sent in a message to the British Governor demanding the peaceable surrender of the Government, and expressing their determination to accept, if this was refused, the alternative of war. Whether the Governor sent any direct reply to this message seems uncertain. Indirectly he replied to it at once by issuing a proclamation in which pardon was offered to all who would immediately quit the ranks of the Boers. He also forwarded certain dispatches to Sir George Colley, which, being intercepted and opened by the Boers, gave them full and sufficient information as to the true state of affairs. With a view to preventing the reinforcement of the garrison of Pretoria, they at once dispatched a force to

intercept the march on that city of a strong detachment of the 94th regiment. Coming up with this detachment, they summoned it to surrender, and on their meeting with a refusal an action commenced, which resulted, unfortunately, in the placing of a large part of the British troops *hors de combat*, and in the unconditional surrender of nearly all the rest. War has now therefore begun, and what may happen before reinforcements can reach the spot it is difficult to surmise. One thing seems perfectly clear—that while the Boers are prepared to observe all the rules of war towards the Imperial troops, they will treat as rebels against the South African Republic civilians resident in the country who may be induced to take up arms on the British side. For whose benefit this war, which has sprung out of one of the greatest wrongs ever committed in the name of England, is to be carried on, it is puzzling to determine. Natives in South Africa have now, thanks to Sir Bartle Frere, learnt to prefer Dutch whips to British scorpions. Dutchmen, thanks to the mildly inventive genius of Lord Carnarvon, have learnt that it is beyond the power of Englishmen to forgive a people whom they have persecuted from latitude to latitude. To neither Dutch nor natives will the conquest of the Transvaal, therefore, be acceptable. When millions of money and hundreds of lives have been wasted—when throughout the length and breadth of South Africa there has been established between Dutch and English a feud as deadly as that which has been established between white and black—when the last Transvaal Boer has loaded his waggon and trailed off to seek freedom from British persecution on the shores of Lake Ngami—when this has come to pass it may perhaps occur to some one to ask whether it was worth while at such expense to fight the battle of the little clique of land-grabbers and Jew traders who forced Sir Theophilus Shepstone to proclaim the annexation.

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TENNYSON AND MUSSET.

WHEN the history of poetry in this age shall be written by the critical chroniclers of the next, one thing will of necessity be noted as distinctive of its latter years: the singular and splendid persistence of genius and prolongation of working power in the greatest of those great writers who were born in the infancy or in the adolescence of the nineteenth century. Its eighty-first year has given us from the hand of its mightiest master a poem acclaimed at once by the applause of mankind and the abuse of M. Zola: acceptable, admirable, wonderful to all men, but as a stench in the nostrils to which all stinks are perfumes, a discord in the ears which find harmony in echoes too horrible for hell. Against the glories of Tennyson and Browning hardly a wandering ass or a casual mule can yet be found to stretch his throat or to lift up his heel: but the splendour of Hugo is even now as darkness visible to the owl-eyed head of the sect or school known among its members as the school of realists, among men at once of sounder and more sensitive organs as the sect of bestialists. As lyric poet and as republican leader, the master poet of the world has equally deserved to attain this obloquy, to incur this tribute from a journal to which the principles of republican faith, a writer to whom the pretensions of lyric poetry, are naturally and equally abhorrent and contemptible: nor could any law of nature or any result of chance be more equitably satisfactory than one which should gratify the wish—or the three wishes—that all who do not love the one should hate the other: that all such men should be even as M. Zola: and that all such writers as M. Zola should be haters and scorers alike of republican principle and of lyric song. The expression of this wish may be thought to savour too much of cosmopolitan optimism: but I trust it will not be ascribed to the narrow partiality of provincial patriotism, if I take leave to express also my satisfaction that no such note of insult from any so noticeable quarter should have broken the harmony of acclama-

tion with which England in the same year has received the new gift of Mr. Browning, and receives the new gift of Mr. Tennyson.

It is no new experience for me to feel deeply the inadequacy of language to express the depth and translate the fervour of admiration : but never assuredly has any poor penman of the humblest order been more inwardly conscious of such impotence in his words to sustain the weight of their intention, than am I at this moment of my inability to cast into any shape of articulate speech the impression and the emotion produced by the first reading of Tennyson's *Rispa*. Only this much I must take heart and must have leave to say : that never since the very beginning of all poetry were the twin passions of terror and pity more divinely done into deathless words or set to more perfect and profound magnificence of music : never more inseparably fused and harmonized into more absolute and sublime identity. The poet never lived on earth—such at least is my humble and hearty conviction—whose glory would not be heightened by the attribution of this poem to his hand. Thousands of readers for centuries to come will be moved by it to trembling and to tears. I do not forget the fact that prediction of this kind is proverbially futile : but it should also be remembered that art has her certainties no less than those of science : and that this is one of them the judgment which could hesitate to affirm must either be cancerous with malevolence or paralytic with stupidity. Some indeed may probably be found to object that pity is here strained and racked into actual and intolerable anguish—that terror here darkens and condenses into sheer physical pain and horror : and, undoubtedly, of no living writer can it be so truly said—nor can it be said more truly of any writer in time past—that he has “created a new shudder ;” a pang of piercing and dreadful compassion which cleaves as it were the very core of “the spirit of sense” in sunder. But here is one more proof—and a proof beyond all price and beyond all question—that passion and imagination are justified of all their children. Were it not so, the very crowning glory of this most pathetic and terrible poem would be frightful rather than terrible, and unbearable rather than pathetic. As it is, those four central and consummating lines, unspeakably pitiful and unutterably beautiful, are made endurable, and therefore in some deeper sense delightful, by sheer force of genius alone. They should not, and by me they shall not, be separately transcribed—wrenched out of their natural framework, or torn off the stem of thorns on which they set the topmost crown of tear-drenched and passion-coloured blossom. But six words of them—the six last words, “they had moved in my side”—give perfect proof once more of the deep truth that great poets are bisexual ; male and female at once, motherly not less than fatherly in their instincts towards little children ; from the day when Homer

put Astyanax into the arms of Hector to the day when Hugo found the sweetest of all cradle-songs on the lips of the death-stricken Fantine. And among all these not one—not even Victor Hugo's very self—has ever touched the very deepest and finest chord on the lyre of the human spirit with a diviner power, a more godlike strength of tenderness, than Mr. Tennyson has touched it here. Nothing more piteous, more passionate, more adorable for intensity of beauty, was ever before this wrought by human cunning into the likeness of such words as words are powerless to praise.

Any possible commentary on a poem of this rank must needs be as weak and as worthless as the priceless thing which evoked it is beautiful and strong; but one which should attempt by selection or indication to underline as it were and to denote the chiefest among its manifold beauties and glories, would be also as long and as wordy as the poem is short and reticent. Once or twice in reading it a man may feel, and may know himself to be none the unmanlier for feeling, as though the very heart in him cried out for agony of pity, and hardly the flesh could endure the burden and the strain of it, the burning bitterness of so keen and so divine a draught. A woman might weep it away and be "all right" again—but a man born of woman can hardly be expected to bear the pity of it.

Two consequences, each of some little importance to students of poetry, though to a writer of Mr. Tennyson's rank and station they may be personally indifferent and insignificant enough, should follow on the appearance of such a poem as this. First, there must be an end for ever on all hands to the once debateable question whether the author can properly be called in the strictest sense a great poet, or whether his admirers should be content with the application to their favourite of such commendatory epithets as "a fine, a gracious, an exquisite poet." If after a thousand years all trace of all his poems had vanished from all human record, save only these eighty-six verses of *Rizpah*, proof positive and ample and overflowing would be left in the survival of these that in him, if ever upon earth, a great poet had been born among men. If this be not great work, no great work was ever or will ever be done in verse by any human hand. And secondly there must be an end, for ever and a day beyond at least, of a question which once was even more hotly debateable than this: the long contested question of poetic precedence between Alfred Tennyson and Alfred de Musset. Four lines of *Rizpah*, placed in one scale of the balance of judgment, would send all the loveliest verse of Musset flying up in the other, to kick the beam and vanish. Of passion such as this he knew no more than he knew of such execution. He was about as capable of either as of writing *Ratbert*, *The Cenci*, or *King Lear*.

It would seem to follow from this, if such a decision be accepted



as equitable, that any comparison of claims between the two men must be unprofitable in itself, as well as unfair to the memory of the lesser poet. But it needs no great expense of argument to prove that such is by no means the case. We cannot, in any fair estimate of the two rival claimants, omit or neglect to take account of the rich legacy left by Musset in the province of imaginative prose, narrative and dramatic. And when we have thus taken account of all his various and exquisite work on those lines—so delicate, so subtle, so supple, so gaily grave and so fancifully pensive, so full of inspired ease and instinctive ability, it becomes more difficult to trim the balance with absolute security of hand; especially when we consider that all this charming work, without ever once touching on the detestable as well as debateable land of pseudo-poetic rhapsody in hermaphroditic prose after the least admirable manner of such writers as De Quincey, is always, so to speak, impregnated and permeated with something of a genuinely poetical sense or spirit. Grace and sweetness never fail him in any part of his work which any kindly reader would care to remember.

Heine, that snake of the Hebrew Paradise,—a 'smooth-lipped serpent, surely high inspired'—was never inspired more truly by the serpent's genius of virulent wisdom than when he uttered, in a most characteristic hiss of sarcasm, a sentence as conclusive in its judgment as venomous in its malignity, describing Musset before he had reached middle age as "a young man with a very fine career—behind him" (*un jeune homme d'un bien beau passé*). Never was there a truer, as assuredly there never was a crueller witticism. Brilliant and early as was the first flight of Mr. Tennyson above the bright circle of his early college friends and admirers—a circle then doubtless very plausibly definable by nameless dogs of letters as a "mutual-admiration society," artificially heated by the steam of reciprocal incense for the incubation of "coterie glory," the simultaneous dawn of Musset on the far more splendid horizon of contemporary Paris was itself as far more splendid than the sunrise over Cambridge of *Poems chiefly Lyrical*. When all due deductions and reserves are made, it remains undeniable that the world of letters has hardly ever seen such a first book as the *Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie*. Its very faults were promises—unhappily too soon to be falsified—of riper and not less radiant excellence to come. Of all thin and shallow criticisms, none ever was shallower or thinner than that which would describe these firstlings of Musset's genius as mere Byronic echoes. In that case they would be tuneless as their original: whereas they are the notes of a singer who cannot but sing—though perhaps they gave no great evidence that he could do much else. But of all poems written in youth these are perhaps the likeliest or rather the surest for a season to stir the brain and sting

the blood of adolescence. To do them justice, they should be first read at the age of eighteen—or twenty at latest. After Catullus and Ovid, there is probably no poet with whose influence a pious parent or a judicious preceptor should be so anxious to imbue or may be so confident of imbuing the innocent mind of ingenuous youth. He has more than the audacious charm and seductive impudence of Chérubin; and the graceless Grace who served his boyhood for a Muse had some half-a-dozen nightingale notes in the compass of her voice which in clear sheer quality of blithe and birdlike spontaneity were beyond the reach of Tennyson's. But when the pretty page of Thackeray's ballad grows bearded and then bald, it remains to be tried what manner of brain was ripening under the curly gold locks of his nonage. And "in such things" as the too splendid and showy puberty of a Musset

"There is a rotten ripeness supervenes  
On the first moment of maturity."

Unjust or barely just in its original application to one who lived to show himself "bravest at the last," and far other than a "passionate weakling," another couplet of Sir Henry Taylor's is exactly significant of the later emotion felt towards Musset by men whom he naturally fascinated before their own minds were *hors de page*.

"I heard the sorrowful sensualist complain,  
If with compassion, not without disdain."

To Musset, of all men, this rebuke was most applicable. For such a sufferer as the author of *Rolla* contempt no sooner thaws into compassion than compassion freezes back into contempt. And the next instant, as in my own case at this moment of writing, the fresh crust of curdling scorn begins again to soften and dissolve under the warm spring wind of pity. It is for Musset alone among poets that this exact shade of feeling is possible to men at once charitable and rational. With all his condemnable errors and all his damnable defects, Byron is of course as much above such an estimate as the Thomas Littles and the Tom Moores are below it; towering as far beyond contempt as they grovel beneath compassion. Nor could it be said of Musset, as of such an one as these, with much less injustice than it could be said of Byron, that his smile is the smirk of a liquorish fribble, his wail the whimper of a cheated cully. But it is too true that when his pagehood was over he was hardly fit to do much more than sob and sneer. "Triste, en vérité," as the abbé says in *Les Marrons du Feu*: but not less true than grievous. In the most charming and daring of all boyish poets there was less than little of the making of a man.

It is true that he could weep very musically. For sweetness and fulness and melody of feeling and thought and language it

would be hard to match and harder to eclipse his *Souvenir*. Nor has too much praise been given, though evidently too much would have been given if it could, to those four limpid rillets from the famous *Lake* of Lamartine, his now no less famous *Nights*. At the same time it is natural and allowable to wonder what manner of work this magical musician's hand would have found to do if neither Byron nor Lamartine nor one far greater than both had made themselves instruments before him, which hung sometimes within reach of his delicate and skilful fingers. Starting in life as page to Victor Hugo, he never rose higher in sustained poetry than when he figured as henchman to Lamartine. Always conceding and remembering this, we can hardly overpraise either the freshest of his earlier works or the tenderest of his later. But it by no means follows that we are to accept him on the authority of M. Taine as an exponent of the spirit and the need of his age or of his nation. For on this ground it is, if I have read his argument aright, that the distinguished French historian of English letters would assert for his countryman a right to a higher rank than Mr. Tennyson's on the representative roll of their contemporaries. At his best, Musset is representative of nothing but himself; at his worst, if the hard clear bitter truth must be spoken out—as it must—without flinching, he represents the quintessence of those qualities, the consummation of those defects, which made possible in France the infamous rise, and inevitable the not less infamous fall, of the Lower Empire. But the retribution which awaited the display of these defects and the indulgence in these qualities was more terrible than the austere of moral and patriotic singers—an Alcæus or a Dante, a Milton or a Wordsworth—could have dreamed of or desired for a recreant or a traitor to the common cause and honour of all high poets. He lived to produce some of the vilest verses that ever blotted paper, in praise of the very meanest of all villains that ever disgraced even a throne. It really cheers and refreshes the memory to remember what a very bellman's copy of verses is *Le Songe d'Auguste*—the epithalamium of Augustulus Neronianus. That was the end of the blithe bright Muse of Fantasio—suicide by drowning, from off the broken bridge of sensual and servile sighs, in the Cloaca Lupanaris of a bastard Bonapartism. To such base uses may a poet return, who in the flower of his working days has thought himself too good to be put to any nobler use: too poetic to be a patriot, too æsthetic to be a partisan, too artistic to serve an earthly country or suffer in a human cause: his only country being Art, and his final cause being pleasure. And the end of these things is the rhymester's privilege of a spare stool at the Imperial board, somewhat lower than the seats of Anicetus and Tigellinus.

It is not, of course, that the vileness of even such a subject as the

praise of the vilest of mankind must of necessity make vile the execution of a parasite's verses. Even Napoleon the Last, shameful as it is to say, had some good verses written on him, and more on his wife and child, in a different key from that of the deathless and deadly *Châtiments* on which the fame of his infamy is founded, to endure till time shall be no more. But most certainly they were not written by Alfred de Musset. It is grievous to remember, and impossible to forget, that they were written by Théophile Gautier. And yet his were not, like Musset's, the verses of a parasite. The birth of an ill-starred boy and the display of a popular charity seduced him into a short strain or two of exquisite flattery and finish so perfect that in one of the manliest and most generous of poets and of men we may well for once "excuse some courtly stains." But, happily for the conscience of all honest critics, there is no such excuse for Musset. He might have been forgiven in 1838 his somewhat less pitiful verses of adulation on the birth of a prince to the House of Orleans, though assuredly they were but the verses of a poeticle: for poeticles love princelings as naturally as poets abhor tyrants: and the author of these verses was a poet no longer in any high or noble sense, to any great or worthy purpose. Already there was coming upon him the premature and unquiet decay which unmistakably denotes and inevitably chastises a youth not merely passionate or idle, sensual or self-indulgent, but prurient and indifferent, callous and effeminate at once. To this lowest deep, to this abject level of the actual sybarite and potential sycophant, a poet such as Burns or even a poet such as Byron could by no possibility descend. In them there was the salt of faith: at least of a possible faith in some conceivable object of manly and unselfish devotion. I would fain be no harder than I can help on the memory of a man whose genius in its prime was so beautiful and delightful: I had almost written that I would fain be less hard than the truth. I do not believe with Mr. Carlyle that "the soft quality of mercy" can ever—except perhaps in cases of world-wide consequence, affecting the welfare of a nation and the conscience of mankind—be properly definable as "thrice accursed:" and the misdoings or shortcomings of "one poor poet," whose "scroll" was never by any means likely to "shake the world" like that of a Dante or a Milton, cannot certainly be held to come under this royal and imperial category. But it is well that we should remember, in the interests of truth even more than for the honour of poetry, how widely and how deeply different is the case of Musset from that of others whose career has been, if not wrecked, yet certainly mutilated and impaired, maimed of its promise and curtailed of its chance. Setting apart the names of those who were "struck by the envious wrath of man or God"—leaving in their separate sphere the memories of Sidney, Chatterton, Keats, and the mightier mourner

of all three—we cannot choose but note the vast gap of difference, a gulf neither to be bridged nor fathomed, which divides his case from that of a Byron or a Burns. Not only through mere self-indulgence of the spirit or the flesh in active or visionary transgression—not always by the offence or indiscretion of anything done or said or written, does a man incur the doom of irreversible degradation from the spiritual rank in which he was born, of dismissal from the mission and rejection from the goal for which he was made : but only through practical abnegation of his calling, and deliberate renunciation of his rank. Far less by what he has done and should have left undone will a man of genius be judged and condemned at the sessions of posterity or his peers, than by that which he should have done and has left undone for some contemptible or condemnable cause. There is no reason, as far as I know, to suppose that Musset was born with less than an average share of the higher human instincts ; but there is every reason to infer that before he crossed the boundary of youth he had worn them all out or played them all away—had made himself spiritually and morally blind and deaf and impotent and idiotic : witness a certain recorded act of intercession (God save the mark !) on behalf of a banished man then sojourning in Guernsey, which deservedly drew down a brief word of most bitterly contemptuous disclaimer, to be forgotten when men forget the corresponding utterance of Dante.

Englishmen who have a well-grounded contempt for the national character of Frenchmen, and critics who have a well-founded contempt for the moral nature of poets, will rejoin that Musset was on these points a mere average example of his country and his kind : effeminate and prurient, egotistical and servile, in no greater and no less degree than might and would have been expected by a judicious and judicial Briton. To this the evidence of facts must answer, that in the display of these abject qualities the author of *Namouna* stands alone of his kind in his country. I make no objection to the existence of such a poem as this which I have just named, and which I find, of all poems read and admired in early youth, to be the one which will least endure reproof and reconsideration in after years : I take it as perhaps the fairest and most popular sample of Musset at the full-flowing springtide of his genius. It would certainly be but bare justice to call it exquisite and graceful : and perhaps it might be unjust as well as Puritanical to call it effeminate or prurient. This latter adjective is an ugly epithet for a quality almost exclusively confined by nature to the race of ambiguous animals best known to anthropology as prudes : but, although Musset can hardly be classed and condemned as a member of their tribe, I am not sure that the imputation of pruriency would be so absurdly misapplied in his case as in that of any other modern poet above the level of a pseudonymuncle.

There is something in his tone which is unlike anything and alien from everything in the work, for instance, of Gautier and of Baudelaire. These two, the joyous teacher and the sombre pupil, the unsaintly Chrysostom of modern verse and the tragic dreamer of a spiritual desert, are safe from any such impeachment. I do not mean that the *Comédie de la Mort* must be ranked with the *Imitation of Christ*, or that the *Fleurs du Mal* should be bound up with the *Christian Year*. But I do say that no principle of art which does not exclude from its tolerance the masterpieces of Titian can logically or consistently reject the masterpieces of a poet who has paid to one of them the most costly tribute of carven verse, in lines of chiselled ivory with rhymes of ringing gold, that ever was laid by the high priest of one Muse on the high altar of another. And I must also maintain my opinion that the pervading note of spiritual tragedy in the brooding verse of Baudelaire dignifies and justifies at all points his treatment of his darkest and strangest subjects. This justification, this dignity, is wanting in the case of Musset. The atmosphere of his work is to the atmosphere of Gautier's as the air of a gas-lit alcove to the air of the far-flowering meadows that make in April a natural Field of the Cloth of Gold all round the happier poet's native town of Tarbes, radiant as the open scroll of his writings with immeasurable wealth of youth and sunlight and imperishable spring. The sombre starlight under which Baudelaire nursed and cherished the strange melancholy of his tropical homesickness, with its lurid pageant of gorgeous or of ghastly dreams, was perhaps equidistant from either of these, but assuredly had less in common with the lamplight than the sunshine.

At a too early date in the career of Musset it must have been evident to others besides his amiable Hebrew admirer that his Muse at all events "n'avait plus rien dans le ventre," and was most undeniably "maigre à faire peur"—ou plutôt à faire pitié. The "gentle Jew" might have added the remark, that never did poet come so soon to the proverbial "bottom of his bag." At an age when Mr. Tennyson's good work was but begun, his brilliant French namesake and unconscious future rival had reached the stage which we may all be sure, and thankful to be sure, that Mr. Tennyson will never reach at any time—when "the wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees is left this vault to brag of." A dreary vault it was in his case, clogged and overcharged with a thick and heavy reck of overhanging vapours. The gods did not love him, who would not let him die young in body as he died before his time in spirit.

The charge of this change, the blame of this collapse, was laid by himself, if we may trust the evidence of his brother, to the account of a stronger genius than his own. It was not a very manful confession or complaint for a man to make, but perhaps none the less

likely on that account to be a truthful one in this instance. After reading the very sufficiently copious accounts which have been given us of the relations between George Sand and her victim or tormentor, others as well as the present writer may perhaps have come to the conclusion that much may be said on both sides, and little can be said for either side. Few probably will admit the suggestion that this was a simple case of moral outrage perpetrated by George Lovelace upon Clarissa de Musset. As few who know anything of either will fail to admit that the usual parts were obviously inverted or reversed in the action of this dolorous tragicomedy: that, at least during their luckless residence in Venice, he was a woman and she was a man—in that kingdom by the sea. Not a very loveable woman—but assuredly not a very admirable man. I cannot think, in a word, that M. George behaved like the gentleman he usually showed himself to be—though doubtless a gentleman of whom it might too often be said that he loved and he rode away—in his affair with poor misguided Mlle. Elfride. And surely, when the unhappy girl was dead, it was unmanly on the part of her old comrade to revive the memory of her frailties.

Seriously—though the subject has another than its serious side—if we are to accept the theory that the illustrious author of *Consuelo*, whom no one more admires and reveres at her best than I do, is not to be judged like another woman, it follows that she must be judged like another man. No genius can exempt a creature of either sex from this alternative necessity; he must be impaled on the one horn, or she on the other, of the sexual dilemma. Were the pretender to such exemption even Sappho instead of George Sand, even then under such circumstances our conscience would compel us to call it shameful that after Phaon had flung himself off the Leucadian rock Sappho should have defamed his memory by the publication of an autobiographical novel in the *Revue des Deux Îles*—Cyprus, let us suppose, and Lesbos. Surely the immolation of Chopin at the shrine of *Lucrezia Floriani* might have satiated any not immoderate appetite for posthumous homicide or massacre of men's memories. But Thomyris of Scythia was a milkmaid or a school-girl to this "moral Clytemnestra" of many more lords than one. Not twice but thrice—Alexander and Thais in one person—she routed all her—lovers, and thrice she slew the slain. The woman at arms did but fling her dead enemy's head into a bowl of blood: the woman of letters flung the memories of her lovers—to borrow a phrase from Shakespeare—"into a pit of ink." And if the brass of her own brow was blackened by the splash, I cannot see that she had a grain of reason or a shadow of right to complain of it. Alexandre Dumas said more than once, and with undeniable accuracy, of George Sand, "*que son admirable génie était hermaphrodite comme la Fragoletta de son maître*"

(*Mémoires d'Alexandre Dumas, deuxième série, tome xi., chapitre vi., p. 125, ed. 1856*). But even though we should grant it all the gift of fascination by which Shelley was entranced at sight of "that sweet marble monster of both sexes" which inspired her "master" with the singular subject of his strange romance, it would by no means reasonably follow that we must regard this admirable genius as emancipated by the fact of this natural accident or unnatural portent from the inevitable responsibilities of either sex alike. We really cannot allow that a bisexual genius may freely, without fear of challenge or retort, play the part of the bat in the famous fable of La Fontaine. To no such intellectual or spiritual hermaphrodite can it ever be permissible to utter, even by implication, such a protest as this:—"I have a right to say what I please,—for I am a man: but you have no right to reply,—for I am a woman." At that rate the game of love or war or letters would have to be waged on terms really too unequal. Before the final bar of posthumous opinion, even so illustrious a hybrid as Madame Sand must make up its mind to be judged either as Diana (let us say) or as Endymion, as a Faun or as a Dryad, as lover or as mistress: George or Georgette, Cophalus or Aurora, Salmacis or Hermaphroditus. And in this case the ultimate verdict of judgment between these two literary lovers can in justice be no other than that which I have already ventured to anticipate: that probably he did not behave like a lady, but certainly she did not behave like a gentleman.

The fame of that great mistress of prose and the glory of this exquisite master of verse are alike so well assured that no honest utterance of a candid impression should now be taken to imply any injustice or irreverence towards either brilliant if not blameless memory. That the mannish woman was a nobler as well as a stronger creature than the womanish man—"outstepping his ten small steps with one stride"—seems to me on the whole as certain, when we weigh them on the whole together, life against life and work against work, as that in this rather miserable matter she was grossly and grievously in the wrong, by every law and by every instinct of manly or womanly duty or feeling. And if the lovely picture of a loving and loyal mistress, ill-used and ill-requited by the morbid ingratitude of a moody and wayward lover, which Musset has left us in his *Confession d'un Enfant du Siècle*, be accepted as his intended tribute of high-minded atonement and generous regret, there can be few words too strong to condemn the disloyal cruelty if not the thankless indecency displayed in her subsequent disturbance of the dead. It needs all our recollection of the noble and beautiful work which we owe to her latest years—its womanly and manly patriotism, its wonderful survival of force and freshness in the play of fancy and the glow of affection, its childlike enjoyment and



understanding of the nature and the tastes and the fancies of children—it needs all this that we find in such legacies as her *Théâtre de Nohant* and *Dernières Pages*, to make us condone what we can hardly understand in the composition of her strangely composite nature, and to make us feel that we may indulge without afterthought or scruple our instinct of grateful admiration and sometimes of loving enthusiasm for the sunnier side of her character and the higher aspect of her genius.

Nor is there less of beautiful and of good in the work of Musset to be set against the sorrier side of his life also. It must needs readjust the scales and rectify the balance of our judgment to remember and reconsider all his claims upon its indulgence, admiration, and thankfulness. The change which too plainly came over him, however it came about—the transformation from a Rafael Garuci, or a Fortunio of the brilliant *Chandelier*, into that dimmest of conceivable creatures, a “Chérubin chauve” or morally broken-winded and bewigged Alnaviva—though it can escape the notice of no reader, can as surely impair the merit of no masterpiece produced before the date of this decline. Perhaps the famous poem of *Rolla* may be taken as the landmark of that inevitable turning-point in a career which has made of his memory the most notable and piteous example on record in all biographies that explain as best they may

“how certain bards were thrall’d  
—Buds blasted, but of breaths more like perfume  
Than Naddo’s staring nosegay’s carrion bloom ;  
Some insane rose that burnt heart out in sweets,  
A spendthrift in the spring, no summer greets ;  
Some Dularete, drunk with truths and wine,  
Grown bestial, dreaming how become divino.”

SORDELLO, *Book the Sixth*.

The overture to *Rolla*, down at least to the fourteenth line, is one of the very few jewels in its author’s casket, or feathers in his cap, which may seem as admirable to a critic at forty as to a student at twenty. The radiance and vibration of the verse, its luminous rapture and living melody, could hardly be overpraised even by the overflowing generosity of Gautier, the poet of all poets, except Landor, who took most natural and most full delight in praising his masters and his peers. But I see nothing now to admire when he proceeds, as a poet of stouter heart and stronger hand than his has too justly expressed it, to “fling in Voltaire’s face the dregs of *Rolla*’s absinthe,” and to whimper like a whipped hound over the cruel work of the men who shook the Cross and took away the Saviour. There is as it were a broken or fitful note of sincerity in the poem as a whole which redeems it from everlasting damnation : but it hangs by a hair over that critical abyss of most just

judgment. It is exquisitely wrought in the main, and not utterly hollow or demonstrably insincere: but it is impossible to revert in thought without an inward smile to the adolescent period when despite a certain note of falsity or "pathetic fallacy," too gross to impose even on a boy, it seemed altogether the produce of such profound and tender inspiration.

No doubt, however, there are more than a few things bequeathed us by Musset for which the advance of time cannot and should not utterly change or chill the fervid imprint of our early admiration. A few of his songs are altogether of the very highest order. Nothing can be truer, sweeter, more blameless in positive and simple completeness of native beauty than such of them as Fortunio's, Barberine's, the Good-bye and again the Good-day to Suzon. All these are perfect honey—*merum mel*. And one other, if one only, has a note in it such as can be found in no song of Mr. Tennyson's—the indescribable wonderful note of a natural and irrational fascination like that of a sudden sweet cry from the joyous throat of some strange bird; I mean of course the song which so haunted Gautier's memory at Venice that the companion of his gondola bade the men go straight

"A Saint-Blaise, à la Zucca,"

simply that his ears might no longer be filled and distracted by the perpetual recurrence of the chanted or murmured words; though others have probably been as much bewildered as was Gautier on his arrival there to conjecture how any couple could ever have gathered vervain or anything else whatever, from any flowery or flowerless fields, at San Biagio in Giudecca. But the song is none the worse for that little practical perplexity. There never were more delicious words in the world; no truer and clearer note came ever, surely, from the lips of even any Greek lyrist. It has the very sweetness of Sappho's own—though wanting of course the depth and fervour never wanting to the voice that never was matched on earth.

But if this be nearly all—and I cannot but think that indeed it is nearly all—which can possibly be advanced on behalf of Musset's claim to rank simply as a mere poet above Tennyson, I cannot but also think that few claims can be less tenable. A more difficult choice and a more significant parallel would be that between Mr. Browning and M. Leconte de Lisle. Each of those great writers has something great which is wanting to the other; and on certain points of no small importance they are as far asunder as the poles; and yet it is impossible to overlook the manifold and manifest points of absolute spiritual community between them. One is the latest extant defender of the faith as cast into the iron mould of creeds, whom the roll of philosophic poets can display to our admir-

ing astonishment: the other is perhaps the fiercest anti-Christian and anti-Jehovist on all the list of poetic rebels, excepting neither Shelley nor Leopardi; his glorious masterpiece of *Cain*, faultless and sublime throughout the whole long length of its lofty flight as the race of an eagle with the storm-wind, might seem to a devout spirit to have been dictated by actual theophobia (not by any means that kind of fear which has been defined as the beginning of wisdom). And yet, if he were an English Christian, we cannot but think how much liker Mr. Browning he would be than any other poet; and how much liker him than any other Mr. Browning would be, if only he were a French antitheist. Both are more unmistakably studious, in a deeper and higher than the usual sense, than any living poet of equal rank; both have a turn—though the Englishman has far more than the Frenchman—for strange byways of tragic and grotesque action or passion, occult eccentricities of history and great grim freaks of nature, made worse or better by circumstance and time: no third hand would have written *Un Acte de Charité* or *The Heretic's Tragedy*. Mr. Browning is by far the greater thinker, the keener analyst, the deeper student, and the higher master of human science; but M. Leconte de Lisle, at his very highest, is as much the more poetic poet, the more inspired voice, the more lyrical and ardent genius. Much as he knows, he knows much less, no doubt, than Mr. Browning; but unquestionably he can sing much better at his best. On the other hand, though the poet of Hypatia has all requisite command of august and manly pathos no less than of spiritual dignity, he has not a touch of the piercing and overpowering tenderness which glorifies the poet of Pompilia. Setting aside all irrelevant and impertinent question of personal agreement or sympathy with the spirit or the doctrine of either, I should venture to assign the palm to Mr. Browning for depth of pathos and subtlety of knowledge, to M. Leconte de Lisle for height of spirit and sublimity of song. Indeed, after Victor Hugo, he is as much the sublimest as till the appearance of *Risjah* Mr. Browning was, also of course after Victor Hugo, the most pathetic of living poets.

If the prose work of Musset be excluded from our account, the balance between him and the Laureate would be very much easier to adjust than is the point of precedence between the two poets of more massive build and more Titanic breed whose giant shadows have here inevitably fallen across my way. But if it be included the question is very much more difficult to settle. The only line of poetry on which, as I think, the superiority of Musset in easy power and exquisite seduction cannot for a moment be disputed, is that of lightly thoughtful and gently graceful verse. I hope and believe that I fully appreciate the charm of such enchanting work as *The Talking Oak* and *Will Waterproof's Lyrical Monologue*: but their

grace would lose half its glow, their radiance half its light, if set beside the far brighter and more delicate loveliness of *Une Bonne Fortune* or *A quoi rêvent les jeunes filles*. On all graver and loftier ways of work the palm of power as well as of beauty has been won from the idler if not feebler grasp of the fitfuller and fainter-hearted poet by the more virile as well as the more careful hand of Mr. Tennyson. Nor has he—indeed it need hardly be said that he has not—anything to compare for depth and breadth and weight of humour with Mr. Tennyson's first and greatest provincial study of the *Northern Farmer*, or even perhaps with the male and female successors of that sublime old pagan, as much less great than he as Hatto and Gorlois were less than Job and Magnus. But Musset without his prose is at best but half himself. And his prose, being either "of imagination all compact," or all composed of pure fancy, wit, and qualities all proper if not all necessary to a poet, must in bare justice be considered when we come to cast up the account of his genius. Of Mr. Tennyson's two historical plays, if I were to speak in terms of blame or even of measured and hesitating praise, it might plausibly be set down to a motive which I could not deign to disavow, as I could not stoop to anticipate; if otherwise, it would probably be set down—so gracious is the charity and so high the moral sense of literary mankind—to the timid hypocrisy of jealous cowardice, compelled for very shame and fear to pay tribute of "mouth-honour—breath

Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not."

It would be alike undignified and bootless, I doubt not, to protest that I have never falsified the frank expression of my mind for favour or for fear; but when I do so—thus much I must take heart and leave to say—

May I—can worse disgrace on manhood fall?—

may I be likened by the *Times* and preferred by the *Spectator* to Shakespeare. No one, however, will, I presume, assert that the fame of Tennyson could not more easily and more safely dispense with its dramatic accessories or adjuncts than could the fame of Musset. To the French poet, his plays are a most important part and parcel of his necessary credentials at the court of Prince Posterity. Of *Les Marrons du Feu*, and even of *La Coupe et les Lèvres*, most of my coevals, I should conjecture, will agree with me in thinking that much the same must now be said, and remembering that much the same was thought in our salad days, as of *Rolla*, *Namouna*, and all their brilliant fellowship. Their splendid sheet lightning no longer seems more splendid than mere sunlight; the plunging hand-gallop of their verses no longer carries us off at such a joyous and irrational rate of rapture. Perhaps the first stage on the sober way back to

some point of critical reason is reached when we come to understand that the profile of Marco in the *Confession* is a truer and more perfect piece of tragic work than all the full-faced portraits of Belcolores and Camargos; that her bloodless hands are more perfectly drawn and far more powerfully terrible than theirs yet quivering with the passion of homicide. We shall then be not far from perception of the truth that the more distinctive and typical proofs of this exquisite poet's most fine and bright intelligence, as contrasted with his pure lyric genius, are to be gathered from his tales and plays in prose; *Fantasio* and *Le Chandelier*, *Mimi Pinson* or *Le Fils du Titien*, so specially precious for love of two sonnets as perfect as verse can be. In both these fields, of comedy and of story, it cannot be denied that his work is equally unequal; the story of *Les Deux Matresses* is "as water unto wine" or water-gruel to champagne if compared with the radiance of Gautier's early study (*Celle-ci et Celle-là*) on the same moral or fanciful subject; and the least brilliant of his later comedies are almost actually flat. But even to an English audience it would now be surely an impertinence to sing the praises of his more finished comedies and dramatised "proverbs." The finest or the most jaded palate that any epicurean in letters might boast or might lament could certainly desire no daintier luxury than these. And though his powers were palpably unequal to the construction or composition, if not indeed to the conception, of a great tragic drama, yet the loyal fervour of Théophile Gautier scarcely carried him too far when he said of the character of Lorenzaccio that it was "a thoroughly Shakespearcan study." But Shakespeare would have made a play to fit it, as he made one, or modified its materials, to fit his conception of Hamlet. Never elsewhere in any work of Musset's has the impassioned intelligence of his genius given such proof of its active and speculative powers. The central figure of the man whose energies, half palsied by postponement, all vitiated by habit and satiety and weary sensual sloth, have life yet left in them to fret and fever him by fits, and conscience enough behind them to constrain or corrode him to the end, is perhaps but the fuller and darker outline of one sketched or shadowed out by the same hand again and again with a lighter and tenderer touch than here; but the blood-red background of historic action gives it a more tragic relief and dignity. Above all, there is a grandeur which is wanting to all other works of Musset supplied by the central fact that in this man's "despised and ruinous" life—this "ruined piece of nature"—the surviving spark of fire, the disinfectant grain of salt, is not, as in the wrecked lives of other such actors on the stage of Musset's fancy, mere love or mere desire for success or fame as lover or as poet, as fighter or adventurer, but the uncorrupted grain, the unextinguished fire, of a pure thought and a vital principle, the mission of a deliverer

and the motive of a tyrannicide. The utter and flagrant scepticism—the flat and spiritless infidelity—of the poet himself, however visibly revealed and sorrowfully displayed, is powerless to blunt the edge or to quench the ardour of interest inherent in the central idea. No cynicism can deaden it, and no disbelief degrade.

The message or the legacy of Musset to his country and his kind, apart from the manner of its delivery or the grace of its presentation, scarcely seems to me on the whole so precious in itself, or so worthy of a great national poet, that the English flag flying on board Mr. Tennyson's ship of song must needs be lowered to salute it at the challenge of M. Taine. If I proceed to inquire, on the other hand, into the positive worth and actual weight of Mr. Tennyson's message, taken equally apart from the method of its delivery, it must not and I trust it will not be supposed by any candid reader that I wish to play the odious part of devil's advocate. So much I hope may be premised without fear of self-accusation by dint of self-excuse. And against the most forcible charges of the foreign champion, strong of wrist and skilful of fence as he is, it would not be difficult to bring an answer or to make an appeal on grounds less personal or provincial than I have often seen assumed by the professional admirers of Mr. Tennyson. His assailant gave proof that as far as daring is concerned his motto might be Strafford's word, "Thorough," when he struck with the sharp point of his lance "the spotless shield" which bears inscribed the words *In Memoriam*. His impeachment of Mr. Tennyson's great monumental poem as the cold and correct work of a "perfectly gentlemanlike" mourner, who never can forget to behave himself respectably and carry his grief like a gentleman conscious of spectators, may be classed for perfection of infelicity with Jeffrey's selection of the finest lines in Wordsworth's finest ode for especially contemptuous assault on the simple charge of sheer nonsense. Had he reserved his attack for the pretentiously unpretentious philosophy of the book, we might not so assuredly have felt that his hand had lost its cunning. Mr. Tennyson is so ostentatious of his modesty, so unsparing in his reserve, so incessant and obtrusive in his disclaimer of all ambition to rank as a thinker or a teacher, while returning again and yet again to the charge as an ethical apostle or a sentimental theosophist, that we are almost reminded of the philosopher whose vociferous laudation of the dumb, and ear-splitting inculcation of silence, might seem to all half-deafened hearers enough to "crack his lungs, and split his brazen pipe"—if possibly such a thing might be possible. I trust it may be held allowable and compatible with loyalty to observe that it is hardly reasonable to touch repeatedly and with obvious earnestness on the gravest and the deepest questions of life and death, of human affection and mortal bereavement—to pour forth page upon

page of passionate speculation, of love and fear and hope and doubt and belief, and then to turn round on the student to whose sympathy the book—if there be any reason whatever for its existence or publication—must surely be supposed to appeal, with the surely astonishing protest that it does not pretend to grapple with the questions on which it harps and the mysteries of which it treats. The fitfulness of a mourner's mood will hardly be held as a sufficient excuse to justify or to reconcile such incompatible incoherences of meditation and expression. To say that these effusions of natural sorrow make no pretence, and would be worthy of contempt if they pretended, to solve or satisfy men's doubts—and then to renew the appearance of an incessant or even a fitful endeavour after some such satisfaction or solution—is surely so incongruous as to sound almost insincere. But the possession of a book so wholly noble and so profoundly beautiful in itself is more precious than the most coherent essay towards the solution of any less insoluble problem. It would be cruel to set over against it for comparison any sample of the bitter or the sweet futilities of Musset, from the date of his *Vœux Stériles* to the date of his not much fruitfuller *Espoir en Dieu*.

Towards the *Morte d'Albert*, or *Idylls of the Prince Consort*, I have been accused before now of playing that very part of devil's advocate which I have expressed myself most anxious to disclaim. And yet the most mealy-mouthed critic or the most honey-tongued flatterer of Mr. Tennyson cannot pretend or profess a more cordial and thankful admiration than I have always felt for the exquisite magnificence of style, the splendid flashes of episodic illumination, with which those poems are vivified or adorned. But when they are presented to us as a great moral and poetic whole, the flower at once of all epics and all ethics—

“ Cette promotion me laisse un peu rêveur.”

I do not think much of Alfred de Musset as a shepherd of souls or a moral philosopher: but I should feel very sincere pity for a generation which felt itself obliged to fall back upon the alternative ideal here proposed to it by Alfred Tennyson. A writer in a contemporary review dropped once an observation on this matter which struck me as so scientifically remarkable that I made a note of it for possible future service. A more patient or methodical man would have transcribed the passage at length: but the gist of it I believe that I set down correctly enough for any needful purpose. It was to this impressive and instructive effect: that is to say, that certain pitiful weaklings of no specified kind, who find themselves in the surely very pitiable condition of aspirants after an impossible experience of passions and emotions which real men possess, and begin

by subduing, but from which these unclassified unfortunates are shut out by congenital imperfection or deficiency in fulness of nature, have wilfully and maliciously impeached the master-work of Mr. Tennyson on the charge—of all charges upon earth—that its moral tone was over highly pitched. We live and learn in this world: there never was a truer saying. But I should myself, I must needs confess, as soon have expected to hear that the *Memoirs of Casanova* or the *Adventures of Faublas* had ever been attacked on the score of too exalted a morality. Among all poems of serious pretensions in that line, it had appeared to the infirmity of my judgment that this latest epic of King Arthur took the very lowest view of virtue, set up the very poorest and most pitiful standard of duty or of heroism for woman or for man. To abstain from talking scandal or listening to it, is a moral principle which I sincerely wish were more practically popular than it is: and ever since the first edition of *The Princess*, wherein there shot up a long eruption of blazing eloquence, extinguished or suppressed in later issues of the poem, on that sin of “narrowest neighbourhoods—where gossip breeds and seethes and festers in provincial sloth,” Mr. Tennyson has missed few opportunities of denouncing it with emphatic if not virulent iteration. But the lesson of abstinence from promiscuous tattle can hardly be considered by itself as “the law and the gospel.” And whatever else there is of doctrine in Mr. Tennyson’s *Idylls* was preached more simply and not less earnestly in the grand old compilation of Sir Thomas Mallory. But, says the Laureate, it is not Mallory’s King Arthur, nor yet Geoffrey’s King Arthur, that I have desired to reproduce: on the contrary, it is “scarce other than” Prince Albert. And in that case—as the old clergyman says in Thackeray’s *Pendennis*—*cadit questio*. All I can say is that most assuredly I never heard “these Idylls” attacked on any moral ground but this: that the tone of divine or human doctrine preached and of womanly or manly character exalted in them, directly or indirectly, was poor, mean, paltry, petty, almost base; so utterly insufficient as to be little short of ignoble: that it is anything but a sign of moral elevation to be so constantly preoccupied by speculations on possible contact with “smut” and contamination from “swine”: that Byron for one and Musset for another have been violently reviled and virtuously condemned on the charge of handling subjects very much less offensive than the cajoleries and caresses of a lissom Vivien: that the tone of the original “eleventh book,” once “picked from the fire,” and now most incongruously incorporated with an incompatible mass of new matter, was incomparably higher, finer, manlier, than the Albertine ideal of later days. There the great dying king had been made to say, in words which “give a very echo to the seat” where conscience is enthroned,



"I have lived my life, and that which I have done  
May He within himself make pure !"

If this be taken as the last natural expression of a gallant, honest, kindly, sinful creature like the hero of old Mallory, it strikes home at once to a man's heart. If it be taken as the last deliberate snuffle of "the blameless king," it strikes us in a different fashion—as the acme, the apogee, the culmination of all imaginable cant. We feel that even at Almesbury, when denouncing the fallen Guinevere in such magnificent language that the reader is content and indeed thankful to take the manliness and propriety of such an address for granted, this blameless being had not attained to the very perfection of pretence—a flight beyond his preceding pretence of perfection.

The real and radical flaw in the splendid structure of the *Idylls* is not to be found either in the antiquity of the fabulous groundwork or in the modern touches which certainly were not needed, and if needed would not have been adequate, to redeem any worthy recast of so noble an original from the charge of nothingness. The fallacy which obtrudes itself throughout, the false note which incessantly jars on the mind's ear, results from the incongruity of materials which are radically incapable of combination or coherence. Between the various Arthurs of different national legends there is little more in common than the name. It is essentially impossible to construct a human figure by the process of selection from the incompatible types of irreconcilable ideals. All that the utmost ingenuity of eclecticism can do has been demonstrated by Mr. Tennyson in his elaborate endeavour after the perfection of this process; and the result is to impress upon us a complete and irreversible conviction of its absolute hopelessness. Had a poet determined to realise the Horatian ideal of artistic monstrosity, he could hardly have set about it more ingeniously than by copying one feature from the Mabinogion and the next from the Morte d'Arthur. So far from giving us "Geoffrey's" type or "Mallory's" type, he can hardly be said to have given us a recognisable likeness of Prince Albert; who, if neither a wholly gigantic nor altogether a divine personage, was at least, one would imagine, a human figure. But the spectre of his laurate's own ideal knight, neither Welsh nor French, but a compound of "Guallia and Gaul, soul-curer and body-curer," sir priest and sir knight, Mallory and Geoffrey, old style and middle style and new style, makes the reader bethink himself what might or might not be the result if some poet of similar aim and aspiration were to handle the tale of Troy, for instance, as Mr. Tennyson has handled the Arthurian romance. The half godlike Achilles of Homer is one in name and nothing else with the all brutish Achilles of Shakespeare; the romantic Arthur of the various volumes condensed by Mallory into his

English compilation—incoherent itself and incongruous in its earlier parts, but so nobly consistent, so profoundly harmonious in its close—has hardly more in common with the half impalpable hero of British myth or tradition. And I cannot but think that no very promising task would be undertaken by a poet who should set before himself the design of harmonizing in one fancy portrait, of reconciling in one typic figure, the features of Achilles as they appear in the *Iliad* with the features of Achilles as they appear in *Troilus and Cressida*.

I cannot say that Mr. Tennyson's lifelong tone about women and their shortcomings has ever commended itself to my poor mind as the note of a very pure or high one. There is always a latent if not a patent propensity in many of his very lovers to scold and whine after a fashion which makes even Alfred de Musset seem by comparison a model or a type of manliness. His *Enids* and *Eldith Aylmers* are much below the ideal mark of Wordsworth, who has never, I believe, been considered a specially great master in that kind: but his "little Letties" were apparently made mean and thin of nature to match their pitifully poor-spirited suitors. It cannot respectfully be supposed that Mr. Tennyson is unaware of the paltry currishness and mean-spirited malice displayed in verse too dainty for such base uses by the plaintively spiteful manikins, with the thinnest whey of sour milk in their poor fretful veins, whom he brings forward to vent upon some fickle or too discerning mistress the vain and languid venom of their contemptible contempt. But why on earth a man of high genius and high spirit, a poet and a patriot, should be so fond of harping on such an untuneful string as this, is a question which will always vex the souls and discomfit the sympathies of his readers. And some of these will perhaps consider it a just retribution for this habit, and others perhaps as a different symptom of the same infirmity, that with all his elaborate graces of language he should never once have come within a thousand leagues of the pure and perfect grace, unfettered and unforced, which even in the doleful days of its decadence the sweet-hearted genius of Musset could infuse into the laughingly tender undertone of his adorably delicate and magically musical verses improvised for a young lady in a hood like a monk's cowl. It would be too cruel to bid any reader set these for comparison beside such things as the *Wrens* or the *Ringlet* of Mr. Tennyson in evidence how exquisitely good or bad such fanciful flower-works at their worst or at their best may be.

I have just touched in passing on a point in which the incomparable superiority of the English poet is not more evident than it is infinite. But, with all due admiration for the genuine patriotism of his "ballad of the fleet" and *Defence of Lucknow*, I must be permitted to observe that his general tone of thought and utterance on

large questions of contemporary national history is such as might with admirable propriety find such expression as it finds at the close of *The Princess* from the lips, not even of "the Tory member," but of the Tory member's undergraduate son—supposing that young gentleman to be other for the nonce than a socialist. There is a strain, so to speak, as of beardless bluster about it, which could by no possible ingenuity have been so rendered as to suggest a more appropriate mouthpiece. It has the shrill unmistakable accent, not of a provincial deputy, but of a provincial schoolboy. And this fact, it would seem, was revealed to Mr. Tennyson himself, of all men on earth, by some freak of the same humorous if malicious fairy who disclosed to him the not less amusing truth, and induced him to publish it, with a face of unmoved gravity, to the nation and the world, that whenever he said "King Arthur" he meant Prince Albert. No satirist could have ventured on either stroke of sarcasm. So it was from the beginning (1830), so it is, and so it will be, for all momentary protest or incongruous pretence to the contrary. In a sonnet addressed to Victor Hugo, Mr. Tennyson, with rather singular and rather more than questionable taste, informs the master poet of his age that he is said not to love England; and against certain phases of modern English policy, as against certain shades of modern English character, Hugo has undoubtedly thought fit once and again to utter a frank and friendly word of protest. But such a tone as Mr. Tennyson's almost invariable tone towards France is simply inconceivable as coming from Victor Hugo with reference to any great nation in the world. Now this sort of strident anti-Gallican cackle was all very well, if even then it was not very wise, in the days of Nelson. But in our piping times of peace it is purely ludicrous to hear a martial shepherd of idyllic habits thus chirping defiance and fluting disparagement of the world beyond his sheep-cote. Besides the two fine sonnets of his youth and his age on Poland and Montenegro, he has uttered little if anything on public matters that I can remember as worth remembering except the two spirited and stalwart songs of "Hands all round" and "Britons, guard your own," which rang out a manful response of disgust and horror at the news of a crime unequalled in the cowardly vileness of its complicated atrocity since the model massacre of St. Bartholomew. Not as yet had the blameless Albert, at the bidding of his Merlin Palmerston, led forth—we will not say his Guinevere—to clasp the thievish hand of a then uncrowned assassin. If Mr. Tennyson has no personal or official reason for wishing to suppress the record and stifle the recollection of work which in every sense does him honour, some of us may venture to think that these verses would better bear reprinting than many which are allowed to keep their place on his list. As it is, he can hardly wonder if they should be "mercilessly pirated."

On the crowning question of metre much might be said on both sides in praise and in blame of Musset and of Tennyson alike. At the best of their good work, the world can show no sweeter musicians of truer touch on the keys of language than are they. At their worst, the world as certainly can show none worse. The rocks on which either vessel is ever likely to split lie in exactly opposite directions. The Englishman is too hard to satisfy: the Frenchman was too easily pleased. Musset, I should venture to guess, was born with a decidedly finer ear than Tennyson's; but, as a punster might express himself, he let that ear run hopelessly to seed, and ultimately left it to rot out of sheer indolence. Coleridge, on the other hand, very greatly understated the case in saying that he could hardly scan some of the Laureate's earlier verses. There are whole poems of Mr. Tennyson's first period which are no more properly to be called metrical than the more shapeless and monstrous parts of Walt Whitman; which are lineally derived as to their form—if form that can be called where form is none—from the vilest example set by Cowley, when English verse was first infected and convulsed by the detestable duncery of sham Pindarics. At times, of course, his song was then as sweet as ever it has sounded since; but he could never make sure of singing right for more than a few minutes or stanzas. The strenuous drill through which since then he has felt it necessary to put himself has done all that hard labour can do to rectify this congenital complaint: by dint of stocks and backboard he has taught himself a more graceful and upright carriage. For the shambling rhyme and the flaccid facility of Musset's verse at its weakest, he too evidently had not self-respect enough, nor care enough for the duties of his art, to go through a similar process of laborious cure. So much the lower is his rank, and so much the worse it is for his memory. That it would be well worth Mr. Tennyson's while to make his yet girlish Muse undergo this physical course of discipline must from the first have been obvious to all who could appreciate the heavenly beauty of her higher early notes. He never has written anything of more potent perfection, of more haunting and overpowering charm, than the divine lament of which the central note is a gentler echo to the Duchess of Malfi's exceeding bitter cry:—

"O that it were possible we might  
But hold some two days' conference with the dead!  
From them I should learn something I am sure  
I never shall learn here."

Even with the sound of Webster's more intense and passionate verse rekindled in the ear of our memory, we can take softer pleasure in the tender note of Mr. Tennyson's.

It may not be the highest imaginable sign of poetic power or native inspiration that a man should be able to grind a beauty out

of a deformity or carve a defect into a perfection; but whatever may be the comparative worth of this peculiar faculty, no poet surely ever had it in a higher degree or cultivated it with more patient and strenuous industry than Mr. Tennyson. Idler men, or men less qualified and disposed to expend such length of time and energy of patience on the composition and modification, the rearrangement and recision and reissue, of a single verse or copy of verses, can only look on at such a course of labour with amused or admiring astonishment, and a certain doubt whether the linnets, to whose method of singing Mr. Tennyson compares his own, do really go through the training of such a musical gymnasium before they come forth qualified to sing. But for one thing, and that a thing of great price, this hard-working poet had never any need to work hard. Whatever the early imperfection of his ear, no man was ever born with a truer and more perfect eye. During fifty years he has never given us a book without unquestionable evidence of this. Among his many claims and credentials as a poet, there is none more unimpeachable or more clear. Nor can any kind of study be more helpful or delightful to the naturally elect student of poetry than that which traces through the work of any poet the vein of colour or of sentiment derived from his earliest or deepest impressions of nature. Because the earliest are usually the deepest of these, it would be a false conclusion—hateful as an unfilled can—to infer that they must be so always. By far the strongest and most significant impressions of “naked nature”—of sea and shore, and cloud and sun, and all forces and all features of all these—that we find engraved upon the page and engrained into the imagination of Victor Hugo, may be dated from the dawn of his fifty-first year—the first of eighteen patient and indignant years of dauntless and glorious exile. The splendours and the terrors, the rapture and the rage, the passion and the patience of the most dangerous of all seas known to seamen, and surely the loveliest as well as the deadliest of them all, passed all into “the thunder and the sunshine” of his verse, and made of the greatest living poet a tenfold greater poet than ever he had been before. So that those who believe all heaven and all earth, all evil and all good, to exist only or mainly for the sake (forsooth) of the singer and the songs he may make of them, are bound to suppose that the great first cause and ultimate reason or pretext for the existence of Napoleon III. was the necessity that occasion should be given and means supplied for the production and the perfection of the greatest work possible to the godlike hand of Victor Hugo. And certainly some such excuse or apology would appear to be required by the conscience of humanity from a conscious and rational First Cause.

The influence and impression of outward and visible nature on the

spirit and the work of Mr. Tennyson may not less confidently be inferred from comparison of his studies from the life with the life itself of the nature to which he was a native. Many years ago, as I have always remembered, on the appearance of the first four *Idylls of the King*, one of the greatest painters living pointed out to me, with a brief word of rapturous admiration, the wonderful breadth of beauty and the perfect force of truth in a single verse of *Elaine*—

“And white sails flying on the yellow sea.”

I could not but feel conscious at once of its charm, and of the equally certain fact that I, though cradled and reared beside the sea, had never seen anything like that. But on the first bright day I ever spent on the eastern coast of England I saw the truth of this touch at once, and recognised once more with admiring delight the subtle and sure fidelity of that happy and studious hand. There, on the dull yellow foamless floor of dense discoloured sea, so thick with clotted sand that the water looked massive and solid as the shore, the white sails flashed whiter against it and along it as they fled: and I knew once more the truth of what I never had doubted—that the eye and the hand of Mr. Tennyson may always be trusted, at once and alike, to see and to express the truth. But he must have learnt the more splendid lesson of the terrors and the glories of the Channel before he caught the finest image ever given in his verse—the likeness of a wave “green-glimmering from its summit—with all

Its stormy crests that smoke against the skies.”

Assuredly there will be found no touch like that in all the work of Musset. It has all the faithful subtlety of Shelley's, and all the heavenly majesty of Milton's. Only Victor Hugo himself can make words lighten and thunder like these.

It will be seen that in these notes I have neither assumed nor attempted to give an exhaustive estimate of two typical and rival poets. Much of the most important and significant work of either has been perforce passed by, which we may hope that the critical historian of the future will properly take into account. All that a student in our own time can do or can desire is merely to cast into the present scales of judgment the weight of a grain in passing: he can give no more and must wish to give no less as his contribution to the verdict than a candid expression of the reasons for his loyal opinion of the case.

A. C. SWINBURNE.

## POLITICAL DIFFERENTIATION.

THE general law that like units exposed to like forces tend to integrate, was in the last chapter exemplified by the formation of social groups. The clustering of men who are similar in kind, when similarly subject to hostile actions from without, and similarly reacting against them, we saw to be the first step in social evolution. Here the correlative general law, that in proportion as the like units of an aggregate are exposed to unlike forces they tend to form differentiated parts of the aggregate, has to be observed in its application to such groups, as the second step in social evolution.

The primary political differentiation originates from the primary family differentiation. Men and women being by the unlikenesses of their functions in life, exposed to unlike influences, begin from the first to assume unlike positions in the social group as they do in the family group: very early they respectively form the two political classes of rulers and ruled. And how truly such dissimilarity of social positions as arises between them, is caused by dissimilarity in their relations to surrounding actions, we shall see on observing that the one is small or great according as the other is small or great. When treating of the *status* of women, it was pointed out that to a considerable degree among the Chippewayans, and to a still greater degree among the Clatsops and Chinooks, "who live upon fish and roots, which the women are equally expert with the men in procuring, the former have a rank and influence very rarely found among Indians." We saw also that in Cueba, where the women join the men in war, "fighting by their side," their position is much higher than usual among rude peoples; and, similarly, that in Dahomey, where the women are as much warriors as the men, they are so regarded that, in the political organization, "the woman is officially superior." On contrasting these exceptional cases with the ordinary cases, in which the men, solely occupied in war and the chase, have unlimited authority, while the women, occupied in gathering miscellaneous small food and carrying burdens, are abject slaves, it becomes manifest that diversity of relations to surrounding actions initiates diversity of social positions. And, as we before saw, this truth is further illustrated by those few uncivilized societies which are habitually peaceful, such as the Bodo and Dhimáls of the Indian hills, and the ancient Pueblos of North America—societies in which the occupations are not, or were not, broadly divided into fighting and working, and severally assigned to the two sexes; and in which,

along with a comparatively small difference in the activities of the sexes, there goes, or went, small difference of social *status*.

So is it when we pass from the greater or less political differentiation which accompanies difference of sex, to that which is independent of sex—to that which arises among men. Where the life is permanently peaceful, definite class-divisions do not exist. One of the Indian hill tribes to which I have frequently referred as exhibiting the honesty, truthfulness, and amiability accompanying a purely industrial life, may be instanced. Hodgson says, "All Bodo and all Dhimals are equal—absolutely so in right or law—wonderfully so in fact." The like is said of another peaceful and amiable hill tribe: "the Lepchas have no caste distinctions." And among a different race, the Papuans, may be named the peaceful Arafuras as displaying a "brotherly love with one another," and as having no divisions of rank.

As, at first, the domestic relation between the sexes passes into a political relation, such that men and women become, in militant groups, the ruling class and the subject class; so does the relation between master and slave, originally a domestic one, pass into a political one as fast as, by habitual war, the making of slaves becomes general. It is with the formation of a slave-class that there begins that political differentiation between the regulating structures and the sustaining structures, which continues throughout all higher forms of social evolution.

Kane remarks that "slavery in its most cruel form exists among the Indians of the whole coast from California to Behring's Straits, the stronger tribes making slaves of all the others they can conquer. In the interior, where there is but little warfare, slavery does not exist." And this statement does but exhibit, in a distinct form, the truth everywhere obvious. Evidence suggests that the practice of enslavement diverged by small steps from the practice of cannibalism. Concerning the Nootkas, we read that "slaves are occasionally sacrificed and feasted upon;" and if we contrast this usage with the usage common elsewhere, of slaying and devouring captives as soon as they are taken, we may infer that the keeping of captives too numerous to be immediately eaten, with the view of eating them subsequently, leading, as it would, to the employment of them in the meantime, led to the discovery that their services might be of more value than their flesh, and so initiated the habit of preserving them as slaves. Be this as it may, however, we find that very generally among tribes to which habitual militancy has given some slight degree of the appropriate structure, the enslavement of prisoners becomes an established habit. That women and children taken in war, and such men as have not been slain, naturally fall into un-



qualified servitude, is manifest. They belong absolutely to their captors, who might have killed them, and who retain the right afterwards to kill them, if they please. They become property, of which any use whatever may be made.

The acquirement of slaves, which is at first an incident of war, becomes presently an object of war. Of the Nootkas we read that, "some of the smaller tribes at the north of the island are practically regarded as slave-breeding tribes, and are attacked periodically by stronger tribes;" and the like happens among the Chinooks. It was thus in ancient Vera Paz, where periodically they made "an inroad into the enemy's territory . . . and captured as many as they wanted;" and it was so in Honduras, where, in declaring war, they gave their enemies notice "that they wanted slaves." Similarly with various existing peoples. St. John says that, "many of the Dyaks are more desirous to obtain slaves than heads; and in attacking a village kill only those who resist or attempt to escape." And that in Africa slave-making wars are common needs no proof.

The class-division thus initiated by war, afterwards maintains and strengthens itself in sundry ways. Very soon there begins the custom of purchase. The Chinooks, besides slaves who have been captured, have slaves who were bought as children from their neighbours; and, as we saw when dealing with the domestic relations, the selling of their children into slavery is by no means uncommon with savages. Then the slave-class, thus early enlarged by purchase, comes afterwards to be otherwise enlarged. There is voluntary acceptance of slavery for the sake of protection; there is enslavement for debt; there is enslavement for crime.

Leaving details, we need here note only that this political differentiation which war begins, is effected, not by the bodily incorporation of other societies, or whole classes belonging to other societies, but by the incorporation of single members of other societies, and by like individual accretions. Composed of units who are detached from their original social relations and from one another, and absolutely attached to their owners, the slave-class is, at first, but indistinctly separated as a social stratum. It acquires separateness only as fast as there arise some restrictions on the powers of the owners. Ceasing to stand in the position of domestic cattle, slaves begin to form a division of the body politic, when their personal claims begin to be distinguished as limiting the claims of their masters.

It is commonly supposed that serfdom arises by mitigation of slavery; but examination of the facts shows that it arises in a different way. While, during the early struggles for existence between them, primitive tribes, growing at one another's expense by

incorporating separately the individuals they capture, thus form a class of absolute slaves, the formation of a servile class, considerably higher, and having a distinct social *status*, accompanies that later and larger process of growth under which one society incorporates other societies bodily. Serfdom originates along with conquest and annexation.

For whereas the one implies that the captured people are detached from their homes, the other implies that the subjugated people continue in their homes. Thomson remarks that, "among the New Zealanders whole tribes sometimes became nominally slaves when conquered, although permitted to live at their usual places of residence, on condition of paying tribute, in food, &c."—a statement which shows the origin of kindred arrangements in allied societies. Of the Sandwich Islands government when first known, described as consisting of a king with turbulent chiefs, who had been subjected in comparatively recent times, Ellis writes:—"The common people are generally considered as attached to the soil, and are transferred with the land from one chief to another." Before the late changes in Fiji, there were enslaved districts; and of their inhabitants we read that they had to supply the chiefs' houses "with daily food, and build and keep them in repair." Though conquered peoples thus placed differ widely in the degrees of their subjection—being at the one extreme, as in Fiji, liable to be eaten when wanted, and at the other extreme called on only to give specified proportions of produce or labour; yet they remain alike as being undetached from their original places of residence. That serfdom in Europe originated in an analogous way there is good reason to believe. In Greece we have the case of Crete, where, under the conquering Dorians, there existed a vassal population, formed, it would seem, partly of the aborigines and partly of preceding conquerors, of which the first were serfs attached to lands of the State and of individuals, and the others had become tributary landowners. In Sparta the like relations were established by like causes: there were the helots, who lived on, and cultivated, the lands of their Spartan masters, and the pericæci, who had probably been, before the Dorian invasion, the superior class. So was it also in the Greek colonies afterwards founded, such as Syracuse, where the aborigines became serfs. Similarly in later times and nearer regions. When Gaul was overrun by the Romans, and again when Romanized Gaul was overrun by the Franks, there was little displacement of the actual cultivators of the soil, but these simply fell into lower positions: certainly lower political positions, and M. Guizot thinks lower industrial positions. Our own country, too, furnishes good illustrations. In ancient British times, writes Pearson, "it is probable that, in parts at least, there were servile villages, occupied by a kindred but conquered race, the

first occupants of the soil." More trustworthy, but to the like effect, is the evidence which comes to us from old English days and Norman days. Professor Stubbs says:—

"The *ceorl* had his right in the common land of his township; his Latin name, *villanus*, had been a symbol of freedom, but his privileges were bound to the land, and when the Norman lord took the land he took the villein with it. Still the villein retained his customary rights, his house and land and rights of wood and hay; his lord's demesne depended for cultivation on his services, and he had in his lord's sense of self-interest the sort of protection that was shared by the horse and the ox."

And of kindred import is the following passage from Innes:—

"I have said that of the inhabitants of the Grango, the lowest in the scale was the *ceorl*, *bond*, *serf*, or villein, who was transferred like the land on which he laboured, and who might be caught and brought back if he attempted to escape, like a stray ox or sheep. Their legal name of *nativus*, or *myf*, which I have not found but in Britain, seems to point to their origin in the native race, the original possessors of the soil. . . . In the register of Dunfermline are numerous 'genealogies,' or stud-books, for enabling the lord to trace and reclaim his stock of serfs by descent. It is observable that most of them are of Celtic names."

Clearly, a subjugated territory, useless without cultivators, was left in the hands of the original cultivators because nothing was to be gained by putting others in their places, even could an adequate number of others be had. Hence, while it became the conqueror's interest to tie each original cultivator to the soil, it also became his interest to let him have such an amount of produce as to maintain him and enable him to rear offspring, and also to protect him against injuries which would incapacitate him for work.

To show how fundamental is the distinction between bondage of the primitive type and the bondage of serfdom, it needs but to add that while the one can, and does, exist among savages and pastoral tribes, the other becomes possible only after the agricultural stage is reached; for only then can there occur the bodily annexation of one society by another, and only then can there be any tying to the soil.

Associated men who live by hunting, and to whom the area occupied is of value only as a habitat for game, cannot well have anything more than a common participation in the use of this occupied area: such ownership of it as they have must be joint ownership. Naturally, then, at the outset all the adult males, who are at once hunters and warriors, are the common possessors of the undivided land, encroachment on which by other tribes they resist. Though, in the earlier pastoral state, especially where the barrenness of the region involves wide dispersion, there is no definite proprietorship of the tract wandered over; yet, as is shown us in the strife between the herdsmen of Abraham and those of Lot respecting feed-

ing grounds, some claims to exclusive use tend to arise ; and at a later half-pastoral stage, as among the ancient Germans, the wanderings of each division fall within prescribed limits. I refer to these facts by way of showing the identity established at the outset between the militant class and the land-owning class. For, whether the group is one which lives by hunting or one which lives by feeding cattle, any slaves its members possess are excluded from land-ownership : the free-men, who are all fighting men, become, as a matter of course, the proprietors of their territory. This connexion in variously modified forms, long continues through subsequent stages of social evolution, and could scarcely do otherwise. Land being, in early settled communities, the almost exclusive source of wealth, it happens inevitably that during times in which the principle that might is right remains unqualified, personal power and possession of land go together. Hence the fact that where, instead of being held by the whole society, land comes to be parcelled out among component village-communities, or among families, or among individuals, possession of it habitually goes along with the bearing of arms. In ancient Egypt, "every soldier was a landowner"—"had an allotment of land of about six acres." In Greece the invading Hellenes, wresting the soil from its original holders, joined military service with the land-ownership. In Rome, too, "every freeholder from the seventeenth to the sixtieth year of his age, was under obligation of service . . . so that even the emancipated slave had to serve who, in an exceptional case, had come into possession of landed property." The like happened in the early Teutonic community. Joined with professional warriors, its army included "the mass of freemen arranged in families fighting for their homesteads and hearths : " such freemen, or markmen, owning land partly in common and partly as individual proprietors. Similarly with the ancient English. "Their occupation of the land as *cognationes* resulted from their enrolment in the field, where each kindred was drawn up under an officer of its own lineage and appointment ; " and so close was this dependence that "a thane forfeited his hereditary freehold by misconduct in battle."

Beyond the original connexion between militancy and landowning, which naturally arises from the joint interest which those who own the land and occupy it, either individually or collectively, have in resisting aggressors, there arises later a further connexion. As, along with successful militancy, there progresses a social evolution which gives to a dominant ruler increased power, it becomes his custom to reward his leading soldiers by grants of land. Early Egyptian kings "bestowed on distinguished military officers " portions of the crown domains. When the barbarians were enrolled as Roman soldiers, "they were paid also by assignments of land,

according to a custom which prevailed in the Imperial armios. The possession of these lands was given to them on condition of the son becoming a soldier like his father." And that kindred usages were general throughout the feudal period is a familiar truth: feudal tenancy being, indeed, thus constituted; and inability to bear arms being a reason for excluding women from succession. To exemplify the nature of the relation established, it will suffice to name the facts that "William the Conqueror . . . distributed this kingdom into about 60,000 parcels, of nearly equal value, from each of which the service of a soldier was due," and that one of his laws requires all owners of land to "swear that they become vassals or tenants," and will "defend their lord's territories and title as well as his person" by "knight service on horseback."

That this original relation between landowning and militancy long survived, we are shown by the armorial bearings of county families, as well as by their portraits of ancestors, who are mostly represented in military costume.

Setting out with the class of warriors, or men bearing arms, who in primitive communities are owners of the land, collectively or individually, or partly one and partly the other, there arises the question—How does this class differentiate into nobles and freemen?

The most general reply is, of course, that since the state of homogeneity is by necessity unstable, time inevitably brings about inequality of positions among those whose positions were at first equal. Before the semi-civilized state is reached the differentiation cannot become decided, because there can be no large accumulations of wealth, and because the laws of descent do not favour maintenance of such accumulations as are possible. But in the pastoral and still more in the agricultural community, especially where descent through males has been established, several causes of differentiation come into play. There is first that of unlikeness of kinship to the head man. Obviously, in course of generations, the younger descendants of the younger become more and more remotely related to the eldest descendant of the oldest, and social inferiority arises: as the obligation to execute blood-revenge for a murdered member of the family does not extend beyond a certain degree of relationship (in ancient France not beyond the seventh), so neither does the accompanying distinction. From the same cause comes inferiority in point of possessions. Inheritance by the eldest male from generation to generation, brings about the result that those who are the most distantly connected in blood with the head of the group are also the poorest. And then there co-operates with these factors a consequent factor; namely, the extra power which the greater wealth gives. For when there arise dis-

putes within the tribe, the richer are those who, by their better appliances for defence and their greater ability to purchase aid, naturally have the advantage over the poorer. Proof that this is a potent cause is found in a fact named by Sir Henry Maine :—"The founders of a part of our modern European aristocracy, the Danish, are known to have been originally peasants who fortified their houses during deadly village struggles and then used their advantage." Such superiorities of power and position once initiated, are increased in another way. Already in the last chapter we have seen that communities are to a certain extent increased by the addition of fugitives from other communities—sometimes criminals, sometimes those who are oppressed. While, in places where such fugitives belong to races of superior type, they often become rulers (as among many Indian hill-tribes, whose rajahs are of Hindoo extraction), in places where they are of the same race, and cannot do this, they attach themselves to those of chief power in their adopted tribe. Sometimes they yield up their freedom for the sake of protection: a man will make himself a slave by breaking a spear in the presence of his wished-for master, as among the East Africans, or by inflicting some small bodily injury upon him, as among the Fulahs. And in ancient Rome the semi-slave class distinguished as clients, originated by this voluntary acceptance of servitude with safety. But where his aid promises to be of value as a warrior, the fugitive offers himself in that capacity in exchange for maintenance and refuge. Other things equal, he joins himself to some one marked by superiority of power and property, and thus enables the man already dominant to become more dominant. Such armed dependents, having as aliens no claims to the lands of the group, and bound to its head only by fealty, answer in position to the *comites* as found in the early German communities, and as exemplified in old English times by the "Huscarls" (Housecarls), with whom nobles surrounded themselves. Evidently, too, followers of this kind, having certain interests in common with their protector and no interests in common with the rest of the community, become, in his hands, the means of usurping communal rights and elevating himself while depressing the rest.

Step by step the contrast strengthens. Beyond such as have voluntarily made themselves slaves to a head man, others have become enslaved by capture in the wars meanwhile going on, others by staking themselves in gaming, others by purchase, others by crime, others by debt. And of necessity the possession of many slaves, habitually accompanying wealth and power, tends still further to increase that wealth and power, and to mark off still more the higher rank from the lower.

Certain concomitant influences generate differences of nature,

physical and mental, between those members of a community who have attained superior positions, and those who have remained inferior. Unlikenesses of *status* once initiated, lead to unlikenesses of life, which, by the constitutional changes they work, presently make the unlikenesses of *status* more difficult to alter.

First there comes difference of diet and its effects. In the habit, common among primitive tribes, of letting the women subsist on the leavings of the men, and in the accompanying habit of denying to the younger men certain choice viands which the older men eat, we see exemplified the inevitable proclivity of the strong to feed themselves at the expense of the weak; and when there arise class-divisions, there habitually results better nutrition of the superior than of the inferior. Forster remarks that in the Society Islands the lower classes often suffer from a scarcity of food which never extends to the upper classes. In the Sandwich Islands the flesh of such animals as they have, is eaten principally by the chiefs. Of cannibalism among the Fijians, Ser nan says—"the common people throughout the group, as well as women of all classes, were by custom debarred from it." These instances sufficiently indicate the contrast that everywhere arises between the diets of the ruling few and of the subject many. And then by such differences of diet, and accompanying differences in clothing, shelter, and strain on the energies, are eventually produced physical differences. Of the Fijians we read that "the chiefs are tall, well made, and muscular; while the lower orders manifest the meagreness arising from laborious service and scanty nourishment." The chiefs among the Sandwich Islanders "are tall and stout, and their personal appearance is so much superior to that of the common people, that some have imagined them a distinct race." Ellis, verifying Cook, says of the Tahitians, that the chiefs are, "almost without exception, as much superior to the peasantry . . . in physical strength as they are in rank and circumstances;" and Erskine notes a parallel contrast among the Tongans. That the like holds among the African races may be inferred from Reade's remark that—

"The court lady is tall and elegant; her skin smooth and transparent; her beauty has stamina and longevity. The girl of the middle classes, so frequently pretty, is very often short and coarse, and soon becomes a matron, while, if you descend to the lower classes, you will find good looks rare, and the figure angular, stunted, sometimes almost deformed."<sup>1</sup>

Simultaneously there arise between the ruling and subject classes, unlikenesses of bodily activity and skill. Occupied, as those of higher rank commonly are, in the chase when not occupied in war, they

(1) While writing I find in the recently issued "Transactions of the Anthropological Institute" proof that even now in England, the professional classes are both taller and heavier than the artisan classes.

have a life-long discipline of a kind conducive to various physical superiorities; while, contrariwise, those occupied in agriculture, in carrying of burdens, and in other drudgeries, partially lose what agility and address they naturally had. Class-predominance is, therefore, thus further facilitated.

And then there are the respective mental traits produced by daily exercise of power, and by daily submission to power. The ideas, and sentiments, and modes of behaviour, perpetually repeated, generate on one side an inherited fitness for command, and on the other side an inherited fitness for obedience; with the result that in course of time, there arises on both sides the belief that the established relations of classes are the natural ones.

By implying habitual war among settled societies, the foregoing interpretations have implied the formation of compound societies. The rise of such class-divisions as have been described, is therefore complicated by the rise of further class-divisions determined by the relations from time to time established between those conquerors and conquered whose respective groups already contain class-divisions.

This increasing differentiation which accompanies increasing integration, is clearly seen in certain semi-civilised societies, such as that of the Sandwich Islanders. Ellis enumerates their ranks as—

“1. King, queens, and royal family, along with the councillor or chief minister of the king. 2. The governors of the different islands, and the chiefs of several large divisions. Many of these are descendants of those who were kings of the respective islands in Cook's time, and until subdued by Tamehameha. 3. Chiefs of districts or villages, who pay a regular rent for the land, cultivating it by means of their dependants, or letting it out to tenants. This rank includes also the ancient priests. 4. The labouring classes—those renting small portions of land, those working on the land for food and clothing, mechanics, musicians, and dancers.”

And, as shown by other passages, the labouring classes here grouped together are divisible into—artisans, who are paid wages; serfs, attached to the soil; and slaves. Inspection makes it tolerably clear that the lowest chiefs, once independent, were reduced to the second rank when adjacent chiefs conquered them and became local kings; and that they were reduced to the third rank at the same time that these local kings became chiefs of the second rank, when, by conquest, a kingship of the whole group was established. Other societies in kindred stages show us kindred divisions similarly to be accounted for. Among the New Zealanders there are six grades; there are six among the Ashantees; there are five among the Abyssinians; and other more or less compounded African States present analogous divisions. Perhaps ancient Peru furnishes as clear a case as any of the superposition of ranks resulting from



subjugation. The petty kingdoms which were massed together by the conquering Yncas, were severally left with the rulers and their subordinates undisturbed; but over the whole empire there was a superior organization of Ynca rulers of various grades. That kindred causes produced kindred effects in early Egyptian times, is inferable from traditions and remains which tell us both of local struggles which ended in consolidation, and of conquests by invading races; whence would naturally result the numerous divisions and subdivisions which Egyptian society presented: an inference justified by the fact that, under Roman dominion, there was a re-complication caused by superposing of Roman governing agencies upon native governing agencies. Passing over other ancient instances, and coming to the familiar case of our own country, we may note how, from the followers of the conquering Norman, there arose the two ranks of the greater and lesser barons, holding their land directly from the king, while the old English thanes were reduced to the rank of sub-feudatories. Of course, where perpetual wars produce, first small aggregations, and then larger ones, and then dissolutions, and then re-aggregations, and then unions of them, various in their extents, as happened in mediæval Europe, there result very numerous divisions. In the Merovingian kingdoms there were slaves having seven different origins; there were serfs of more than one grade; there were freedmen—men who, though emancipated, did not rank with the fully free; and there were two other classes less than free—the *liten* and the *coloni*. Of the free there were three classes—independent landowners; freemen in relations of dependence with other freemen, of whom there were two kinds; and freemen in special relations with the king, of whom there were three kinds.

And here, while observing in these various cases how greater political differentiation is made possible by greater political integration, we may also observe that in early stages, while social cohesion is small, greater political integration is made possible by greater political differentiation. For the larger the mass to be held together, while incoherent, the more numerous must be the agents standing in successive degrees of subordination to hold it together.

The political differentiations which militancy originates, and which for a long time acquire increasing definiteness, so that intermixture of ranks by marriage is made a crime, are at later stages, and under other conditions, interfered with, traversed, and partially or wholly destroyed.

Where, throughout long periods and in ever-varying degrees, war has been producing aggregations and dissolutions, the continual breaking up and reforming of social bonds obscures the original

divisions established in the ways described: instance the state of things in the Merovingian kingdoms just named. And where, instead of conquests by kindred adjacent societies, which in large measure leave standing the social positions and properties of the subjugated, there are conquests by alien races carried on more barbarously, the original grades may be practically obliterated, and, in place of them, there may arise grades originating entirely by appointment of the despotic conqueror. In parts of the East, where such over-runnings of race by race have been going on from the earliest recorded times, we see this state of things substantially realised: there is little or nothing of hereditary rank, and the only rank recognised is that of official position. Besides the different grades of appointed state-functionaries, there are no class-distinctions, or none having political meanings.

A tendency to subordination of the original ranks, and a substitution of new ranks, is otherwise caused: it accompanies the progress of political consolidation. The change which has occurred in China well illustrates this effect. Gutzlaff says:—

“ Mere title was afterwards (on the decay of the feudal system) the reward bestowed by the sovereign . . . and the haughty and powerful *grands* of other countries are here the dependent and penurious servants of the Crown. . . . The revolutionary principle of levelling all classes has been carried, in China, to a very great extent. . . . This is introduced for the benefit of the sovereign, to render his authority supreme.”

The causes of such changes are not difficult to see. In the first place the subjugated local rulers, losing, as integration advances, more and more of their power, lose, consequently, more and more of their actual, if not of their nominal, rank—passing from the condition of tributary rulers to the condition of subjects. Indeed, jealousy on the part of the monarch sometimes prompts positive exclusion of them from influential positions: as in France, where “ Louis XIV. systematically excluded the nobility from ministerial functions.” Presently their distinction is further diminished by the rise of competing ranks created by State-authority. Instead of the titles inherited by the land-possessing military chiefs, which were descriptive of their attributes and positions, there come to be titles conferred by the sovereign. Certain of the classes thus established are still of militant origin: as the knights made on the battle-field, sometimes in large numbers before battle, as at Agincourt, when 500 were thus created, and sometimes afterwards in reward for valour. Others of them arise from the exercise of political functions of different grades: as in France, where, in the seventeenth century, hereditary nobility was conferred on officers of the great council and officers of the chamber of accounts—officers who had habitually been of *bourgeois* extraction. The administration of law, too, presently

originates titles of honour. In France, in 1607, nobility was granted to doctors, regents, and professors of law; and "the superior courts obtained, in 1644, the privileges of nobility of the first degree." So that," as Warnkœnig remarks, "the original conception of nobility was in the course of time so much widened that its primitive relation to the possession of a fief is no longer recognisable, and the whole institution seems changed." These, with kindred instances, which our own country and other European countries furnish, show us both how the original class-divisions become blurred, and how the new class-divisions are distinguished by being de-localised. They are strata which run through the integrated society, having, many of them, no reference to the land and no more connection with one place than another. It is true that of the titles artificially conferred, the higher are habitually derived from the names of districts and towns: so simulating, but only simulating, the ancient feudal titles expressive of actual lordship over territories. The other modern titles, however, which have arisen with the growth of political, judicial, and other functions, have not even nominal references to localities. This change naturally accompanies the growing integration of the parts into a whole, and the rise of an organization of the whole which disregards the divisions among the parts.

More effective still in weakening those primitive political divisions initiated by militancy, is increasing industrialism. This acts in two ways—firstly, by creating a class having power derived otherwise than from territorial possessions or official position; and, secondly, by generating ideas and sentiments at variance with the ancient assumptions of class-superiority. As we have already seen, rank and wealth are at the outset habitually associated. Existing uncivilised people still show us this relation. The chief of a kraal among the Koranna Hottentots is "usually the person of greatest property." In the Bechuana language "the word *kosi* . . . has a double acceptation, denoting either a chief or a rich man." Such small authority as a Chinook chief has, "rests on riches, which consists in wives, children, slaves, boats, and shells." So was it originally in Europe. In ancient Spain the title *ricos hombres*, applied to the barons, definitely identified the two attributes. Indeed it is manifest that before the development of commerce, and while possession of land could alone give largeness of means, lordship and riches were directly connected; so that, as Sir Henry Maine remarks, "the opposition commonly set up between birth and wealth, and particularly wealth other than landed property, is entirely modern." When, however, with the arrival of industry at that stage in which wholesale transactions bring large profits, there arise traders who vie with, and exceed, many of the landed nobility in wealth, and when by

conferring obligations on kings and nobles, such traders gain social influence, there comes an occasional removal of the barrier between them and the titled classes. In France the progress began as early as 1271, when there were issued letters ennobling Raoul the goldsmith—"the first letters conferring nobility in existence." The precedent once established is followed with increasing frequency, and sometimes, under pressure of financial needs, there grows up the practice of selling titles, in disguised ways or openly: in France, in 1702, the king ennobled 200 persons at 3,000 livres a-head; in 1706, 500 at 6,000. And then the breaking down of the ancient political divisions thus caused, is furthered by that weakening of them consequent on the growing spirit of equality fostered by industrial life. In proportion as men are daily habituated to maintain their own claims while respecting the claims of others, which they do in every act of exchange, whether of goods for money or of services for pay, there is produced a mental attitude at variance with that which accompanies subjection; and, as fast as this happens, such political distinctions as imply subjection, lose more and more of that respect which gives them strength.

Class-distinctions, then, date back to the beginnings of social life. Omitting those small wandering assemblages which are so incoherent that their component parts are ever changing their relations to one another, and to the environment, we see that wherever there is some coherence and some permanence of relation among the parts, there begin to arise political divisions. Relative superiority of power, first causing a differentiation at once domestic and social, between the activities and positions of the sexes, presently begins to cause a differentiation among males, shown in the bondage of captives: a master-class and a slave-class are formed.

Where men continue the wandering life in pursuit of wild food for themselves or their cattle, the groups they form are debarred from doing more by war than appropriate one another's units individually; but where men have passed into the agricultural or settled state, it becomes possible for one community to take possession bodily of another community, along with the territory it occupies. When this happens there arise additional class-divisions. The conquered and tribute-paying community, besides having its headmen reduced to subjection, has its people reduced to a state such that, while they continue to live on their lands, they yield up, through the intermediation of their chiefs, part of the produce to the conquerors: so foreshadowing what eventually becomes a serf-class.

From the beginning the militant class, being by force of arms the dominant class, becomes the class which owns the source of food—the land. During the hunting and pastoral stages, the warriors of

the group hold the land collectively. On passing into the settled state, their tenures become partly collective and partly individual in sundry ways, and eventually almost wholly individual. But throughout long stages of social evolution, landowning and militancy continue to be associated.

The class-differentiation of which militancy is the active cause, is furthered by the establishment of definite descent, and especially male descent, and the transmission of position and property to the eldest son of the eldest continually. This conduces to inequalities of position and wealth between near kindred and remote kindred; and such inequalities of wealth once initiated, strengthen themselves by giving to the superior increased means of maintaining their power by accumulating appliances for offence and defence.

Such differentiation is increased, at the same time that a new differentiation is initiated, by the immigration of fugitives who attach themselves to the most powerful member of the group; now as dependants who work, and now as armed followers—armed followers who form a class bound to the dominant man and unconnected with the land. And since, in clusters of such groups, fugitives ordinarily flock most to the strongest group, and become adherents of its head, they are instrumental in furthering those subsequent integrations and differentiations which conquests bring about.

Inequalities of social position, bringing inequalities in the supplies and kinds of food, clothing, and shelter, tend to establish physical differences; to the further advantage of the rulers and disadvantage of the ruled. And beyond the physical differences, there are produced by the respective habits of life, mental differences, emotional and intellectual, strengthening the general contrast of nature.

When there come the conquests which produce compound societies, and, again, doubly compound ones, there come super-positions of ranks. And the general effect is that, while the ranks of the conquering society become respectively higher than those which existed before, those of the conquered become respectively lower.

The class-divisions thus formed during the earlier stages of militancy, are traversed and obscured as fast as the many small societies are consolidated into one large society. Ranks referring to local organization are gradually replaced by ranks referring to general organization. Instead of deputy and sub-deputy governing agents who are the militant owners of the subdivisions they rule, there come governing agents who more or less clearly form strata running throughout the society as a whole—a concomitant of developed political administration.

Chiefly, however, we have to note that while the higher political evolution of large social aggregates, tends to break down the divi-

sions of rank which grew up in the small component social aggregate, by substituting other divisions, these original divisions are still more broken down by growing industrialism. Generating a wealth that is not connected with rank, this initiates a competing power ; and at the same time, by establishing the equal positions of citizens before the law in respect of trading transactions, it weakens those divisions which at the outset expressed inequalities of position before the law.

As verifying these interpretations, I may add that they harmonize with the interpretations of ceremonial institutions recently given. As the primary differences of rank result from victories, and as the primary forms of propitiation originate in the behaviour of the vanquished to the vanquishers ; so the later differences of rank result from differences of power which, in the last resort, express themselves in physical coercion, and so the observances between ranks are recognitions of such differences of power. When the conquered enemy is made a slave, and mutilated by taking a trophy from his body, we see simultaneously originating the deepest political distinction and the ceremony which marks it ; and with the continued militancy that compounds and re-compounds social groups, there goes at once the development of political distinctions and the development of ceremonics marking them. And as we before saw that growing industrialism diminishes the rigour of ceremonial rule, so here we see that it tends to destroy those class-divisions which militancy originates, and to establish others which indicate differences of position consequent on differences of aptitude for the various functions which an industrial society needs.

HERBERT SPENCER.

## REFORM IN PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS.

AMID the excitement caused by the condition of Ireland, by the complications of the Eastern Question, and by the critical state of affairs in Afghanistan and Africa, it may be difficult to induce men to give their attention to the necessity of amending the machinery and procedure of our Government and Legislature. But the attempt ought to be made; and, for several reasons, I think it ought to be made now. The experience of late years sufficiently proves that it would be impossible for this Parliament to do the work which the country expects from it, unless the House of Commons increases its capacity for work, and diminishes opportunities for obstruction. Except the Extension of the County Franchise, which, on constitutional grounds, may have to be postponed to the eve of dissolution, there are no questions of serious constitutional change impending; and the first working session of a new Parliament affords the best chance of obtaining amendment in matters, not sensational, but affecting vitally the welfare of the country.

No thoughtful observer can doubt that, at this moment, the agricultural, manufacturing, financial, and consequently also political position of the country is in grave question, not to say peril. Our agriculture will require every practical amendment of the law, and of those habits which are fostered by law, to enable our farmers to compete successfully with America and other foreign countries. The severe competition to which our manufacturing industry is subjected renders it necessary that laws affecting the relations of labour to capital, or the health, comfort, and well-being of our working classes, should receive the most careful consideration; while £20,000,000 of loss is inflicted annually upon the country by insolvency, much of which is due to defective bankruptcy legislation, which Parliament has for years admitted, but found no time efficiently to revise. The diminishing respect felt in this country for the House of Commons is in itself evidence of the necessity for a better organization of the workers, and more methodical arrangement and division of the work to be done. And it would be unfair to deny that the failure of the late Government to carry even purely administrative reforms is in some degree to be attributed to the defects of our Departmental and Parliamentary arrangements. Yet we go on leaving unchanged Departmental arrangements and forms of Parliamentary procedure, which might be suitable and adequate in a feudal or semi-barbarous time, but are utterly inadequate and insufficient to deal with the complicated wants of modern civilisation and the demands now

made alike on the Executive and the Legislature. The House of Commons exercises a strange fascination on its members. In its atmosphere, after only a few years, extreme Radicals are apt to become idolaters of every effete custom, and to fight with passion for forms of power which practically deprive them of the reality of it. In the words of Sir T. Erskine May, "The true faith has not been unmixed with idolatry; and to discontinue an old form was to cast down an idol."<sup>1</sup> I have sat on the Committees on the business (*i.e.* the procedure) of the House of Commons during the last two Parliaments, and have seen the accustomed attitudes of men absolutely reversed. Speakers and officers of the House, and old and experienced Conservative Ministers, who might in these matters also have been expected to be Conservative, advocated alterations, which, on the other hand, were opposed by extreme men on both sides of the House, in whom the innate Conservatism of the British mind seemed to have concentrated itself on the defence of obsolete formalities.

To the present House of Commons we may fairly look to remedy this state of things. It has been chosen under circumstances which should make it one of the most powerful instruments for safe, useful, and well-considered legislation we can ever hope to have. It was elected in an outburst of national feeling which led the country to choose as its representatives those in whose judgment it had confidence, without subjecting them to special tests which the electors patriotically kept in the background. It is a much more educated Parliament than the last. It contains a larger number than usual of clever men, of Liberal county members, and of practical men of all sorts, chosen, not for their wealth, but for their ability and principles—men, too, whose sense of the evils of the present system is not deadened by usage; yet, if it be objected that these new members are deficient in experience, I reply that the wisest and most experienced authorities, such as the present and past Speakers, some Ministers of the Crown, and Sir Erskine May, agree with these new men who have come fresh from the people, who have to work our laws and feel their effects. Authority within and experience without alike assert the necessity for change.

It must be apparent to any unprejudiced observer who has watched closely the conduct of the business of the country and of Parliament for many years past, that the relative importance of the different departments of State has materially changed even in the present century—that the arrangements of Parliament for transacting the business of the country are now unsuitable or inadequate to the work to be performed, and that there is consequently much waste of the time and of the power both of the Executive Government and of

(1) *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xcix. (1854), page 246.



the Legislature. It could not be otherwise. Owing to the enormous increase that has taken place in the amount and variety of the duties expected from the Executive and from Parliament, no organization of the public departments (whether in respect to their strength or their relative importance), no forms of Parliamentary procedure which were adapted to the needs of the country even a few years ago, could fail to be inadequate now. To effect economy of time and increase of power by promptly removing the most obvious of these defects seems to me to be one of the most pressing objects which can occupy our attention. Improved arrangements are needed in order to prepare the way for the great measures that will come before the present Parliament. A new Parliament, in which a strong Government is supported by a powerful majority, made wise by recent lessons, is eminently capable of introducing the changes needed in the Executive, in its own procedure, and in the distribution of duties between the Central and Local Governments.

It would be impossible within the limits of this article to attempt to consider the waste of power and the other evils, administrative as well as legislative, which result from adherence to antiquated and imperfect arrangements. The Ministry, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons sin and suffer alike in this respect. The great administrative departments of the State should be equal in pay and in dignity, so that men should be placed or removed solely with regard to their experience and fitness for the several departments, subject to no embarrassing considerations of dignity or promotion. If the sense of responsibility of the House of Lords were increased, so that it might be induced to debate the provisions of Bills, and not merely, as now, their principles, it might again worthily take its position as an effective and useful branch of the Legislature.

But the most pressing question at present is how to improve the forms of procedure of the House of Commons. As representing more directly the people, it has appropriated to itself most of the work of legislation and much of the control and direction of the Executive Government, and yet has failed to make such arrangements as would enable it to perform efficiently, or even creditably, the duties thus undertaken. I therefore propose to confine this article to the consideration of the duties and work of the House of Commons, and of the suggestions that have been made for relieving it of some of its work, and enabling it to do the remainder more creditably. The House of Commons is the model on which most representative assemblies have been formed; and it would be mortifying if, from any want of care to adapt its procedure and forms to the work which it has to do, it should fail worthily to fill that proud position. But, unfortunately, respect for the House of Commons is declining, and Acts of Parliament are constantly and severely criticised in no

flattering terms, not only by the public, but by the judges who have to administer them. Moreover, the proceedings of the House are less fully and carefully reported in the newspapers, because those caterers for the public find that the debates excite less interest and are less read than was once the case. Even Members of Parliament hardly realise the vast increase which has taken place in its work. In former days they had to grant supplies for a population far less numerous and less wealthy than now, and to pass or amend comparatively few Bills, such as were necessary for the simpler wants and the less extended Empire of the nation. Now they enact innumerable Private Bills for railways and other undertakings, for dealing with the complicated modern requirements of Local Government, for the health and education of our people and for the regulation of their labour—work either altogether new or left formerly to individual action. Even as far back as 1854, Sir T. Erskine May mentions that there were no less than 30, 32, and even 33 Committees sitting on the same day for four or five hours in the morning, in which upwards of 200 members were engaged.<sup>1</sup> Our colonies are extending in all directions, and the affairs of India, which formerly came under the consideration of the House of Commons only on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, are now directly under the control of the Imperial Government and come annually before Parliament.

The people, through their newspapers, are now so much better acquainted with foreign affairs than formerly that they have learnt to interfere actively in their conduct, and force on the Executive, through the House of Commons, questions and discussions on the Foreign Policy of the country; and all this is in addition to the greatly increased call for public legislation which naturally arises from the active interest now taken by the bulk of the nation in politics. During the last Session of Parliament the questions addressed to Ministers, which precede the regular business of the day, often absorbed much of the most valuable time before dinner.

Much of this increased work is ill done or is not done at all. The business accumulates, and, as the end of the Session approaches, the result of accumulated delays becomes conspicuous, and, in the words of Sir Erskine May :—

“The Bills which have thus accumulated are either hurried through, at last, without proper consideration, and sent up, in the last fortnight, to the Lords, who had been sitting for months with folded arms, or, after having occupied much time, and given occasion to numerous debates, are ultimately abandoned . . . and less vigilance is exercised in controlling public expenditure than is devoted to the scrutiny of a Private Bill.”

(1) *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xcix. (1854), page 252.

Nothing exemplifies more clearly the evils of the present system than the method now adopted in drawing Bills. It will, I suppose, be admitted by every one that an Act of Parliament ought to be simple, precise, and easily understood by those who are to interpret or obey it. But instead of this clearness and simplicity being the primary object of the draftsman, it has become a necessary art so to draw Bills as to afford as little opportunity as possible for the insertion of amendments, often ill-considered and inconsistent, which destroy the very object sought for. Bills as drawn now do not state clearly on the face of them the full meaning of the law, but leave that to be gathered by reference to existing Acts of Parliament. To understand them it is, therefore, necessary to have a law library at one's elbow. And yet these are the laws which are to be executed by a busy and untrained magistracy, who are not professional lawyers, and to be understood and obeyed by the hard-working citizens of this busy country.

“The political difficulties of legislation in a popular assembly are sufficiently great; but when to these are added a defective organization, an insufficient division of labour, and indefinite facilities for obstructive debate, they can only be overcome by such struggles and sacrifices as ought not to be exacted of those who devote themselves to the public service.”

Surely it is worth while making some attempt to adapt our legislative machinery to the increased wants of the country, to relieve the House of Commons of some of its work, and, by improved method and a better division of labour, to put it in a position wisely to govern this great, wealthy, and industrious country, and to regulate the affairs of its vast empire.

The business of the House of Commons is to grant supplies, to discuss public measures so as to prepare for legislation, to legislate, to debate questions of foreign and other policy so as to enlighten the public, and to control, and, if necessary, practically dismiss the Executive Government. The remedies for the evils which impede its exercise of these important duties may be found in four directions:—

1. The House may be relieved of some of its work.
2. The form of legislation may be improved by methods of drafting and revising Bills.
3. Improvements may be introduced in the forms and procedure of the House in discussing and passing Bills.
4. The rules of debate may be amended so as to prevent unnecessary loss of time.

*First.*—If the House were relieved of the Private Bill work done by its Committees at present, not only would that work be far less expensively and more efficiently done, but the powers of the House

and the time of its members would be set free to do its public work far better and more carefully than it is performed at present. The Private Bill business of the House is enormously expensive to the country, and anything but satisfactory in its results. Again, in the words of Sir Erskine May :—

“ There are already too many Committees—they have too much to do—of necessity they do a great part of their business very ill. . . . No judicial training or experience, no special aptitude for business, or familiarity with the matters on which they are about to adjudicate, are expected of any member of the Committee, except perhaps the Chairman.”

The results are too notorious to require much exemplification. Absolute uncertainty as to what the decision of a Committee may be, constant conflict of decisions by different Committees, and on the same Bill, between Committees of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, immense increase of expenses and discouragement of useful enterprise, are the constant and inevitable results of the present system.

“ We have been assured by an eminent railway engineer that the following conflict of decisions, upon the leading principles of railway legislation, actually occurred in a single week. The question to be tried by four different Committees, sitting at the same time and in adjoining rooms, was this :— Which of two rival lines is to be preferred—the shortest and most direct, or the more circuitous, which accommodates a larger population, more towns, and a greater traffic? The first Committee preferred the shortest line; the second, the more circuitous; the third would sanction neither of the lines; and the fourth decided in favour of both. And this anecdote, however exaggerated it may be, serves to illustrate one of the chief evils of the existing system. The Committees may be individually just; but how is it possible for them to carry out any uniform principle of legislation?”

The work done by Private Bill Committees on Railway, Gas, Water Bills, &c., could be far better done by practised commissioners, who might be sent down to the locality interested. The enormous expense now incurred by bringing great numbers of witnesses up to London would thus be saved. The House might still, if it pleased, reserve to itself the power of rejecting, on third reading, Bills thus reported upon; but, as it would, of course, lay down beforehand the principles on which inquiries should proceed, and as the decisions of the commissioners would be far more consistent and uniform than is possible under the present system, the necessity for such interference would be extremely rare.

The evils arising from our present system of Private Bill legislation would have been much greater but for the vigilance exercised by the Chairmen of Committees in the House of Commons, by Mr. Rickards, the Counsel to the Speaker, and by Lord Redesdale, in the

House of Lords ; but even their vigilance cannot prevent occasional objectionable legislation, and, on the other hand, Lord Redesdale's intense Conservatism at times prevents much needed improvements. When Local Governing Bodies shall have been consolidated, improved, and strengthened, as they no doubt will during the present Parliament, the House might lay down general principles upon which Private Bill legislation should proceed, and leave the application of these principles to Local Bodies. Here again ultimate control might be retained by the House of Commons by an extension of the system of Provisional Orders in regard to such questions.

*Second.*—Our legislation might be very much improved by a better system of drafting and revising amendments, and of revising Bills after they have been amended. Great improvements in the drafting of Bills have been introduced by Sir Henry Thring and others ; but, even in this respect, much requires to be done. In Sir Henry Thring the Government have had for many years a man apparently made of cast-steel, whose enthusiasm for his work no amount of over-work or discouragement can extinguish. He has been ably seconded by his assistants, but three or four Sir Henry Thrings would be required to do efficiently the work which he has, or ought to have, to do ; and to obtain the service of such men they ought, in dignity, position, and emolument, to be placed at least on a level with the judges who have to administer the laws of which the draftsmen are the artificers. The kind of ability necessary to enable a man to draft laws as Sir H. Thring drafts them is far rarer than the capacity required to qualify an ordinary judge to administer them. The staff of the drafting department should be sufficiently strong to enable it to revise amendments proposed, and Bills when amended, so that they shall not become, as they too often do, utter nonsense, or, still worse, increase the evils they are intended to abate. To draft a Bill, or amendments in it, properly, it is necessary to consider, not only the context of the Bill itself, but also the rest of the law, whether contained in statutes or in cases, which bears upon the subject. This may seem a truism, but it is habitually disregarded in our legislation. The evidence before the Committee of 1857 goes very fully into this question, and any one who will refer to that evidence will not fail to realise the importance and difficulty of the subject. Unfortunately the Committee, in view of the impending dissolution, made no formal report, but merely reported the evidence.

We cannot expect our legislation to be consistent, effectual, or comprehensible until the drafting department of the Government is so organized and strengthened that it may be able to revise amendments proposed, and advise their proposers thereon, besides revising Bills after they have passed through Committee and been dealt with

on report. Since I became a member of the House I never willingly proposed an amendment of importance without having it first considered by an able lawyer and draftsman as to its effect both upon the Bill and the existing law; and experience has confirmed my opinion that our legislation must be blundering, confused, and obscure until some provision be made for such professional advice and revision. I venture, moreover, to think that the time of the House of Commons would be largely saved, its legislation improved, and its dignity better secured, if, instead of having, as now, the draftsman of important Bills seated under the gallery, and the Minister in charge of the measure running every few minutes to consult him as to the effect of amendments proposed, while some member, or one of his colleagues, speaks against time to enable him to do so, the draftsman of the Bill were so far made an officer of the House as to be allowed during the passage of the Bill a seat at its table. He could thus advise those in charge of the Bill whether amendments proposed by private members were consistent with other parts of it or with the existing law which the Bill did not propose to repeal, or what, having regard to the existing law, would be the effect of such amendments.

*Third.*—Several improvements in the forms of procedure have been suggested by those who have had most experience, and, in some cases, have been recommended by repeated resolutions of Committees appointed to report upon the business of the House. But, before mentioning them, it may be well to state the forms through which an ordinary Act of Parliament has to go before it passes the House of Commons. Leave has first to be obtained to introduce it, and it has to be read a first time; but these are generally mere formal stages which are rarely opposed. Then comes the second reading, the stage at which it is generally understood that the principles of a measure should be discussed; but for some years a custom has sprung up of debating these principles over again on the motion for going into Committee. This is sometimes a convenience as shortening the debate on second reading; but on the whole, I believe, it has been found that this practice not only wastes much of the time of the House, but, by spreading the discussion on the principles of a measure over two debates, makes it less complete and thorough. Then comes the Committee stage, when the Bill has either to go through Committee of the whole House, and be read clause by clause in order that amendments may, if necessary, be made, or to be first sent to a Select Committee. In this latter case it has still to pass through a Committee of the whole House, however thorough and satisfactory the work of the Select Committee may have been. When Bills are in Committee any member may speak any number of times upon the same amendment. After it has passed through Committee

the Bill is brought up on report, when it again is competent for any member to move amendments on any clause; but he can only speak once on the same amendment. Lastly, the Bill has to be read a third time and passed. Even at this stage full discussion may take place, and the Bill, or any part of it, may be referred back to Committee for amendment, or it may be rejected altogether.

Now if the House really did what it professes to do, these forms would seem very complete for insuring at any rate careful legislation. But the House does not and cannot do this; and the only effect of the attempt to make the whole House carry every Bill through all these stages is that the greater part of the work is unsatisfactorily and ill done.

Sir Erskine May, in giving evidence before the Select Committee of 1878, was asked the following question:—

“If the House could be got into the habit of doing a quantity of its practical work by those Committees (Grand Committees or Select Committees, instead of by Committees of the whole House), would it not leave much more time than is available at the present for discussing those questions which the House reserves more especially for its own charge; and would not those Bills be turned out in a much more complete and workable form than they are now?”

To which he replied:—

“That has been the ground on which I have ventured, on former occasions, to suggest some such system as a division of labour. I think it is a misfortune that the whole House, which is a very large body indeed, should be occupied in the discussion of every provision of every single Bill. There are certain classes of Bills which must be reserved for the consideration of the House itself, either as a House or as a Committee of the whole House; but I should say that three-fourths of the Bills that come before Parliament, and certainly more than three-fourths of the Bills that are brought in by independent members, might be better discussed by such a Committee as I have suggested.”<sup>1</sup>

Most Bills, except a few of the principal measures in each Session, have to be hurried through Committee often in the early hours of the morning when few Members are present to attend to them; and, while they are passing through Committee, their value is often destroyed by amendments suddenly suggested by Members coming in perhaps in the midst of the debate, who do not understand the subject, but propose amendments which occur to them on the spur of the moment. Such amendments are sometimes hurriedly adopted by those in charge of the Bill to avoid provoking discussion which would be fatal to the progress of the measure in that Session.

Sir Erskine May has proposed, that in place of carrying all Bills through Committee of the whole House, certain of them should be

(1) Select Committee on Public Business (Parliamentary, Paper 268 of 1878), page 25, Question 232.

referred to Grand Committees selected from the House. He stated, in 1854, in the article from which I have already repeatedly quoted, his views on this point so clearly that I shall simply transcribe them :—

“The organization of such a plan might be attempted in the following manner :—The House should be divided into six Grand Committees, consisting of about 110 Members each, to whom would be added 15 or 20 Ministers and other leading Members, who would be nominated to serve upon all the Grand Committees. The Members would be distributed by a Committee of Selection, subject to approval by the House, in such a manner as to secure an equal representation of political parties, interest, and classes in all the committees; and, at the same time, to maintain in each a preponderance of Members more particularly conversant with its peculiar department of business. Thus, the Grand Committee for Trade would comprise a large proportion of merchants and of the representatives of commercial constituencies; and the Committee for Courts of Justice an ample complement of ‘gentlemen of the long robe.’ The constitution and functions of these several committees would be different; but all would be political representatives of the larger body from which they are drawn, and little Parliaments, as it were, in themselves. The province of one would probably be religion and ecclesiastical affairs; of another, law and courts of justice; of a third, trade, shipping, and manufactures; of a fourth, local taxation and administration; of a fifth, Colonial and Indian possessions; and of a sixth, education and general purposes.

“The first function of these committees would be to consider the provisions of every Public Bill referred to them; and for that purpose their proceedings would be assimilated to those of a Committee of the whole House. Each Committee should have assigned to it a chamber, arranged so as to admit of the distribution of parties, and to afford facilities for debate. It would be a novel experiment to admit the public and reporters to the deliberations of a Committee; but this would be an essential part of the proposed plan. The main object in view is to invest the deliberations of these Committees with as much importance as possible, and to delegate to them the discussion and, as far as possible, the decision of questions which now devolve wholly on the House. If this could be accomplished the labours of the House would be, to that extent, diminished. Perhaps the number of days in the week on which the House would sit might be diminished; at all events, the length of the sittings might be curtailed, and the two or three hours after midnight, which now inflict so much fatigue and inconvenience upon busy Members, might be often spared. The tendency of such an arrangement would be to make the House a Court of Appeal, as it were, from its Grand Committees, rather than a Court of Primary Jurisdiction, in all legislative matters, as it is at present. It would determine the questions fit to be referred to its Committees, and would revise their decisions if necessary, instead of undertaking to settle the details, as well as resolving the principles of all legislation.

“Other incidental advantages may be anticipated from the reference of Bills to Grand Committees. At present, the discussion of the clauses of a Bill is regarded, by the majority of Members, as a wearisome interruption to the more proper business of the House. Few Members take part in it; and those who attend are impatient to proceed to other matters in which they are more



interested. The Bills are, therefore, hastily amended, while Members who would be competent to assist in their revision meet with little encouragement in offering suggestions to an impatient audience. In a Grand Committee, whose deliberations offered no impediment to the progress of business in the House, and whose proper duty it was to discuss the clauses of a Bill, a more careful revision of them might reasonably be expected. The majority of the Members would, probably, be interested in the subject of discussion; and those who desired to offer their opinions would be heard without impatience.

"A Grand Committee, indeed, would be an admirable school for Members, in which many excellent men of business, who are rarely heard in the House itself, would be able to render efficient service and to gain distinction for themselves by their knowledge and practical judgment. In each Grand Committee the Government would be represented by its official Members who had charge of any Bill and by independent Members co-operating with them; and the Opposition and other parties would have equal opportunities of advancing their own opinions. If their debates were published the public would also be fully informed of their proceedings and prepared to influence the ultimate decision of the House when their report should come under consideration.

"The quorum of these Committees need not exceed 20, or at the utmost 25, which would be sufficient for the transaction of ordinary business, while questions of importance would attract a full attendance of Members. Their sittings might be conveniently hold in the largest of the new Committee rooms, which could be fitted up for their accommodation, and, if necessary, enlarged by an encroachment upon adjoining rooms, many of which are of unnecessary dimensions. They would sit on certain days of the week in the morning, and, like other Committees, adjourn on the assembling of the House.

"It can scarcely be objected that a Grand Committee would be too limited to represent with fairness the general sentiments of the House so long as 40 Members out of 651 are held to be sufficient for all purposes of legislation. Nay, by the present rules of the House, even 20 Members, though opposed by 19, may bind the whole House to an irrevocable vote; nor, in less exceptional cases, does the final judgment of the House depend upon the aggregate numbers in a division. For example, in the last Session, Lord Robert Grosvenor's Attorneys' Certificate Duty Bill had been brought in by a considerable majority in a House consisting of 391 Members; it was rejected on the second reading in a House of 293 Members only. And again, the fate of the Advertisement Duty affords a still more striking instance of the reversal of decisions by smaller numbers than those by which they were originally agreed to. On the 14th April, after one of the best speeches of the Session, Mr. Milner Gibson carried a resolution for the repeal of the Advertisement Duty in a full House of 374 Members (the respective numbers being 202 and 171). The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, at a subsequent period, instead of adopting this vote as the expression of the will of the House, proposed a reduction of the duty from eighteenpence to sixpence. This compromise was not accepted by Mr. Milner Gibson and his friends; and on the 1st July the battle was renewed. The Government at first succeeded in carrying their proposition by a majority of 10 only in a House of 213 (the numbers being 111 and 101), and reversed, for a time, the previous decision of 374 Members. Their triumph was brief. It was the night of a State ball at Buckingham Palace. The supporters of the Government hastened from the division lobby to the ball-

room; while their sturdier opponents, resolute of purpose and not much given to dancing—even if invited to dance—continued the fight in a thin House of 136 Members. It was now too late to rescind the previous vote directly; but, being well skilled in fence, they succeeded in affirming by a majority of 9 (the numbers being 72 and 63) that the future Advertisement Duty should be £0 0s. 0d! After much consideration, the Government resolved not to disturb this determination; and we are indebted to 72 Members and a Queen's ball for our present complete exemption from a tax, which nearly one-third of the House had previously failed in repealing. The luckless attorneys were the only class who suffered in this contest: for Mr. Gladstone, in surrendering the sixpence on advertisements, begged hard for the Certificate Duty as an equivalent; and for this sixpence the opponents of 'taxes on knowledge' consented to the sacrifice of their legal friends.

"On numerous occasions, in every session, the Members present at a division are considerably less than 100, and a division with so many as 300 is comparatively rare. To refer again to the last Session for examples: out of 257 divisions there were 20 of less than 100 Members, 142 of more than 100 and less than 200, 53 of more than 200 and less than 300, and 39 only exceeding 300. The average number present in all the divisions was 201.

"In the presence of these statistics it will hardly be contended that Grand Committees will afford an inadequate representation of the whole body of Members. In the House nothing can be more irregular and capricious than the attendance of Members, even when great questions are to be decided without further appeal, and it is notorious that the House is occasionally liable to clandestine surprises and ambuscades. The Grand Committees might possibly be exposed to similar irregularities, but every vote would be open to revision by the House, and their minutes of proceedings and division lists would show how far they had paid attention to their duties and were entitled to support.

"If the experiment of Grand Committees should prove successful in the case of Bills it might be extended to other descriptions of business with equal if not greater advantage. Bills relating to religion or trade, for instance, which are now required to originate in a Committee of the whole House, as well as other Bills, might conveniently be initiated in these Committees, by which means the House would be relieved of many preliminary discussions. With what alacrity would the House refer the questions of Maynooth and the Nunneries to the Grand Committee of Religion, how gladly consign intricate questions of law reform to the Grand Committee on Law and Courts of Justice. And while much pressure might thus be transferred from the House, many Members would have an opportunity of submitting their motions to Grand Committees who now wait hopelessly for a hearing in the House itself.

"Care would naturally be taken to prevent Committees from withholding any matters from the consideration of the House. They would merely decide upon questions specifically referred to them, and their votes would be subject to reversal. Nor would ministerial responsibility be diminished by this system. If the Committees were taken indiscriminately from the body of the House, the Government for the time being would ordinarily have a majority in each Committee, and if occasionally outvoted there, would assemble their forces in the House and refuse to adopt the report of the Committee."

Again, in 1878, after 24 years' additional experience as Clerk of the House of Commons, Sir T. Erskine May repeated, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the business of the House, his recommendation of that system, and stated, in reply to Lord Hartington, that his plan might certainly be tried gradually.<sup>1</sup>

Another practical suggestion has been made which might, with great advantage, be applied to all measures not involving party considerations. The Committee of 1861 recommended :—

"That when a Public Bill has been committed to a Select Committee and reported to the House, the Bill, as amended, shall be appointed for consideration on a future day; when, unless the House shall order the Bill generally or specially in respect to any particular clause or clauses thereof to be re-committed to a Committee of the whole House, the Bill, after the consideration of the Report, may be ordered to be read a third time."<sup>2</sup>

While the Committee of 1878, on page iii. of their Report, say :—

"A proposal has also been considered by your Committee to the effect that Bills which have been referred to a Committee upstairs should not in all cases be re-committed to a Committee of the whole House. It does not appear to your Committee to be necessary to make any new order for the purpose of enabling the House to exercise its undoubted right of negativing or omitting the stage of Committee on a Bill in any case in which it may think it desirable to do so; but they are of opinion that the practice may be conveniently reverted to in the case of Consolidation Bills, and of some others, after they have been examined by a Select Committee."<sup>3</sup>

This recommendation was made on the authority of Sir John Pakington, who, I believe, originally proposed it, of two Speakers, of Sir T. Erskine May, and of other distinguished authorities.

Both these suggestions are for the revival of old customs. Not only would they practically improve our legislation, but, in adopting them, the House would in no way part with any practical power. Bills could still be referred to Committees of the whole House, if thought desirable, and, even if this were not done, any Member would have power, on the Report, to move any amendment he might wish. By surrendering what is practically an empty form, the House would secure much more time to attend to those measures of primary importance, the details of which it is desirable should be considered in Committee of the whole House; while other measures, which are now hurried through Committee, would receive the careful attention of Members experienced and interested in the subjects dealt with. Nothing but the fanatical idolatry of obsolete forms, to which I have previously referred, could have prevented such prac-

(1) Select Committee on Public Business (Parliamentary Paper 268 of 1878), page 26, question 242.

(2) Select Committee. Business of the House (Parliamentary Paper 173 of 1861). Page XII.

(3) Select Committee. Public Business (Parliamentary Paper 268 of 1878), page iii.

tical suggestions from being adopted years ago. Even if the House insists on retaining its Private Bill business, such arrangements would undoubtedly lighten and improve its labours; but, of course, if it relieves itself of part of its Private Bill business, it would have still more time to devote to such Committees, and the work of legislation would be very different and very superior to what it is now.

It has also been proposed that certain kinds of measures should be referred to Joint Committees of the two Houses. This course, which saves time and prevents work being done twice over, has been occasionally adopted, but by no means so often as would be advantageous.

Another very important suggestion has been made with a view to improving our legislation. It has been proposed that on very difficult and intricate questions, the House should in the first instance proceed, as it has occasionally done with admirable effect, by resolution. In the adoption of such a course, the Ministry would embody in resolutions, instead of in a Bill, the principles which they would be held responsible for proposing, and the resolutions should be so drawn as to furnish an outline of the main features of legislation on which they invite discussion. The information elicited in debate on the resolutions from Members practically acquainted with the details of the subject would be in the hands of the Ministers and of the draftsmen instructed by them before instead of after the drawing of the Bill. These resolutions not being confined entirely to the principles of the measure, but extended to the main features of the practical mode in which it was intended to carry out those principles, it has been further suggested that the discussion on the resolutions might to a certain extent be made to take the place of discussion in Committee, and the Minister and draftsman might then have the responsibility thrown upon them of carrying out the intention of the House of Commons in a clear and consistent form. I believe the suggestion originally came from Mr. J. Stuart Mill that the House should have the power, at the request of the Ministry, to vote a Bill as a whole, safeguards being provided against hasty legislation. The vote to deal with a Bill by such a method would be taken on first reading, when the question would be debated fully and public attention drawn to it, and the details criticised. Suggestions would be made to the Minister in charge of the Bill by Members of the House of Commons, both during and after debate. After a reasonable time for making such suggestions had elapsed, the Minister would reprint the Bill in the form in which he intended finally to take the sense of the House upon it; and, after it had been debated and approved of on second reading and left for a further time before the House and the country, the Bill would be read a third time and passed on the responsibility of the Minister as to its being consistent in form and in harmony with other legislation. This arrangement is

advocated on the grounds that it would prolong the time devoted by the country and the House to the consideration of a measure, and give the country more opportunity of expressing an opinion upon its provisions, which are now often so altered at the last moment that no opportunity is given for doing so. It would diminish the time actually spent by Parliament in passing it, for, though a longer time would elapse between the introduction and final passing of a measure, this would be secured, not by prolonging the debates, but by prolonging the intervals between the stages. It would leave on the Government the undivided responsibility of details, which the House, as a whole, cannot effectually deal with, while the Government would not lose the benefit of the advice of individual Members as to details, as they would communicate their opinions and suggestions personally and directly to the Government during the intervals between the first and second reading, when the Government were revising the details, before going for the second reading. On such a subject as the Licensing Laws this course would facilitate wise legislation. The Bills would not be drawn on vague ideas of what the country or the House wanted, for the discussion on the resolution would have brought a vast amount of practical intelligence to bear upon the question, and would have given to those who have to draw the Bills immense assistance in coming to a practical and consistent conclusion. This, again, is a recurrence to old and very wise principles of procedure.

It has been further suggested that where a Bill has passed one House of Parliament, but has not, for want of time, been properly discussed in the other House, it should be taken up, in the following Session, at the stage at which it was left. It is not likely that such a plan would be adopted without giving to either House the power of reconsidering its previous decision. The Select Committee of the House of Lords, in 1861, recommended with reference to such Bills:—

“That on a resolution being moved, that it is expedient again to pass, and to send to the other House for its concurrence, any such Bill, the question shall be put whether the House will agree to the same, and on such resolution being agreed to the Bill to which it relates shall be forthwith sent to the other House for its concurrence, without any further question being put or any debate allowed.”

*Fourth.*—I now come to the subject which has excited most attention lately, namely, the necessity for improvement in those rules of debate and forms of the House which give undue facilities to members who wish to obstruct its proceedings. Improvements in the rules of debate and in the forms of the House which regulates its procedure are at once the most difficult branch of the subject, and the branch which presses the most urgently for decision. It would of

(1) Select Committee (House of Lords) on Public Business (Parliamentary Paper 321 of 1861), page 4.

course be better for the dignity of Parliament that no stringent laws on this subject should be required, and that mutual courtesy and forbearance should make the House a law unto itself; but this unfortunately has ceased to be the case. There are a few members who avowedly seek to make legislation impossible and Parliament contemptible, and they have for their assistants certain members of the Conservative Party, whose reckless love of mischief has made them accomplices in anarchy. Obstruction, which originated, as they would be proud to avow, with Mr. Lowther, Mr. T. Collins, and Mr. Cavendish-Bentinck, aided by some distinguished members of their party, has become, in the hands of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar, a scientific art. They were enabled to learn their lesson by the connivance of the House during the passage of Mr. Cross's Prisons Bill, which was detested by the county members, though, owing to the bribe of public money which it gave from the Imperial Exchequer in aid of local rates, they did not dare openly to oppose it. Many of those concerned have, no doubt, repented ere now in sackcloth and ashes. The House now owes it to its own dignity and character and to the country to let it be known and felt that, however unwillingly, it is prepared, should the necessity continue, to put down with a strong hand proceedings which make, and are avowedly intended to make, Parliamentary Government ridiculous if not impossible.

In 1848 this question was seriously under the consideration of the House of Commons; and evidence was taken by a Committee of the House, not only from its own officers but from foreign statesmen, M. Guizot having given evidence on the French and Mr. E. Curtis, of New York, on the American system. The report and evidence of that Committee are well worthy of study. Sir T. Erskine May, in the article to which I have so often had occasion to refer, says:—

“As the rules of the British Parliament were adopted in the United States and in France, it is not without instruction to observe the modifications which the experience of these countries has suggested. So early as 1794 the American House of Representatives had discovered the inconveniences arising out of debates upon questions of adjournment; and the prohibition of them, which was then found necessary, has ever since been acquiesced in. In like manner the House of Representatives, having found by experience that the power of a small minority to insist upon a division is objectionable, will not permit any division to take place unless one-fifth of the Members present concur in requiring it. The experience of the French Chamber of Deputies had led them to a similar conclusion; and a *scrutin secret* could only be insisted upon (except in certain cases) by the requisition of twenty Members. It will be for the House of Commons to consider how far restrictions of a similar character are necessary or desirable.”

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“In America by means of ‘the previous question,’ and in France by *la clôture*, the majority were empowered to determine, by a vote, that a debate should at once be brought to a conclusion. This coercion of the minority into silence has been quietly submitted to in America from 1789 to the present

time; and in France it was borne, with equal patience, from 1814 until Louis Napoleon imposed silence upon majorities as well as minorities by a *coup d'état*."

Sir T. Erskine May adds:—

"In case, however, the question of *la clôture* should come under consideration, we are able to offer—what will be much more persuasive with the House of Commons than any argument—a *precedent*. On the 9th of May, 1604, 'upon Sir Rowland Litton's offer to speak in this matter, resolved, no more should speak.'"

The following is taken from the examination of M. Guizot by the Select Committee of 1848:—

"Q. With the existence of the power of *clôture*, is it your opinion that all subjects have been amply and fairly debated?"

"A. Yes, it is quite my opinion. I never knew in the Chamber of Deputies a debate which did not last sufficiently long."

"Q. Do you think that without some power of closing debates, the public business in your Chamber could have been conducted satisfactorily?"

"A. I think not. I think the *clôture* in our chamber was an indispensable power; calling to mind what has passed of late years, I do not recollect any serious and honest complaint against the *clôture*."

Mr. Curtis, of New York, who was examined both as to closing the debate by the adoption of the previous question and the limitation of the length of speeches, speaking of the rule that no speech should exceed one hour, says:—

"It has greatly facilitated business. It has improved the quality of the speeches; public opinion is decidedly in its favour. The best proof of this is that, as these rules are adopted only from session to session, and there have been changes of party since they were adopted, both parties have in turn adopted these rules and acted upon them. The most intelligent and experienced gentlemen of the country approve of them, both the previous question and the one-hour rule."

"Mr. J. Randall, a counsel, practising in the Federal Courts of the United States, in the City of Philadelphia, confirmed Mr. Curtis' statements, expressed an opinion that 'previous question' and 'the one-hour rule' have worked well. At first the one-hour rule was much opposed, but it has worked well; it has fought its way into public favour, and has the support not only of the members of the House, but of the people at large."

It is not necessary to go at length into the question of the "*clôture*," as it has been dealt with in several recent articles—especially one by Lord Sherbrooke. I only desire to show here that should it be necessary to adopt the French *clôture* or the American "previous question" for a time, the experience of those

(1) Report Select Committee on Public Business (Parliamentary Paper 8-14 of 1861, page v.

(2) Ibid, page vi.

(3) Report Select Committee on Public Business (Parliamentary Paper 3-14 of 1861, page 6.

countries shows that neither has been fatal to freedom of debate. For I have been reluctantly brought to the conviction that, for one or two sessions at least (I hope not more), it will be necessary to take means of vindicating the honour and usefulness of Parliament from the attacks of those who would destroy both. Without going into detail, I may say that the House of Commons has the power to pass in one sitting any measure on which a large majority is really intent, even if it should be necessary to pass such a measure *en bloc* by surrendering for a time the power of amendment or debate.

Another mode of obtaining more time or improved quality of work was suggested by Mr. Disraeli, and recommended by the Committee of the House of Commons which sat in 1871—"That it is desirable that Parliament should assemble at a period of the year not later than the last week in November." It was, of course, intended that, in such case, Parliament should be prorogued in June; and it was hoped that a great deal of non-contentious business might be initiated and considerably advanced before Christmas. It is certain that the adoption of a vigorous month's work in winter, instead of a month's lassitude in July, would produce vastly better results in legislation, to say nothing of the health of the workers, and, as was urged on the Committee by a great Conservative statesman, if any great public question required the attendance for a time of sporting county members, "their patriotism would no doubt lead them to make the necessary sacrifice, and if not, well, I suppose, we should have to manage to get on without them."

Some limit will probably have to be put on the power of moving adjournments, the most efficient engine of obstruction, and the one which has been most unscrupulously used.

If much of the Private Bill Committee business of the House of Commons were otherwise arranged for, it might be possible for the House to meet earlier in the day and adjourn earlier at night, the business being so arranged as to consult as much as possible the convenience of the legal and other members of the House who might have other business to attend to.

WILLIAM RATHBONE.



## LÉONCE DE LAVERGNE.

LAST year one of the most remarkable Frenchmen of the age that has just closed—for both in England and France a new and more democratic age has begun—passed away almost without remark in this country, although he had peculiar claims to a place in the memory of Englishmen. The name of Léonce de Lavergne was, indeed, better known in England in the days of the Second Empire than during the decade following its collapse, notwithstanding that in the former period he was excluded from public life, while in the latter the curtain which the Empire had drawn over political genius was lifted, and M. de Lavergne was a considerable person in the political world. A younger generation, however, had grown up, and many Englishmen who saw the name Lavergne recur in accounts of French parliamentary proceedings and political parties were unaware that he had lived, as it were, two previous lives, first as a rising politician in the reign of Louis Philippe, and afterwards as a distinguished author and economist. Four political epochs—the reign of Louis Philippe, the Second Republic, the Second Empire, and the Third Republic—may be said to have been represented, though in different ways, in M. de Lavergne's career. Two of these epochs were, indeed, for him periods of seclusion and, politically speaking, of obscurity; yet indirectly they exercised a powerful influence over the directions of his energies and the tenor of his thoughts. In the preface to the first edition of his *Essay on the Rural Economy of England*, he said: “Je m'adresse surtout à ceux qui, comme moi, se sont tournés vers la vie rurale, après avoir essayé d'autres carrières, et par dégoût des révolutions de notre temps.” Repugnance alike to revolution and to despotism not only turned him from politics to country life, but deeply coloured his views of rural economy. His whole career might be shown to throw an instructive light on the part that surrounding social conditions on the one hand, and individual powers and bent on the other, play in determining the pursuits, ruling ideas, and achievements of men of unusual capacity. But the object of this memoir is simply to lay before the reader some account of M. de Lavergne's life, conversation, and work, by one who had the privilege of peculiar opportunities for observation.

Louis Gabriel Léonce de Lavergne was born at Bergerac, in the Department of Dordogne, in 1809, and was educated for the legal profession, but made literature as well as law an early pursuit. He was a frequent contributor to the *Revue du Midi*, and in 1838 was nominated Professeur de Littérature à la Faculté de Montpellier, but declined the chair. After practising for a short time at the Bar, he took office under M. Guizot, as Sous-Directeur au Ministère des affaires étrangères, and won the entire confidence and warm friend-

ship of his illustrious chief. In 1846 he was elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and was soon regarded as one of the most promising of the younger French statesmen. The Revolution of 1848 sent him back to private life and to letters and philosophy. In 1850 he accepted the Professorship of Rural Economy in the Institut National Agronomique; but one of the first measures of the Imperial Government was to suppress that Institute, in order to deprive him, and others whose politics were obnoxious, of their chairs. Special missions, by way of temporary compensation, were offered to the deprived professors. In his zeal for the improvement of French agriculture, which had become his most engrossing object, M. de Lavergne undertook to report on Agricultural Credit in England and Germany. In 1851 he had visited the Great Exhibition and made a tour through Great Britain, and he came again in 1852 and 1853. In 1854 his famous *Essai sur l'Agriculture de l'Angleterre, de l'Écosse, et de l'Irlande*, was published. In 1855 he was elected member of the Institute of France. In 1857 he issued a volume entitled *L'Agriculture et la Population*. In 1860 his great work, *Économie Rurale de la France depuis 1789*, appeared. Two later works, *Les Assemblées Provinciales sous Louis XVI.* and *Les Économistes Français du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, brought him additional celebrity. He was the author also of various essays in the *Recue des Deux-Mondes* and the *Journal des Économistes*, and of contributions to the transactions of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, which attracted much attention. In 1865 he was elected President of La Société Centrale de l'Agriculture, being now looked up to on all sides as the highest authority in France on all subjects connected with rural economy. It is pleasing to find a French official concerned in the administration of the domains of the State speaking, in one of the Reports of the Enquête Agricole, of "mon illustre maître, M. de Lavergne," at a time when it could little conduce to the advantage of a functionary of the Government to profess admiration for an avowed adherent to the Orleanist party, least of all one whose writings had made him an object of especial disfavour in high quarters. Of the public career of M. de Lavergne after the fall of the Second Empire, something will be said hereafter. To realise what manner of man he was, he should be seen and heard, as it were, in private life and retirement.

The controversy carried on in England in the decade 1860—1870, respecting the comparative merits of la petite and la grande propriété, and la petite and la grande culture, deeply interested M. de Lavergne, and having seen an essay of my own on the subject, he invited me to visit him at his country-house in the Department of La Creuse, in Central France. I met him, however, first in Germany, in the summer of 1868. He was already suffering from a gouty affection of the joints, which made the later years of his life a painful struggle

between mind and matter, and he walked with difficulty. His frame was large; his face lighted by intellect and strongly expressive of kindness; his manner, while unaffected and gentle, had a natural dignity—one felt oneself in the company of one of the true upper ten thousand of the human race. There was a solidity of judgment, combined with a play of wit, in his conversation that brought to my recollection the observation of Sir Thomas Overbury, nearly three centuries ago, on the character of the Frenchmen of that age: "For the most part they are all imagination, and no judgment, but those that prove solid excel."<sup>1</sup> A solid Frenchman is rarer than a solid Englishman; but when a Frenchman is solid, he excels now as he did in the days of Sir Thomas Overbury, because he adds imagination and brilliancy to good sense. M. de Lavergne was a thorough Frenchman, but he had also sober qualities uncommon in France. The infirmity of most Frenchmen is that they give way too easily to passion; while the Englishman maintains his self-control, and has, therefore, time for second thoughts and circumspection. Lavergne had the calm of an Englishman.

At our first meeting, M. de Lavergne spoke of his regard and respect for England and English institutions, adding with a smile that his wife, who was present, accused him of Anglomania, and that he in turn charged her with Anglophobia; a charge which Madame de Lavergne did not repel. She was a person of a character and cast of thought unlike his; but they were devotedly attached to each other and inseparable, their differences of opinion only making their society more interesting, and never bordering upon discord. Passages in Lavergne's *Économie Rurale de l'Angleterre* had left on my mind an idea that some great English landowners had been careful to show him the bright side of England, and of the English land system in particular. He replied to a hint to that effect that, on the contrary, he had declined invitations and letters of introduction in order to see things with his own eyes, but a curious thing had happened in one case. He had gone to see a famous ducal residence and estate, and on arriving at the railway station found to his surprise one of the duke's carriages waiting for him. The duke, he was told, was absent; but had given orders that he should be shown every attention, and taken wherever he wished to go. Supposing that some common friend had spoken of his intended visit, and that it would seem ungracious to decline, he accepted the offered civility, and saw more than he could have done had he been left to his own lights. In the end it turned out that there had been a mistake; the duke had given orders about a foreign visitor, and the servants had taken the first foreigner they met at the station.

It was Lavergne's practice when visiting any new locality, and one which he told me had been very useful to him in his tours in

(1) *Observations on the State of France under Henry IV.*, 1609; Harl. Misc., viii. 379.

Great Britain and France, with a view to a description of their rural scenery, to survey the surrounding country from some commanding height. He seemed to have the eye, at once, of a general, a sportsman, an agricultural expert, and an artist, seizing immediately all the main features of a landscape in every aspect. We were not far from the Rhine, and looking down on it from an eminence, he observed, one day, alluding to a passage in Michelet's picture of France: "Like Michelet, I fear to look at the heroic Rhine; not, however," as Michelet says, "because a lotus-tree grows on its banks, leading me to forget my native land, but because it makes a Frenchman now think of his native land with anxiety and apprehension. I dread a war for the Rhine. It would be either victory for Germany or victory for the Second Empire, and it is hard to say which of the two would be the more injurious to France in the end. Either, moreover, must result in a permanent increase of European armaments, already the curse of our age."

In the autumn of the same year I was M. de Lavergne's guest at Peyrusse, on the brow of a mountain glen formed by the river Taurion, or Thorion, in one of the most desolate districts of La Creuse, where he had, through his wife, an extensive though not a very profitable estate, mostly in forests, from which immense quantities of wood were annually sold at Limoges, chiefly for use as fuel in the manufacture of porcelain. In his invitation Lavergne had spoken of his residence as "*notre ermitage*," and though he did not lead quite the life of a hermit, since Madame de Lavergne shared his seclusion, and he had a household of servants, no hermit could have desired a wilder solitude. One might wander for hours through his woods without seeing a living creature—unless, perhaps, a serpent, or a she-wolf and her young. On the desert hills in the neighbourhood one might meet a *bergère* tending a few lean animals, but the masculine termination, *berger*, was unknown. The able-bodied men of the department were working as masons in great towns, especially Paris, where the public expenditure on building was enormous, and almost all outdoor work was done by women. One day we drove to a village on a mountain some miles from Peyrusse, where we saw a few women and children; but not a human being was visible on the road or from it, going or returning. "*L'empire, c'est la paix. Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*," said Lavergne. The public expenditure in Paris averaged more than £30,000,000 a year, draining both money and labour from the rural districts, while, at the same time, the army carried off a percentage of the rustic youth. I remarked that La Creuse owed to the Empire, at any rate, the residence of Lavergne himself for a good part of the year, for were the Orleanist dynasty restored, his political occultation would cease, and he would be resident chiefly in Paris. He replied that the Emperor's policy was to make himself the only conspicuous figure in France, and to allow

no lesser light, however faint, to be visible. Napoleonic ambition had always been of the kind denounced in Bacon's essay: "He that seeketh to be eminent among able men hath a great task, but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure among ciphers, is the decay of a whole age." Lavergne added, however, that he had no personal reason to dislike the Empire, for the peaceful retirement of Peyrusse had great charms for him, and now more than ever since his health had become far from robust. There had been a time, indeed, when his own farm had been more than a mere amusement. During the scare at the Red Spectro, conjured up to frighten the French nation into regarding Louis Napoleon as the saviour of society, all business in many parts of Franco had been suspended. Lavergne's own wood could find no market, his tenants could pay only in produce which was unsaleable, and a property he had in the South remitted no income. The want, both of local markets and of cheap communication with distant markets, he continued, which resulted mainly from the monarchical system of concentrating the public expenditure (introduced by Louis XIV., and followed under the Empire) was the principal cause of the perpetuation of the mediæval tenure of *métayage*. The soil must be made to grow, not the crops for which it might be best adapted, but the necessities of life for both owner and cultivator—who, accordingly, divided its produce in kind. Lavergne waged an incessant war against the Imperial finance. Both the excessive amount of the public expenditure and its unequal distribution were constantly pointed at in his works as the main obstacles to the economic progress of the Departments of Franco remote from the capital. He was regarded, accordingly, with an evil eye at the Tuileries as a rancorous enemy, but there was nothing personal in his antagonism. His motive was not antipathy to the Emperor, but sympathy with the peasant, as the real saviour of French society. "Dans toutes nos grandes crises historiques," he eloquently urged, "le paysan français, si bien personifié par Jacques Bonhomme, a toujours fini par nous tirer d'affaire. . . . Si les autres classes de la société française, riches, bourgeois, artisans de villes, valaient pour leurs rôles ce que Jacques Bonhomme vaut pour le sien, ce n'est pas l'Angleterre, c'est la France qui serait depuis longtemps le premier peuple de l'univers." <sup>1</sup>

Much as M. de Lavergne detested the Imperial system of government, a singularly mild temper and sweet disposition made him incapable of personal resentment, and he never spoke of Louis Napoleon with bitterness. When I applied some strong epithets to the perfidious Coup d'État and the cruelties that followed it, he said calmly, correcting one of my adjectives, "Non, il n'est pas méchant, il est grand menteur. Voilà tout." Of the falsehood pervading the

<sup>1</sup> *L'Agriculture et la Population*, 2nd ed., 342-3.

administration throughout all its ramifications he gave curious instances. I inquired about Prince \* \* \*, ambassador at the court of \* \* \*. "He is no more a prince than you or I," was the answer; "indeed, even less, for it has never been proved in a court of law that I am not a prince, and I presume it has never been proved that you are not." In reference to the Coup d'État, he repeated an expression which he had used in Germany, "*Les Anglais sont très indiscrets*," and gave an instance affecting himself. On the very day of it (December 2, 1851), he had paid a visit at the house of a neighbour and political friend in Paris, where he met an English lady, the wife of an English author of great celebrity, herself well known in the literary and social worlds of both London and Paris. Everyone spoke out, as he supposed, in confidence and perfect security. To his dismay, a few days afterwards, he saw an account of the visit in a great London journal. "*Cela pouvait précisément m'envoyer à Cayenne*." Anyone on whom suspicion fell of being hostile to Louis Napoleon's proceedings or plans, was liable to be transported to Cayenne without form of trial. In this instance, however, M. de Lavergne appears to have been so far mistaken, that no breach of confidence or discretion was actually committed by the English lady. Her letter, as a recent reference to the file of the journal in question has satisfied me, was not written for publication, and was cautiously expressed; nor was there reason, at the moment at which she described what had passed, to suppose that a mere allusion to M. de Lavergne, in such a way as to identify him, could expose him to danger. The letter was written on the evening of December 2, when some arrests of eminent persons had been made, but before any massacres in the streets or deportations to Cayenne had taken place. It found its way into the *Times* of December 6, 1851, under the heading "The following are extracts from a lady's letter." "Paris, Tuesday evening, December 2. At about twenty minutes past one o'clock I set forth with Miss B., attended by my two servants on foot. Finding, however, that carriages passed through the Faubourg St. Honoré we took a remise, and drove to the house of M. de F., near the Madeleine, and went in and found Madame de T. and M. de L. M. de T. was gone out to confer with other members of the Assembly on the occurrences of the morning. M. R., *Conseiller d'État*, joined us, and related some facts, of which the following are the principal." [The arrests of Lamoricière, Changarnier, and other generals, are described, and some other particulars given.] "At eleven o'clock all was hushed, and so ended a day pregnant with disquiet and sinister auguries which assuredly have seldom been better warranted, for so monstrous an exercise of brute force on the part of the executive has few precedents in history." Seeing this letter in the *Times* a week afterwards, when the streets were red with the blood of peaceful

citizens, when men were hourly disappearing to be seen no more, and all Paris was quaking, it was natural that Lavergne should have been startled at an allusion to himself as having been in disaffected company. But the writer of the letter could hardly have foreseen such ground for alarm. It is even possible that its publication did more good than harm to M. de Lavergne. The persons carried off to Cayenne were of inferior note, and Louis Napoleon was by no means desirous of raising an outcry from the English press. Looking at all the circumstances, there seems no reason for withholding the name of Mrs. Grote as the English lady of whom Lavergne spoke.

This, however, was only a single instance of English indiscretion in his eyes, from the French point of view. There was the correspondence in the English newspapers during the Crimean war. Mr. Senior's notes of conversations with eminent persons, of whom Lavergne was one, likewise appeared to him a highly characteristic English proceeding. "But Mr. Senior's notes are not printed," I suggested. "No," he replied, "but scores of people, I might say hundreds, have seen them, and many more have heard of them. And doubtless they will be printed. No Englishman or Englishwoman can keep anything from the printing-press. It is astonishing to me that printing was not an English invention, and that Caxton should have borrowed it from the Continent." On several occasions he recurred, half in jest, to the English lack of reticence and discretion in relation to printing. I told him, for instance, that I had visited a *ferme école* near Rennes in Brittany, about which he had spoken to me, and on my way back to my hotel, observing a number of women as well as men coming out of a large printing establishment, had asked a question about the employment of women in the business. As the foreman to whom I spoke brusquely refused to answer, I explained that I was a professor of political economy, and therefore took an interest in the subject, as there had been combinations against women in the printing trade in London. Whereupon the man gesticulated furiously, snapped his fingers in my face, and made various other demonstrations of incredulity and hostility. Lavergne tranquilly observed that it must have reached Brittany that the English were very indiscreet, above all in matters of printing. On other points he took a more favourable view of the English than his wife did. He considered them mild and gentle, "*Les Anglais sont très doux.*" Madame on the other hand maintained that the roughest creature to be seen on the Continent was the British tourist, and that even in good society the English were unmaunely. One instance was, that Lord \* \*, whom they had invited to dinner in Paris, kept the company three-quarters of an hour waiting, and, instead of apologising, coolly said he had been spending three charming quarters of an hour with the Duchesse \* \* \*. Another Englishman had a habit of talking of the Comte de Paris and the Duc d'Aumale as "Paris" and

"D'Aumale," without titles,—“as if our princes were nobodies,” said Madame de Lavergne. She added that she had seen English ladies and gentlemen crowd round M. Thiers in his salon, and stare at him with a grin, as though he were a monkey performing tricks. Lavergne said he did not mean to pronounce on the manners of the English from an æsthetic point of view, but *au fond* they were the best tempered nation in Europe. He had never seen a furious quarrel between Englishmen, such as one might see any hour in the streets of a French town. Everything seemed to work smoothly without a hard word. The English railway porter, compared with his fellow in Germany or France, was an angel; the English guard an archangel. The liberality and courtesy of the Company to passengers on the North-Western Railway had impressed him as one of the most remarkable results of modern civilisation. The gentleness of the English might be partly the effect of physical causes, but he attributed it chiefly to a happy political and civil history, and exemption from oppression; the Germans of the same race being irascible and quarrelsome. The Englishman's voice was like that of a bird; it came from the head, instead of from the seat of passion. Madame de Lavergne protested that the Englishwoman's voice was sharp and imperious, while the Frenchwoman's was soft and musical. “That,” replied Lavergne, “is because Englishmen are so gentle (*doux*) that the women have gotten a habit of commanding. The men are under a Queen already; they are going to give the women the suffrage, and they will before long be under petticoat government altogether. The female electors will control the House of Commons.” Madame de Lavergne said the female suffrage movement in England only showed that Englishmen were not the sensible beings her husband imagined. Women would tear each other's eyes out in France, “elles s'arracheraient les yeux,” if they got the suffrage, and she believed they would do the same in England. I ventured to suggest that men as well as women were more explosive and demonstrative in France than in England; the hero of a French novel generally crying a great deal, whereas no man in an English novel ever sheds a tear. Lavergne said the English were in his opinion certainly more stoical than the French, but he supposed his wife would retort that a Red Indian never weeps. In Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*, he added, the Christian hero melts into tears, the savage may not give way to them. Although he did not speak English, Lavergne knew the older English poets and novelists well, and in his essay on *English Rural Economy* has eloquently traced the influences of the love of rural life on the part of the upper classes in England upon English literature. The breath of the country, he there observes, is almost always felt in the English poem or romance of the eighteenth century, while in Voltaire's *Henriade* there is not so much as grass for the horses.



M. de Lavergne was a very early riser, and at his desk or his books at five in the morning, although I did not see him until breakfast at ten; after which, when his health and powers of locomotion permitted, he walked or drove in a pony carriage about his demesne and visited his farm. He grew a great variety of plants, not with a view to profit, but to show what could be done by scientific culture in so barren a region. He held that even granite, of which the soil of La Creuse is mainly formed, might be made to produce anything by adding other constituents, and undertook to demonstrate it by experiment. The practical question, however, as he well knew, remained, whether such farming would pay. That, he argued, depended on communication and markets. Accordingly he had made earnest and not unsuccessful exertions to improve the roads of the Department. Beyond giving general directions, he did not, however, seem to interfere much in the working of his farm; but Madame de Lavergne was not too fine or too Parisian a lady to derive amusement from a daily inspection of what was going on. Both husband and wife had that faculty of being easily amused which seems to distinguish the Latin from the Teutonic nations, and which saves the former from ever feeling bored. One day Lavergne picked up a *bergère's* horn, and proceeded to blow the sheep and cattle calls with great zeal; Madame de Lavergne applauding the performance, which lasted about twenty minutes: "C'est ça; c'est ça." Broad and cosmopolitan as his ideas generally were on large subjects, on minor matters they were purely French. He told me more than once, as an amazing instance of the oddity of English ways, that he had seen an Englishman come with his two sons into the *Café Anglais* at Paris and order nothing but cold meat for lunch, without wine. And he could not get over his astonishment at Lord ——— having asked him to breakfast and given him no wine. It seemed to him quite as odd as it would to an Englishman to be offered only tea and coffee to drink at a dinner-party. Madame de Lavergne was *dévote*, and went on Sundays and Saints' Days to a distant church; but Lavergne himself, at least during my visits, remained at home, having, it may be, the excuse of an invalid: yet, in subsequent years, when in more infirm health, he took an active part in the proceedings of the *Assemblée Nationale*. Politically and socially he was friendly to the Church, but his theological opinions were inscrutable to me. I told him one Sunday, while Madame was at mass, how a great man in England, when some one wondered that so firm a supporter of the Church was never to be seen inside of one, replied that the buttresses of a Church were generally outside. Lavergne smiled, and said every edifice must have an exterior as well as an interior, and sometimes the exterior was the more important of the two. The strength of a palace or a throne depended, not on the

number of persons who went to Court, but on the sentiments of the people outside who never went.

On my way back to Peyrusse, in the autumn of the following year (1869), the distance at which its owner lived from his nearest neighbour, and the unbroken solitude of his forests, received a curious illustration. In a railway carriage between Montluçon and Gueret, the chief town of La Creuse, I found myself the object of much surprise and curiosity on the part of a country gentleman of the Department, who said he had rarely seen even a Frenchman from another part of France in it, unless a commercial traveller, and a foreigner never before. In the course of conversation, I inquired whether there were wolves in his neighbourhood. "Wolves?" he replied, "there are none in La Creuse." On my stating that I had myself seen some the year before, he said he had lived fourteen years in the Department since his father's death, and never had heard of a wolf. Where did I imagine I had seen them? "At Peyrusse." "Peyrusse!" was the rejoinder, "Why that is M. de Lavergne's place, and he is my nearest neighbour." I could only retort that I had been M. de Lavergne's guest the year before; that I had first heard of the existence of wolves in his woods from himself; had next been shown one by his steward, and afterwards on several occasions had come upon a she-wolf and her family. On the very day on which I left Peyrusse M. de Lavergne had pointed to one near his hall-door, and I was now going back to Peyrusse, and expected to see another before long. Whereupon my fellow-traveller altered his tone, saying that even nearest neighbours were far apart in La Creuse, and he lived many miles from Peyrusse, and had never been in its forests, which were so extensive, and might contain things not to be found in his own small woods. At midnight we reached Gueret, where the simple honesty of the people, which was one of the attractions of this desert Department in Lavergne's eyes, was exemplified. I had written from Pontarlier to an innkeeper whose name I found in a Directory, to bespeak a room. At the station, late as it was, he met me himself, to explain that his *auberge* was a very humble one, and that he had accordingly ordered a room for me in the principal hotel, and told the conductor of its omnibus to take charge of my luggage. It seemed to me that the poorer the man was, the more important it was to him to secure a visitor, and I begged to be allowed to adhere to my original plan. But he was inexorable. Much, he politely said, as he would like to have such a guest, he would be ashamed to take advantage of a mistake on the part of a foreigner. Lavergne, when I told him the story, was much pleased, and, as will be subsequently seen, did not forget it.

When I repeated to him my conversation with his "nearest neighbour," he said his steward had killed a wolf only that morning,

on account of the loss of two lambs, though it was not his custom to wage war against animals that were not numerous enough to do much harm, and were interesting objects in so lonely a place. He added: "You have seen things in La Creuse that my neighbour, who lives in it, has never seen. But I dare say, were he to go to London, he might see things that you have never beheld." I told him I had been lately for some days at Ornans, in the Département du Doubs, which detractors of the *la petite propriété* were recommended in his *Économie Rurale de la France* to visit and be converted. I said I doubted whether the people there would look much about them in London; at least, at Ornans they seemed never to think of anything beyond the little world in which they lived. The wife of one wealthy small landowner, with whose family I became acquainted, had told me she had never been in Switzerland, though she often went to Pontarlier, on its border, to shop, adding: "Your countrymen go much to Switzerland, do they not? But then England is nearer to Switzerland than France is." Her husband showed no surprise, and quietly remarked, "Non; l'Angleterre c'est plus loin." Lavergne said, *la petite propriété* certainly did not teach geography; on the other hand, an English agricultural labourer might know as little about France as the wife of a small proprietor at Ornans did about England, without the compensation of living in a little Paradise of his own. Englishmen of a higher class, he continued, seemed generally to know only Paris, not France. Passages from his own works were cited on opposite sides, for and against large and small property, and large and small farms, in a way that showed the controversialists had looked only at books, or they would understand him better. "After reading one of these controversies," he continued, "I feel like the poor man with an old and a young wife, one of whom pulled out the black and the other the grey hairs from his head. I seem to be left bare, without any definite opinion, yet I have expressed very plainly a conviction that there are places to which each system is best adapted; but that, on the whole, the best cultivated parts of France are those where small properties and small farms prevail. What I have sought is to persuade our large proprietors to cultivate their estates as large estates are cultivated in England, and to take the same interest in country life that the English nobility and gentry do."

We spoke one day of the famous fortress of Phalsburg, which I had lately visited, and where I had a narrow escape of being shot by a French sentry for attempting to take a sketch—one which two years afterwards I finished unheeded under the eyes of German soldiers. Lavergne said it was impossible to say how soon Phalsburg might not have to stand another siege; the only safeguard against a war with Germany was that the French army was absolutely unprepared for it, and the Emperor himself physically incapable of any

great exertion. The Emperor, he said, was perfectly aware that systematic peculation went on in every department of the administration, military and civil, and that he was himself daily robbed in his household, but regarded it with apathy and cynical indifference: "Il méprise tout—même l'argent." After a duration of nearly twenty years, Lavergne continued, the Empire would be in peril were Napoleon I., in full vigour of mind and body, at its head. "Le Français est toujours contre le gouvernement qui est là." That, he said, overturned the government of Louis Philippe, the best France ever had since Henry IV. "The English, on the contrary, are on the side of what exists, and with them, as they say themselves, nothing succeeds like success. This respect for material success has its bad side, but it has excellent political effects. And, moreover, it proceeds in part from a good quality. The English are not an envious people; they like to see things well done. Their phrase, 'well done!' is characteristic." M. de Lavergne, it may be observed, did not stand alone in this opinion. I have heard a distinguished diplomatist, who thoroughly knows the continental nations, speak of the English as the only unenvious people in Europe. And the late Professor Adolf Held, of Berlin, whose promising career was cut short by a cruel accident last year, remarked to me in London, not long before his death, "If you do anything well in England you are liked for it, and you make friends. If you do anything well on the Continent, you make enemies. The first idea is to pull you to pieces, and to prove that you have done nothing at all." Envy and jealousy doubtless exist in England, as its statesmen, authors, and professional men are sometimes made to feel; but there is, at least, no disinterested dislike of superiority. Lavergne himself was absolutely free from the smallest tincture of jealousy. I questioned him about every French author whose name occurred to me. The only one of whom he said a disparaging word was Prévost Paradol: "C'est un enfant;" and even Paradol he allowed had great literary talent. Of Emile de Lavoley, though in some degree his own rival as a writer on rural economy, he spoke in enthusiastic praise.

Lavergne's conversation in 1869, and the facts he related with respect to the incapacity of the Imperial administration, the torpor and debility of Louis Napoleon, and the discredit into which he had fallen, left a full conviction on my mind that the Emperor could not maintain his position for twelve months longer, and would be driven to some rash and unsuccessful attempt to recover prestige and power. Of all the schemes open to him, he chose the worst. After Sedan, Lavergne wrote repeatedly to me from the south of France, saying that it was the interest as well as the duty of England to come to the rescue of France; referring to Arthur Young's words in a remarkable passage to which he had himself, ten years earlier, drawn attention in his Introduction to Lesage's French translation of Young's

*Travels in France*: "Suppose the German flag to float over Paris. Where is the security of the rest of Europe? Have we forgotten the partition of Poland? Were France in real danger, it would be the duty and interest of its neighbours to come to its rescue."<sup>1</sup> When, more than a year later, I saw Lavergne again, he spoke with a bitterness unusual with him of a want of feeling, as well as of political sagacity, shown by England, which he had always admired and esteemed. At length I observed that I had myself seen enough to assure me that some of his own countrymen took less to heart the loss of territory France had suffered than some of mine did. He asked for an instance. One was a recent one. When on the way to see Phalsburg again, after the long siege it had sustained, I found myself in company with a French party, in a railway carriage from Strasburg to Lutzelburg, and in the omnibus thence to the place of our destination. They chatted gaily on other subjects until we came close to the drawbridge of the battered and dismantled fortress, when both ladies and gentlemen burst into a flood of tears. But no sooner had we crossed the bridge, and passed through the *Porte d'Allemagne* into the old town, than all faces brightened, and the party set off to breakfast at the best inn, where presently I heard them give a sumptuous order. Two hours later they emerged with rosy countenances from the inn, and took their seats in the omnibus back to Lützelburg. The town had suffered considerably from the siege, and there was much to be seen, but a cheerful déjeuner had engaged their whole time and thought, while the British visitor had gone over every spot, and finished a sketch begun before the war.<sup>2</sup> Lavergne listened quietly to the story, and then said, with a melancholy smile, that when King David was told his child was dead, he washed his face and ate and drank, because mourning and tears could not bring back what he had lost. But he never again spoke to me of English want of feeling during the war. He was now a member of the National Assembly, and a leading personage among the party of the Right, while his sagacity, calmness, and moderation gave him also no small influence with a considerable section of the Left. Had his health been good, there was no office in the Republic to which he might not have then aspired. He had at first hoped for a restoration of Constitutional Monarchy; but in 1873 he declared his adhesion to the Republic in a characteristic letter, which produced a great effect, and certainly conduced to the peaceful establishment of a Republican form of government. "*J'aurais préféré,*" he admitted, "*la monarchie constitutionnelle et parlementaire, qui est à mon avis le meilleur des gouvernements. Voyant cette monarchie impossible, j'accepte la République.*"

In the summer of 1874 I joined M. and Madame de Lavergne at

(1) *Voyages en France*, par Arthur Young; Introduction par M. Léonce de Lavergne, i. xxxvi.

(2) A fuller account was given by the writer at the time in a letter to the *Daily News*.

Bourboule, a watering-place in Auvergne. He was at this time very infirm, but took an interest in the life of the place, and was ready to listen to its chatter and gossip, as well as to discuss graver subjects. Every new comer was an object of curiosity to the crowd of visitors. One day the arrival of another *Anglais* was reported, and a story about him, which much amused Lavergne, was brought to us in the evening by a young Abbé, who had set next the stranger at the table-d'hôte. The *Anglais* had inquired eagerly whether Lord \* \* \* was at Bourboule, or had been there. The Abbé had heard nothing of an English lord, but said there was an *économiste Anglais*, a friend of M. de Lavergne, at the place, and then dining in M. de Lavergne's apartments in the hotel. As the Englishman received this information with perfect indifference, the Abbé continued that he had himself seen and spoken to the economist. "Je ne m'occupe pas de l'économie politique; cette science ne m'intéresse pas," replied the Englishman, looking bored, and adding that he had only come to Bourboule to look for Lord \* \* \* not to learn political economy. "C'est peut-être le domestique d'un lord," said the Abbé, imitating the Englishman's voice and accent. Lavergne laughed, and said the stranger seemed to be following a chase which in modern England was called tuft-hunting, but which was an ancient Teutonic pursuit, for the companions of the German *princeps* were tuft-hunters. Yet birth and rank, he continued, had, in some respects, a more unreasonable social influence in democratic France than in England. To be of a noble family was an almost indispensable key to French society. In spite of tuft-hunting, English society was the least exclusive in the world; and most English peers were themselves members of new families. The old families were the untitled landed gentry. On this point he displayed a marvellous knowledge of English pedigrees. When asked how he came to master such details, he replied that he had been led to do so first in his study of English political history, and the part played in it by aristocracy of birth, and afterwards in connexion with English rural economy, and the tendency of new wealth to settle finally in the country instead of the town.

Referring to the decline of aristocracy as a factor in the modern political world, he owned that he was becoming less and less alarmed at the rapid progress of democracy—so far, at least, as socialistic projects were concerned. Dangerous as he had once thought it to give predominant power to the poorest classes by means of universal suffrage, socialism had, in fact, become much less menacing in France. He agreed with Tocqueville that democratic institutions tended to benefit mankind, so far as their material welfare was concerned. As he laid stress on the word "material," I asked whether in his heart Tocqueville liked or disliked democracy. "Il la détestait," was the emphatic answer. But Lavergne added, that it was in reference to an æsthetic or intellectual standard that Tocqueville in his inmost soul regarded it with repugnance. "Who

in the next century," he had said, "will execute a really great work of art for a multitude interested only in buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market? Who will spend years on a book for a nation which reads only cheap newspapers? Book-making will become, like everything else, a mere trade."

Soon after this conversation Lavergne published a letter on universal suffrage in relation to socialism which attracted much attention in both the political and the economic world, and which has its importance still for English readers; who should bear in mind, however, that it was written in a country in which property as well as political power is widely diffused. "Certes, je n'ai pas désiré l'avènement du suffrage universel; je l'ai vu, au contraire, arriver avec inquiétude, mais depuis vingt ans qu'il fonctionne, j'ai appris à le moins redouter. J'ai été surtout frappé de cette coïncidence que du moment où il a été institué, le socialisme a commencé à décliner. C'est sous l'empire du suffrage restreint que les utopies socialistes se sont développées et ont pris de grandes proportions. Je ne puis m'empêcher d'attribuer au suffrage universel une action quelconque sur ce changement. On comprend qu'en effet les faiseurs de systèmes subversifs se forment une arme du suffrage universel pour séduire les ignorants. Si l'on ne met pas nos théories en pratique, peuvent-ils dire, c'est que le pouvoir est entre les mains d'une minorité intéressée à les étouffer. Ce langage perd beaucoup de sa force apparente avec le suffrage universel. Depuis que tout le monde vote, pourquoi les bases de la société n'ont-elles pas changé? Les classes les plus nombreuses sont devenues les plus puissantes; pourquoi n'ont-elles rien fait? C'est qu'apparemment il n'y a rien à faire. Le socialisme est mis au pied du mur; dès qu'on le serre de près, il s'évanouit."

We took long drives about Bourboule, but Lavergne could with difficulty walk a hundred yards, leaning on two supporters. One morning he complained of fatigue, and said he should not attempt to walk that day. "You would be less tired to-day, sir, if you had walked more yesterday," said his valet, to whom in that respect he was no hero, "and you will be more tired to-morrow if you don't walk to-day." In fact Lavergne was capable of any exertion that his bodily powers permitted for a public object, but was not easily persuaded to take irksome exercise only for the sake of health. Before dinner I found him seated on a bench in front of the hotel, where I had left him at eleven o'clock. "The spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak," he observed, alluding to his servant's advice. He liked to be told all that one saw and did, and a little incident connected with my departure interested him considerably. As the diligence from Clermont-Ferrand to Bourboule started at an inconvenient hour, I had hired a carriage, and Lavergne suggested that I might find some one at Mont Dore, another watering place a

few miles distant, disposed to join me in a carriage back ; an arrangement which was easily effected. But to get to Mont Dore in the customary carriage and pair was a matter of ten francs besides a *pourboire* ; so I stipulated for a *voiture à un cheval* for six francs, for that part of the journey. After some parley I was promised a *petite voiture à chasse*. When this arrangement was reported to Lavergne, he said it was as hard to change the customs of a French watering-place as to reform the English land laws. Were an English visitor seen in a *voiture à un cheval*, it might become the mode, which was not for the interest of the dealers. So he imagined something would happen to prevent the *petite voiture à chasse* from conveying me to Mont Dore. The following morning, at the appointed time, a carriage and pair came to the door. The very man who had struck the bargain with me was on the box, and explained simply that he thought a two-horsed carriage would be "plus convenable à monsieur." Lavergne held up two fingers significantly from a window as I drove by. The day before I left Bourboule, he remarked, evidently with a practical purpose, that the scrupulous honesty which the innkeeper at Gueret had displayed could hardly be expected at a hotel in a fashionable watering-place, but it was a duty which every visitor owed to others to object to any over-charge ; a duty often neglected from false shame.

In the following year (1875) M. de Lavergne was elected by the *Assemblée Nationale* an irremovable member of the new Senate, and for three years, in spite of bodily helplessness and much suffering, continued to take a part in public affairs. Before his own end came, he lost his beloved wife ; and during his last months he was afflicted with a nervous disorder which, he wrote to me, left him no rest day or night. "Il fait des sauts," said his servant, describing this tormenting affection. At length one of the noblest hearts in France ceased to beat. Léonce de Lavergne became only a name, but one which neither France nor England ought to let die. The present French Constitution was in part his work ; but he has left another and perhaps a more lasting monument in his work as an author.

M. de Lavergne's chief literary productions are undoubtedly his books on the rural economy of England and France. The main problem, in respect of the former, was to account for the superior productiveness of English agriculture ; and he applied to it what is now called the historical method. It does not appear that he thought of applying a novel method ; but his sagacity led him to investigate every subject inductively, that is to say in connection with history and surrounding conditions. The superiority of England had not always existed. In the reigns of Henry IV. of France and James I. of England, France was foremost in agriculture as in other arts. But after the middle of the seventeenth century, England steadily advanced under free institutions, while France retrograded under



monarchical tyranny and misgovernment until its peasantry sank into the destitution and misery described by La Bruyère and D'Argenson. Investigating further the causes at work on the side of England in his own age, Lavergne laid chief stress upon three: first, the love of country life felt by the opulent classes, leading to the application of wealth and enterprise to the improvement of the soil, while in France the love of the pleasures and excitements of cities caused a constant drain on the country; secondly, the free and orderly spirit of the English people and of their institutions, and the consequent exemption of the island from both military despotism and violent revolutions; thirdly, the immense market for agricultural produce afforded by the development of English manufactures and commerce. Lavergne wrote his *Essai sur l'Économie Rurale de l'Angleterre* as Tacitus wrote the *Germania*, faithful in description of Teutonic manners and institutions, but with a political and social moral in view, and one eye always on his own country. He took for his motto the maxim of Montesquieu, "Les pays ne sont pas cultivés en raison de leur fertilité, mais en raison de leur liberté." The Imperialist party in France claimed for the Second Empire the credit of all the prosperity due to science, steam, Californian and Australian gold, and the general progress of the age. The zealous advocate of constitutional and parliamentary government, on the other hand, was disinclined to admit that France had made any real advance under the false splendour of a profligate and corrupting despotism. Hence Lavergne looked at the rural economy of England with somewhat partial eyes. He ignored, or at least left in the background, the fact that English institutions and history had developed a love of rural life and agriculture among only a small minority of the nation. A further reflection, which should not be omitted, is that since Lavergne's famous essay was written, a critical juncture has been reached, at which the influence of the expansion of the British market for agricultural produce on British agriculture cannot be clearly foreseen. Lavergne looked chiefly to one side of the market, the side of demand; while the other side, that of supply, is now foremost in importance. The question at present is whether British agriculture can compete in the British market itself with the foreign supply. This, Lavergne would, indeed, have said, is a question which concerns landlords rather than farmers, "Pourvu que la rente baisse en proportion de la baisse des prix, le cultivateur proprement dit est à peu près désintéressé."<sup>1</sup> Yet the final result may be not altogether in harmony with Lavergne's views. His historical and inductive method of investigation will, however, always remain proof against criticism. In the application of this method he was entirely original. The French statesmen and economists of his age knew nothing of their great countryman, Auguste Comte; and Lavergne was as unacquainted with German

(1) *Essai sur l'Econ. Rur. de l'Angleterre*, 4th ed., 199.

political economy as with the positive philosophy. The only German economist, indeed, whose name was known twenty years ago in either England or France, Professor Rau, had followed the old paths, and thrown no new light on the method of economic science.

Lavergne's work on the rural economy of France is in like manner an elaborate application of the inductive, historical method. At a time when economists were accustomed to speak of every country in the lump, and to occupy themselves with generalities and abstractions, such as the wages fund, the average rate of wages, the equality of profits, Lavergne described the actual economy of France in terms before which these crude formulas crumble to pieces. Instead, for example, of "generalising the facts of wages," he showed that the differences in local rates in France were so great that "the differences resulting from differences of social position were nothing in comparison with those resulting from inequalities of wages." If the average consumption of meat per head in Paris was ten times as great in Paris as in La Creuse, it was not because Paris had some thousand rich inhabitants, while La Creuse had only a sprinkling of country gentlemen of small fortune, but because a working man could earn on an average ten times as much in the capital as in a remote rural department.<sup>1</sup> "Under an apparent uniformity," Lavergne says, at the outset of his treatise, "France is nothing less than an epitome of Europe and almost of the world. Shall we speak first of climate? Nothing can be less alike than the Département du Nord, which forms one extremity of this vast territory, and the Département du Var, which forms the opposite extremity. Shall we speak of geological constitution? The mountains of the east, the centre, and the south, widely differing from each other, of limestone, granite, and volcanic formation respectively, have nothing in common with the plains at their feet, and which present in turn innumerable diversities. Shall we study moral and political facts? Every province has its history which has powerfully acted on its economic development; and since they became subject to the same laws, these laws have had a special influence over each. Do we come to systems of husbandry? We find at once every cultivation, every system of working the soil, all degrees in the scale from the extremest poverty to the greatest rural riches. One department is fifty times richer than another department, one canton a hundred times richer than another canton."<sup>2</sup>

"Mon illustre maître," the title given to Léonce de Lavergne by a French official under the Second Empire, is one which every careful student of his works on rural economy ought to feel disposed to accord. The illustrious master of rural economy was also a statesman of first-rate capacity, an accomplished man of letters, a charming member of society, and all this under difficulties and sufferings tasking heroic fortitude to the uttermost.

T. E. C. LESLIE.

(1) *Econ. Rur. de la France*, 3me ed., 418-19.

(2) *Ibid.*, 61-2.

## PEASANT PROPRIETORS AND SMALL FARMERS IN SOUTH-WESTERN FRANCE.

THE district I propose to describe is the extreme south-west corner of France and the frontier of Spain: the corner comprised between Bayonne and the Vallée d'Aspe to the north and east, with the Pyrenees and the Valley of the Bidassoa as a southern boundary, and the Bay of Biscay and the Atlantic to the west. It includes not only land of the most varied and opposite character, but even different climates in its varying altitudes. Consequently the culture is by no means everywhere the same. In one part of the district you will find no sheep, in another few cattle; in a small portion the husbandry is a species of spade culture; in one part the ploughing is done entirely by oxen or by cows; in another, the horse, mule, or ass is employed. Here and there you will find small vineyards and apple orchards, from which tolerable wine and excellent cider are made; in the higher parts the grape will scarcely ripen at all. The inhabitants, too, are neither all of the same race or language, nor are they all under the same government. Yet it is difficult to say under which of all these conditions is their prosperity greatest. The fact shows that the profitable culture of small properties is possible under very varying circumstances; but at the same time unless certain conditions are present I believe it is almost impossible to create them.

With this district I have been intimately acquainted for more than twenty years. During that time there has been very great improvement made—a large extent of waste land has been enclosed, and land which had fallen out of cultivation has been reclaimed; but at no period within that time have I been able to trace any amount of hopeless poverty or misery (outside the towns), with one temporary and local exception, to be noticed hereafter. There are no poor-laws, and begging is forbidden by law; but the deserving poor, if crippled or aged, have no difficulty in obtaining permission from the mayor to beg in their native parish. It is easy to see that many of these are in no deep distress, and the “pater-noster” they say on receipt of alms is deemed by themselves to be a full equivalent for the assistance they receive. Tramps there are in plenty along the great high-roads, and professional beggars collect in crowds at the watering places and in the towns on market days and fêtes. The vicious classes here as elsewhere oscillate between intemperance and privation. Strangers have utterly demoralised the population round the Pyrenean watering places, where every one

is a beggar whether in need or not; but a few miles distant mendicancy is almost unknown, and I write at present entirely of the native agricultural classes.

The first thing that strikes an Englishman is the excellent clothing of the population: not only the substantial upper garment, the blouse, or jacket, or knitted vest, according to the locality, but the immense quantity of good linen in the shape of shirts, sheets, and napkins everywhere displayed on a fine washing-day. In fact, Falstaff's address to his troops would be almost literally true here, "Linen enough may be found on every hedge." The next point of remark would be the goodness of the small farm-houses and cottages, especially of the older ones. These were almost too substantially built; the huge buttresses to support low walls, the enormous beams of oak or chestnut, the heavily tiled roofs, show a very plethora and almost waste of material. Slate is used for tiling in some districts, but thatch is seldom seen. In some of the poorest mountain districts glass for windows was uncommon some fifteen years ago; now one sees it everywhere. An outside oven and a latticed fowl-pen are almost universal adjuncts to the older houses. It is only of late years that cheap and flimsy structures of only one story or at most of two stories have been erected, and these will inevitably bring with them in time all the physical and moral evils of unwholesome and overcrowded dwellings.

The food of the population is not in accordance with the high standard of their clothing and lodging, though of late years it has sensibly improved. No Englishman or Irishman so well lodged and clad, and with the undoubted wealth of many of these peasant farmers, would put up with their ordinary fare. Unless when a pig is killed, or when, as somewhat frequently happens in the mountains, a cow or sheep meets with an accident, and the meat is sold cheap, flesh is rarely tasted, except at the great church festivals or at family fêtes. Wedding feasts are almost Homeric in their proportions, and continue for several days. Excepting on these occasions the ordinary fare is a kind of maize porridge, taken sometimes with milk, more often without; soup and bread, with potatoes, cabbages, haricot beans, or other pulse; cheese is sometimes added; and some kind of salt or fresh fish, if cheap, on fast days, when no grease is allowed to be used. Fruit in its successive seasons is largely consumed in some districts—chestnuts, walnuts, and dried apples in autumn and winter, and in summer cherries, plums, figs, grapes. In this article of diet alone has the peasant of South-western France any advantage over the English labourer. The drink is either a rough wine or cider. Nearly all the men smoke occasionally. Only on market days do they habitually depart from their sober diet at the inn of the nearest town. The holdings, whether of peasant

proprieters or of métayers, average from about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 or 12 acres, those of the métayers being as a rule somewhat larger than those of the peasant proprietors. The relative numbers of these classes differ much in different localities. Near the towns only four-tenths of the farms are owned by peasant proprietors, five-tenths by métayers, and one-tenth by farmers paying a fixed money rent. On the mountains and in the mountain valleys these proportions are reversed; there nine-tenths of the farmers are peasant proprietors, and only one-tenth métayers or money tenants. For reasons which will be explained below, the métayers and tenants seem to be gaining in numbers on the peasant proprietors.

The métayer system is one of the most common systems of farming throughout Southern Europe. It is simply this with local variations. The landlord builds the house, stables, and all necessary outbuildings, he supplies the stock and implements rent-free to the tenant. The métayer covenants to cultivate and keep the land in good order; he engages to keep up the fences, drains, &c.; he is not allowed to sell any manure off the farm; and if he give up the farm it must be in the same condition with regard to crops and stock as when he took it. He is generally left full liberty as to cropping and modes of cultivation, and he divides the whole produce in equal moieties with the landlord. It is obvious at once that the métayer, even with all fairness, must get the best of the division. There are almost always little things that are not halved, the produce of the garden, or the fallen fruit, and other odds and ends which can be consumed by the family of the métayer, but which hardly have a market value. But it is just as obvious that the system opens a way to a good deal of fraud. It is not very easy, even with good intentions, to strike a fair division; it is much easier to strike an unfair one, and the métayer can always contrive to get the best of the transaction. He can always make away with certain portions of the crop without giving an account. On the other hand, if the landlord be too rigorous in exacting every ounce of his pound of flesh, the half forms too high a rent. From old documents I find that the landlord's share has risen from one-fifth in the fourteenth century (both in France and Spain) to one-third, and only gradually up to the half. Still, complaints are seldom heard of oppressive landlords in this country; many are exceedingly lenient, and are content to get very little from their land. Unless in exceptional cases, near towns, or where good wine is made, land here pays the proprietor a much lower interest on his capital than do the English funds. Wherever the métayer system works well, and the population is well clothed and fed, one may put it down that there is no oppression on the part of the landlord. The agreement with the métayer seems to be usually made from year to year, and is terminable at the will of either. The métayer more often

gives notice to quit to the landlord than the landlord to the métayer.

Except in one particular, it is unnecessary to describe the holding of the tenant at a money rent. He is seldom over-rented, and has a lease, if any, for five or ten years at the utmost. But if deficient in capital he sometimes takes his cattle on lease (*à cheptel*) either from the landlord or from a third party; he has for himself their milk, manure, and labour, and pays as interest on their purchase-money half the amount they produce in wool and young. The soil in the district under consideration varies so very much in quality that it is useless to strike an average rent. The result of my own observation is that land near a town pays as high a rent as land of the same quality in England, while land quite in the country seems in some cases to let for less. It must be remembered that owing to climate the amount of produce should be in excess of that in England—I think in the proportion of 3 to 2. The feeling of the landlords appears to be that a money rent is never so sure as a métayer rent. On the other hand, landlord and métayer very seldom agree as to what is the money value of the rent in kind which the latter pays.

I said above that these tenures are applied to very different soils and to very different conditions of cultivation. In fact, the conditions could hardly be more various. In the valley of the Bidassoa, the “*laya*” is often used on the deep alluvial soil by the riverside. This is a mode of cultivation which would be superior to almost any other, did it not demand such an enormous expenditure of human labour. The “*laya*” is a two-pronged fork of steel or wrought iron, with a short handle put on sideways; the prongs are at least two feet long. A strong man will take one of these instruments in each hand, he raises them above his head, plunges them deep into the ground, presses his feet on the top of each fork so as to drive them up to the hilt into the soil, then with a backward heave upturns the whole. Usually four or five men, with occasionally a woman or two in the middle, work together, and, striking and heaving simultaneously, turn up a long and deep furrow. In this culture neighbours assist each other. It is applicable only to the deepest soils, but the fields to which it is applied can easily be picked out by one who possesses an eye for agriculture. In the other districts of the Basque country ploughing is done by means of cows or oxen, but in the Béarnais districts horses, or mules, or asses are often used. The ploughs have been much improved of late years, and are often French adaptations of patterns by the best English makers. In the neighbourhood of the towns the métayers generally use oxen and the peasant proprietors cows for ploughing. The reason of this difference is that the métayer ekes out the profits of the farm by the labour of his oxen in hauling and carting, while the proprietor seldom works off his

farm, and cows are strong enough for field work, and give milk besides. A very large proportion of the land may be described as a hungry soil, requiring a great amount of manure, which the peasants often purchase at exorbitant rates, paying between three and four shillings for the cubic metro of fresh stable manure, besides having to fetch it from a considerable distance. They generally manure their fields well, and the great fault of their cultivation is want of care in cleaning the land.

In the mountain valleys, and sometimes elsewhere, the farmer, whether proprietor or *métayer*, supplements his farming by buying or breeding a few sheep or cattle; which he grazes upon the mountain pastures in the summer and keeps indoors in the winter; the same mountain sides supplying him with fern and heath for litter for his cattle, and to supplement his straw or maize stalks as a material for manure. Along the coast where fern is wanting, the sand of the dunes is used for the same purpose, and with excellent results. For these rights of pasturing cattle and of cutting fern on the communal lands in the mountains, there is a slight difference in payment according to the wealth and the population of the commune or parish; but I am assured that the following prices taken from a mountain parish with which I am well acquainted represent about the average sums paid. These are for—

	Fcs. c.
Horse, mule, or cow, per head, per annum	4 0
Ten sheep . . . . . „	4 0
Goats . . . . . „	1 0
Asses . . . . . „	1 50

Working horses or mules are generally charged a little less than the above prices. For the right of cutting fern 90 centimes per annum is charged to each family who cuts it. For cutting firewood (not timber trees), and, of course, under close restrictions, 9 francs for the rich, 5 francs for the poor per family, and nothing for the indigent. All this is arranged by the municipal council and the mayor of each commune or parish. As said above, the charges are sometimes a little more or a little less; but it is only the inhabitants of the commune who enjoy these privileges at such prices; to strangers, if allowed at all, the prices are much higher. Similar conditions prevail with regard to the sand on the coast. It is evident what a boon this is both to the small proprietor and to the *métayer* and farmer.

Some years back the great object of the peasant proprietor seemed to be, not to get the largest possible return from his land, but to spend as little money as possible, and to hoard every coin he could lay hands upon. His little flock of sheep provided him with wool which he spun himself. I have often seen just so much wool clipped

off a sheep's back as would suffice to make a pair of stockings or a vest which the owner might happen to require; and for this purpose the black sheep were the favourites, because their wool required no dye. Flax enough was grown to make all his homespun linen; the women beat out the fibre and spun the thread on the old distaff and spindle, and it was woven into sheets or napkins in the village. Cheese and various kinds of clotted or curdled milk were made from the produce of the sheep or goats; the bread, whether of maize, wheat, or rye, came from his own land; his potatoes, beans, and cabbages were of his own growth; his wine or cider was, if possible, of his own manufacture. If any of these things failed, he did without them, if possible, or bartered with his neighbours. All his money he kept and laid by to purchase more land, if occasion offered; nothing else but sheer necessity would induce him to part with it. There are still a few of these peasants left, but the general habits in this respect have much changed during the last twenty years. Good roads have opened up the country, railways skirt the district, savings-banks are extending; even the peasants have learnt the value of shares, and to prefer the secure interest of the funds or of mortgages to private hoarding. The money value of many articles has immensely risen, while that of corn and bread has decreased. Hence the peasant finds it cheaper to buy his bread and to sell other produce. The oven once attached to every farmhouse is often quite disused, except for maize bread, which does not find a ready sale in towns, and consequently is seldom made by the bakers. Eggs, for instance, which some years back would fetch only 2½d. the dozen after a weary tramp to the nearest market town, the peasant now gets 10d. a dozen for from men who collect them at his own door. The increased price of milk and the demand for butter has led to the extensive and increasing introduction of the Breton cow, too small to work like the native breed, but the sale of whose milk and butter brings in a certain revenue. Ten or fifteen years back it was useless to ask for butter outside the towns; one was fortunate to find milk other than sheep's or goat's; now both butter and cow's milk are to be obtained almost everywhere. Associations, too, for making improved cheese from the milk of many cows have been started with success. The increased demand for better produce of all kinds, better communications, and the return of successful emigrants (Americans they are generally called, though really native Basques), with capital sufficient to reclaim lands which can yield but little immediate return, are the chief of the causes which have combined to create a general prosperity, which makes it a pleasure to walk through the land and to converse with the peasants, but which at the same time renders it almost impossible to procure any satisfactory hired agricultural labour. As a rule, every



native agricultural labourer who is worth anything is employed as a cultivator with an interest in his own holding.

But this great prosperity is largely owing to another condition, as to which the peasants have shown themselves far wiser both than the Government and than the majority of their superiors in education and in rank. Whatever may have been the case in past times, at present the peasants, whether proprietors or *métayers*, will not keep on their farms any hands beyond the number that can be profitably employed on, and fairly well kept by, the farm itself. All the rest *emigrate*: not necessarily to foreign parts—though the emigration to South America, and especially to La Plata, is very considerable, and would be yet larger were it not for the conscription and for obstacles placed in the way by Government—but to towns and to other spheres of labour. The superfluous boys take to whatever other employments they have a taste for or can find an opening in; the too-numerous girls go out to service, or become dress-makers, or enter convents; almost any sacrifice is made by the parents to prevent the farm from having too many mouths to provide for. A larger proportion of this emigration comes, we are assured, from the peasant proprietors than from the *métayers*. One reason of this is, as stated above, that the *métayer* often makes a considerable portion of his earnings from the hire of himself and oxen for carting purposes in the neighbourhood of towns, and thus he has room for an extra hand or two; whereas the peasant proprietor generally keeps cows instead, and turns his attention wholly to the land. And thus I find the general opinion to be that while the *métayer* earns more from his personal labour, the land of the peasant proprietor produces more, because he is always at work on it. There seems, too, to be, from this emigration, a certain tendency, not very marked but constantly increasing, towards lessening the number of peasant proprietors. As yet this is felt only in the neighbourhood of the towns. The life of a peasant proprietor is a very hard one in many respects. The whole family must both work hard and live hard to make it pay even under favourable circumstances. It requires a minute knowledge of all the details of local agriculture, a looking after every penny of expenditure, to make it really answer. And all this falls with peculiar hardship on the women of the family. They are compelled not only to take their full share of the field work, but when in the evening the men return and think of rest, the wife and daughters have all the household work to do. It is, as may be supposed, a kind of life which no one can take up successfully unless he, or she, has been accustomed to it from earliest childhood. If broken off for any length of time it is not easily resumed. Hence when sons or daughters from any cause migrate from the land to other trades, they comparatively seldom

return to peasant farming, whether as proprietors or *métayers*; and when at the death of the parents their share of the property falls to them, they either make arrangements to sell or mortgage, or let it to the member of the family who keeps the farm, or else on the *métayer* system or for a money rent to others. Once they have tasted the comparative ease and (shall we say) civilisation of artisan life in the towns, they seldom return to the farms as working proprietors. If, however, they remain in the parish as local artisans, they then take and cultivate their own portion. The village school-master, the smith, the carpenter, the miller, the baker, the inn-keeper, even the unmarried women and widows, the sempstresses and washerwomen, have often a plot of their own, which they cultivate at odd moments with the help of relatives and neighbours. Thus practically nearly every village artisan and petty shopkeeper is a farmer in some shape or other. Again, a certain number of the emigrants make a little money as tradesmen in the towns, or still larger sums in foreign countries. These often return to their native village and buy a farm or reclaim a portion of land, on which they do not work themselves, but let it either for rent or on the *métayer* system. In fact nearly all the more considerable improvements and reclamation of land have been done by this class; and thus it is that in some districts the working peasant proprietor seems slowly giving way either to the *métayer* or to the tenant farmer.

It is frequently objected to peasant proprietorship that it wholly excludes the use of machinery and of steam power in agriculture; but this is a mistake. A very considerable portion of the threshing in this district is now done in the fields by portable steam-threshing machines. The machine travels from farm to farm, or rather from field to field, and the peasants arrange for it to thresh the crops of each farm in succession and in regular order; if there be a moon they continue working all night. Two years ago I passed a steam machine at work in the fields about four miles from a village. In the afternoon it had moved to another field within sight; late in the evening, when the moon was full, it was stationed in a field opposite to the inn; and about three or four o'clock in the morning I was awaked by the shrill "*Irrinz!*" the Basque cry of triumph, which told that the night's work was done. A few hours later I saw the same machine being dragged by twelve oxen, and held on the outer side by as many men, up a mountain path which I had thought sufficiently steep for a man alone. My mental remark at the sight was, "Now I understand how the Russian artillery crossed the Balkans." In another village in a Béarnais district I saw an improved combined winnowing machine which the owner, a peasant proprietor, had bought at the last Paris Exhibition, whither he had gone as a kind of village delegate to get the best implement that was made. How they

got the machine through the narrow lanes by which it must have passed was a puzzle to me. Nor do small holdings prevent attention to breeding good stock. In the same village one man devoted himself to winning prizes with his mares and colts, and carried off a sufficient number to pay him well. He did not work his animals at all, nor was he a horse-dealer, but bred only for show and sale. His only field was, to judge by the eye, from four to five acres. There is a similar state of things as regards fencing; no ground is lost thereby. Where the land is really good every inch is cultivated, and not a fence is seen on the arable land. The boundaries between properties are marked by deeply sunk corner stones, and the paths are like those between a gardener's beds. The only hedges are those which border the roads. A traditional agreement between the proprietors regulates the crops, so that wheat and maize, which ripen unequally, should not be too much intermixed, and that sheep and cattle may be fed on the stubble without too great risk of damage to the neighbour's crops.

Now I cannot easily conceive a whole population living in greater comfort than does this, especially in the mountain districts, nor with the wealth so well distributed among the greater number. Consul Bidwell, describing a parallel state of holdings and population in the Balearic Isles, though evidently somewhat prejudiced against it, yet concludes his chapter thus: "While there are no large fortunes or large capitalists, it may safely be said that there is no actual want. It would, we think, be difficult to find in a population of similar size an equal number of persons whose necessities of life, such as they are, are so generally provided for."\* Yet there are plenty of facts which show how narrow the margin is between prosperity and the most pinching want. It is nothing but exceptional circumstances and the most careful thrift and self-sacrifice that have built up and maintain this prosperity. It is of old date in the Spanish Basque Provinces, which enjoyed every benefit of free trade, absence of arbitrary taxation, and an honest and economical local administration, when almost every other country of Europe was groaning under an opposite style of administration. In France, however, the older men of fifteen and twenty years ago have always spoken to me of the former times as times of misery, say, from 1815 to 1830, or beyond. The popular songs of that date have the same imprint—an under-wail of misery runs through them all. One of the Basque songs is an allegory of the progress of Famine—personified as Peteri Sanz, the Holy Peter—through the country; and it is as touching in its way as Hood's "Song of the Shirt," and Freiligrath's "Rupezahl." The exceeding cheapness at which property sold at that time points in the same direction. I know of one small estate, lately

<sup>1</sup> *The Balearic Islands.* By C. T. Bidwell. London: Sampson Low. 1876.

bought for £300 per acre, which was then actually offered for nothing but the payment of the taxes and local dues upon it. Notwithstanding all the improvements and reclamations of late years, there are still indications of land having fallen out of cultivation. Often in walking over waste land I have caught my foot in old vine stocks, showing where a vineyard formerly was, and where by inquiry I have found that good wine was made when our armies passed in 1813-14. In 1858, or thereabouts, when the frosts lasted some six weeks longer than usual into the spring, there was evident privation in one of the mountain districts. The peasants would not eat the seed corn, nor forestall the coming crop, nor dip into the hoarded money; but the sallow emaciated faces, the weakened walk, and the multiplied crowd round the convent walls told how hard the pinch was. It passed away, however, with the first summer crop and fruits, and I have seen nothing similar since. Still I repeat it is only by the strictest economy, and by rigorously sending off from the farm every useless mouth, that this prosperity is maintained. The peasant proprietor never seems to dream that his farm is to support an indefinite number of hands. Even at the risk of apprehension as deserters from the conscription, a large emigration takes place to foreign lands as well as to the towns. To give one instance of which all the facts are known to me. A small peasant proprietor, within the last twelve years as his family grew up, has sent two sons to Montevideo, two daughters are in convents, a third in service; the rest of the family are just enough to work the farm. With the first hundred francs the girl saved in service she bought a young cow for the farm. Expressing my surprise to a widow that she could send her two boys off so far: "What could I do?" said she, "my daughter and I are enough for the work. I could not bear to see my sons in misery here. They can at least live well out there, and if they make a little money they will return." So with many others. If a *métayer* finds his farm does not pay he throws it up. A widow had been seventeen years on a farm, and had saved money there. Her two sons took to artisan life; after a while the daughters, who with a son-in-law did the work of the farm, died. She hired a man and a boy, and had nothing to complain of them as labourers, but at the end of the year she said, "I make nothing by it, their food and wages eat up all the profit," and she left to live on her savings. It must always be remembered, too, that, as compared with England, soils of equal quality give a return of at least three to two. Thus when I expressed astonishment at potatoes being planted at the end of September, the answer was, "Oh, we don't plant these to sell, but they will come big enough for us to eat through the winter, and we can sell all the rest."

But I have not yet mentioned the cardinal point on which turns

the question whether this prosperity can last or no. The great difficulty in estimating the real position and prosperity of the peasant proprietors lies in the answer to this question: How many of those seemingly prosperous peasant proprietors have their land mortgaged, and to what extent? Though I have been most kindly assisted in these inquiries by friends who have access to official documents, I can learn nothing *perfectly certain* on this head. A good deal of money is quietly lent among friends and neighbours to be employed on farms on mere promise or on personal security. But it is beyond doubt that in the neighbourhood of the towns, where the peasants and their families have discovered how easily money can be raised on land by mortgage, they have sometimes yielded too freely to the temptation. It has been stated to me by those who have every means of obtaining the best information, that in the neighbourhood of the towns at least one-third of the peasant proprietors are more or less involved by mortgages on their property; but that the smaller proprietors of from 7 to 10 acres are not so much involved as the larger ones. In the mountain districts a good authority informs me that it is only one-tenth who have any mortgage at all on their land. How far the position of a proprietor with his land mortgaged is better or worse than that of a *métayer* is a most difficult question; but on this question turns the future prosperity or decline of the system of peasant proprietorship here. When the interest of the mortgage exceeds a fair rent, it is evident that a money-lender is a far worse creditor than a landlord, and the resultant misery of the struggle before the forced selling of the land is far greater than that of quitting a rented holding.

The culture and the products are of too varied a character in this district for the competition of foreign corn or cattle to affect it much. Increased facilities of the communications, which are yearly being improved, will far outweigh that. The rapid adoption of the Breton cows, as soon as the demand for milk and butter sprang up, proves that these peasants are not so ignorant and backward as they appear to those who can converse with them only in French, but that they are awake to their true interests. Nearly every farm and house is insured, although a reform is greatly needed of the insurance offices themselves. Cattle insurance societies were formed among the Basque peasants earlier, I believe, than in any other country. Though not in this district, which is not exposed to such ravages, yet in others the peasants insure against damage by hail and lightning. The cheese-making associations I have spoken of before show that peasant farming does not preclude either association or co-operation.

The whole question, as it appears to me, turns upon what number of hands the land will really support. No small farm will support

in mature age, still less in the second generation, the whole family that may be brought up on it. Where there is no emigration, either to towns, or to other spheres of labour, or to foreign countries, there must be misery. I have seen this both at Madeira and in the Azores when emigration was prohibited, on the best soils in the best climate. In Galicia, especially in the district of Poulevedra, the *foristas* became virtually proprietors of their land by prescription in 1763, all feudal dues were abolished in 1813, yet the population, the densest to the square mile in all Spain, continued in the greatest poverty. Now an extensive emigration is taking place, and their condition is slowly improving. Mr. Bidwell attributes the well-being of the peasant farmers of the Balearic Isles to emigration; and this I believe to be a necessary concomitant everywhere of prosperous peasant proprietorship, or even of peasant farming.

I have said nothing of the tenure or sale of land, because in this particular district it has always been practically free, subject only to tithes, and to national and communal taxes assessed by the inhabitants themselves. In the "Cahier des vœux et instructions des Basques-Français" to the States-General in 1789, they complain of "enormous feudal exactions" in two cases only, both on lands belonging to the convent of Roncesvalles, in Spain. These they say are the only cases; for the rest the land had been "from all time noble, that is to say, free and allodial." In the Vallée d'Aspe the land was also always free. I have gone minutely through many of the archives and the general privileges from 1309 downwards. I have found variations in the prosperity from war, from impeded communications, and especially from temporary over-population, which continued until it has been relieved by emigration of some kind. In the most prosperous mountain villages (purely agricultural) the population is about the same as it was two centuries ago; near the towns, and where other industries have been introduced, it has much increased.

WENTWORTH WEBSTER.

## THE DWELLINGS OF THE POOR IN LONDON.

THE heavy cost incurred by the metropolitan local authorities in giving effect to the provisions of the Artizans and Labourers' Dwellings Act, 1875, has very naturally alarmed the London ratepayers. People are beginning to ask one another whether it is wise to provide one class of the community with dwellings at the public cost. They know very well that endeavours have been made by private associations to improve the house accommodation of the poor in London, and that these efforts have been commercially successful when combined with a due regard to economical considerations; and they can see no reason why the local authorities should fail in an undertaking which has been successfully accomplished by private effort.

It is, however, a matter of necessity that the local authorities should deal with this question, as no other body is in a position to do so. The evil of overcrowded and otherwise unwholesome dwellings in London is one of great magnitude, and of extraordinary rapid growth. The increase of the population in London is at the rate of 40,000 a year, and the total increase during the last twenty-five years may be roughly stated as close on 600,000. It is, of course, impossible to speak with any accuracy of the amount of house accommodation provided by private enterprise and speculation to meet the requirements of this increase of the population. But we shall be probably within the mark if we say that it does not amount, taken altogether, to more than sufficient for one-tenth of the whole increase. Under these circumstances Sir R. Cross was amply justified in asking Parliament to give to the local authorities powers to deal with this matter.

The Act of 1875, known as Sir R. Cross's Act, is faulty in some important details which we will presently specify, but the radical defect of the Act is the total want of regard for economical considerations which is apparent in most of its provisions. Sentimental considerations alone appear to have influenced the framers of this legislation. No doubt the proposition seemed simple enough. It had become necessary to clear large areas in London which contained houses unfit for human habitation, and power was accordingly given to the local authorities to acquire this property, pull down the houses, and lease the land with the condition attached that it should be devoted to workmen's dwellings. The growth of London, the concurrent pressure of commerce, and the gradual extension of the working classes from the central districts to the outskirts of London were facts seemingly ignored by the Legislature in making this last condition. And yet they have an important and even vital bearing

on this question. By the operation of these easily anticipated causes land in certain parts of London has increased so much in value that the local authorities cannot carry out the Act without imposing a heavy pecuniary loss on the ratepayers. For the owners have an undoubted right to receive compensation based upon the marketable value of the land in their possession. These considerations were urged in 1875 by gentlemen having considerable experience in building workmen's dwellings. Mr. Jas. Moore, in writing of the work of the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, said, "The Company has from the first paid a yearly dividend of 5 per cent. on its net profits, which is, I venture to submit, sufficient proof that well-directed commercial enterprise can succeed when private charity may fail." And Mr. Gatliff at the same time drew attention to the difference in the cost of building workmen's houses in London and in the suburbs. He stated "that the average ground-rent in London was 8d. per family per week, and in the country 3d. per family per week; while the cost of houses was £34 per room in the country, and £46 per room in London." That difference in cost tells directly on the rents, and the consequence is that a considerable number of the population who work in London now live in the suburbs, and take advantage of the cheap workmen's trains which have been established as part of the system of the local metropolitan railway traffic.

The difficulty is entirely connected with the reconstruction of buildings on the areas which have been cleared. There can be no doubt as to the primary necessity of clearing away the slums. The evil of overcrowded and unwholesome dwellings is patent. Any one who has but a slight acquaintance with London must, at one time or another, have had his attention drawn to the existence of filthy slums in close proximity to the houses of the wealthy. The contrast thus disclosed strikes the imagination; but houses and even whole areas of buildings which are utterly unfit for human habitation are to be found in all parts of London.

The Metropolitan Board of Works have fully admitted the existence of this evil in their official Reports. They state that the medical officers have made thirty-two Reports to them under the Artizans and Labourers' Dwellings Act, 1875. They are to the effect that the areas mentioned in them contain houses utterly unfit for human habitation, and that the sanitary defects are such that they cannot be remedied otherwise than by an improvement scheme for the rearrangement and reconstruction of the streets and houses. The Metropolitan Board have only dealt with fifteen out of the thirty-two areas reported against, so that the remaining seventeen areas are left very much in the same filthy condition as described by the medical officers.



There can be only one opinion as to the absolute necessity for removing the rookeries in London which constitute a real scandal to our civilisation. There are, no doubt, tremendous difficulties in the way of dealing with this question, but they are not insuperable. We have no right to admit that the existence of these slums is a necessary evil incident to the pressure of life in great cities.

As existing legislation has failed to provide a sufficient remedy, we must, if possible, discover all the causes which have contributed to this failure. In considering the question, it is needful to bear in mind the character and habits of the occupiers, as well as the condition of the places occupied by them. Of a certain number it is perfectly true to say that, whether from force of habit or from early associations, or from other causes, they are very unlikely to keep any dwelling clean and tidy. A great deal may be done by supervision, as Miss Octavia Hill has shown, in the management of workmen's dwellings; but this kindly philanthropy can only be expected in a few very special instances. The fact remains true, that one of the great difficulties in the way of this social reform lies in the habits of the people who have grown up and passed their lives in these filthy habitations. This difficulty, indeed, would be well-nigh insuperable, if it was possible, or even desirable, to provide new dwellings for this class on the areas cleared of unwholesome habitations.

If any measure of success is to attend the efforts being made to improve the dwellings of the working class in London, the fact must be kept clearly in mind that the improvement in the condition of many of those who now occupy these rookeries must be a gradual one. This will be at once apparent if we consider the course of events which follows the demolition of houses of a low class. The great majority of the people displaced from them migrate into parts of the town contiguous to their old dwellings, thus increasing the overcrowding, or else they remove to districts in the suburbs.

Were it practicable to supply immediately other and improved house accommodation in lieu of the unwholesome dwellings destroyed, it would be found that the old occupiers would very rarely become tenants of the new buildings. They cannot afford the rent of the improved houses, and the amelioration in their condition brought about by the demolition of unwholesome dwellings is effected by a process of gradation. The highest paid artisans and labourers occupy the new dwellings, and make room in the dwellings vacated by them for the class below them.

If we consider the rents which are paid for rooms in the improved industrial dwellings, we may be sure that this is the process which will be most likely to occur. A practical proof will be found in the course of events which followed the demolition of certain houses in

the Whitechapel and Limehouse area. The Metropolitan Board of Works thus describe it in their Report :—

“The houses in part of this area have been pulled down, and the ground has been lying idle for months; the inhabitants have gone elsewhere, and when, in the course of another year or more, improved dwellings have been erected, it is more than probable that, instead of being occupied by the people who previously lived on the spot, they will be occupied by others who have no particular claim to that locality.”

The evil of overcrowded and unwholesome dwellings is also owing in a great measure to the failure of the local authorities in London to make a due exercise of the authority which the law gives them. The Sanitary Acts, if put into operation, are quite sufficient to preserve the cleanness and healthy condition of dwellings, provided that the arrangement of streets and houses in the different areas is such as will lend itself readily to sanitary regulations. It may be said with truth that, if there were a strong municipal governing body in London, or if the present local authorities had done their duty in the enforcement of the Sanitary Acts, there would not at this moment be so great a complaint with respect to the overcrowding and dirt of some parts of the metropolis. The law gives full power to the local authorities to prevent overcrowding. They may inspect and may order whitewashing and cleansing of tenement houses; they may register them, may give notices of repair, and in default take proceedings before a magistrate, who can order any alterations, or shut up the house and inflict penalties. Any of their officers, any two medical men, the relieving officer, or any two inhabitants may bring the case before the local authority.

It is thus perfectly clear that the local authorities in London have ready to their hand sufficient means to enforce the cleansing of houses. They can prevent overcrowding and abate other nuisances if they choose to put the sanitary regulations in force.

In addition, however, to the Sanitary Acts, they have under the Torrens Act, 1868, full power to repair or demolish any premises in a condition or state dangerous to health, and they can charge the expense on the owner of the property. But the powers under this Act are seldom exercised by the local authorities. The operation of the Act is left in the hands of the vestries; and it may be that the reason why it is not more generally enforced is owing to the fact that many of the members of these smaller local bodies are themselves owners of property which would have to be condemned if the Act were strictly enforced.

Another possible reason for the neglect to enforce the Act is connected with the cost of working it, which is charged on the local rate of each district. The Metropolitan Board of Works, on the other hand, can clear large areas and effect improvements under

the Artizans' Act of 1875, charging the cost on the whole metropolis. It is not likely that the vestries will charge the rates of their own poorer districts for this purpose when the work can be done by the Metropolitan Board at the expense of the whole of London.

Under these circumstances the suggestion does not appear unreasonable that it would be advisable to place the working of these Acts in the hands of the latter authority, more especially as the Torrens Act of 1868, and the Artizans and Labourers' Dwellings Act, 1875, seek to attain the same object, the difference between them being simply one of *procédure*. The Artizans' Act was introduced by Sir Richard Cross with the view of giving power to local authorities to make improvement schemes for large areas, of which the sanitary defects were reported to be of such a character as to necessitate a rearrangement of streets and houses. The necessity for some legislative enactment of this character was apparent, but the result of the working of the Act has been exceedingly disappointing. It has in great measure failed to effect the object for which it was passed, and has secured what can only be called a very partial and unsatisfactory remedy at a ruinous cost to the ratopayers. The cause of this expense has already been noticed, and it will suffice to quote the following passage from the Report of the Metropolitan Board of Works descriptive of the working of the Act:—

“In conclusion it may be mentioned that the cost of the schemes which have been carried into effect has hitherto largely exceeded the estimate. On the six areas which have been sold to the Peabody trustees, it is estimated that the Board will lose the large sum of £643,461, which, however, will be reduced by about £81,400, the value of the land retained for recoupment.”

A committee representing some of the more important vestries in London are equally severe in their condemnation of the Act. They say—

“The result of the operation of the Act during five years has been that about nine acres of land have been brought under its operation at a cost of £80,000 an acre, and have been sold for about £10,000 an acre, leaving a loss to the metropolitan ratopayers of £70,000 an acre, or a total loss in reference to these six schemes of £362,061.”

The process during these years has been one simply of demolition—the houses have been pulled down, and the tenants forced to find accommodation elsewhere. There has been no reconstruction; and the rebuilding which is now progressing on the land purchased by the Peabody trustees is evidently taken in hand too late to be of any service to the people displaced by the demolition in 1877 or 1878.

This fact has been recognised, and the Metropolitan Board of Works has been given power under the Amending Act of 1879 to

provide accommodation for the working class displaced, at some place other than within the area comprised in the improvement scheme. This provision is a step in the right direction; but the principle must be carried further. It is essential that a commercial rather than a philanthropic view should be taken of this question. The houses must be made to pay the cost of their erection if the Act is not to be a complete failure; and it will continue to be a failure, justifying the arguments of those who inveigh against this legislation as socialistic, if we continue to permit land which may be let for 1s. 3d. the superficial foot for commercial purposes, and sold at a proportionate price, to be devoted for ever to purposes which will reduce its letting value to 3d. a foot.

The local authorities should have full and unfettered discretion in judging as to the proportion of workmen's dwellings required in each case, and as to the best manner of providing the accommodation. There seems to be no good reason why they should not themselves build if they find that they can dispose of the land on building leases to other parties only at a great loss to the ratepayers. The local authority in the metropolis, which has the duty of carrying out the Act, may not have the full confidence of the public, but we have to deal with things as we find them. We have no other authority in the metropolis<sup>1</sup> than the Metropolitan Board capable of carrying out the Act, and it is possible that we may encourage them to throw more vigour into the work if we furnish them with powers less restricted than those now conferred upon them.

The principle of the assessment of compensation, and the system of arbitration under the Act have also added to the expense. The Legislature seems to have paid more regard to the interests of owners of defective house property in the slums of the metropolis than to the just requirements of the public. Every precaution was taken by Parliament to insure the payment of a full compensation to owners of property required for the purposes of the Act, and the local authorities have been compelled to give as much compensation for the demolition of the worst class of property as they have to pay under ordinary circumstances for good property, which they purchase from time to time for the purpose of making public improvements. In a statement submitted to the Home Office, dated August 1, 1879, the Metropolitan Board of Works say—

“Numerous instances might be given in which compensation appears to have been awarded without reference to the fact that the property was in such a condition as to endanger the public health; but it may suffice to make specific mention of one typical case which occurred in the Great Wild Street area, where an interest which, if the considerations here urged could have been acted upon would have been valued at £500, was compensated under the arbitrator's award to the extent of £3,500.”

(1) The Commissioners of Sewers administer the Artizan's Dwellings Act, 1875, in the City of London.

This letter had the effect of inducing the Government to introduce a Bill directing the arbitrator, if satisfied that premises are unhealthy, overcrowded, or in such a condition as to be a nuisance, to deduct in valuing them the estimated expense of abating the nuisance. The Bill became law in 1879, and its provisions contain, without doubt, a valuable improvement in the system of assessing compensation in these cases. But it will be well further to extend this principle. Compensation should never be assessed on the basis of rental in the case of houses condemned by the local authority as unfit for human habitation. In adopting the basis of rental in the case of property thus described, a direct encouragement is given to owners to overcrowd their houses, and make no expenditure either on cleansing or repairs. Owners of property, whether freeholders or leaseholders, have full power to cause their property to be kept in a cleanly condition, and it is a perfectly just application of a sound principle to enact that compensation shall only be assessed on the value of the land, and of the materials, when it is necessary to demolish and reconstruct houses which have been permitted to fall into a condition prejudicial to the health of the community. But this change in the law will not enable the local authorities to escape a heavy pecuniary loss if they build workmen's houses on land which commands a high value for commercial purposes.

The system of arbitration is also answerable for much of the delay and expense in carrying out the Act. Under the present arrangements the local authorities may possibly have to argue a case before three tribunals prior to completion of purchase. In the first place, the arbitrator inquires into the claims for compensation, and makes a provisional award, to which the claimants may object. Another delay, and a further inquiry must then be held.

When the arbitrator gives a final award, any dissatisfied owner, whose claim exceeds £500, may appeal to a jury against it. The following case illustrates the delay which frequently occurs: The owner was served with notice by the local authority on the 1st of December, 1876. Occupiers had notice on June 11, 1877, and on May 13, 1878, owner had notice to send in his claim. This was done on July 30. Provisional award was made on May 1, 1879, to which objection was made on June 14. The case came before arbitrator for final award on June 25, 1879, and was decided on appeal, August 27, 1879. There seems to be no reason for this undue delay and expense. Under the Lands Clauses Act there is a more simple and speedy process for the compulsory purchase of land. The rights of property will be safe enough, and we shall secure the more economical and efficient working of the Artizans' Act if one strong tribunal is appointed whose award in disputed cases shall be final.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that the Legislature should have imposed conditions upon the local authorities which effectually hinder them from effecting improvements in the dwellings of the poor in London, except at an enormous cost to the ratepayers, who are many of them in as struggling a condition as those whom it is sought to assist at the public cost.

When the local authorities find it necessary in the interests of health and decency to apply the provisions of the Artizans' Act of 1875 to an area of dwellings in London they are confronted by the difficulties, delays, and expenses which have been described. As has been shown there is no real reason why the local authorities should find themselves thus hampered. The question has been satisfactorily solved. Several companies have invested private capital in the erection of workmen's dwellings, and have made these investments remunerative. Sir Sydney Waterlow's Company, the Artizans and Labourers' Dwellings Company, and other smaller associations, have acquired land in London, have built thereon workmen's dwellings, and regularly pay their shareholders a fairly-earned dividend of from 4 to 5 per cent. They certainly would not have been in a position to do this if they had acquired land having a very high commercial value, and devoted it to dwellings for the labouring classes. But the local authorities have been compelled in various ways to do this very thing. They have bought land, as we have seen, dearly, and resold it for a sixth of its value to the Peabody trustees, who, having acquired the land cheaply, will have no difficulty in obtaining a fair return for the capital invested in building workmen's dwellings upon it.

If this legislation is to have any satisfactory result some local authority must have more liberty in dealing with the land acquired by the demolition of houses under the Artizans' Act, 1875. It may be said that there is no local authority in London which can be trusted with these large powers, and it must be acknowledged that the absence of any really strong and representative local authority for London is a continual stumbling-block in the way of many urgent reforms which are needed in the internal government of the metropolis. The present question is one, however, which cannot wait for a reform in local government which is problematical, and must at any rate be distant. We must work with the instruments which we have ready to our hand. The instrument in this case may be a weak and uncertain one, but it will be better to make a fair trial with it than to continue a system imposing conditions which make the improvement of the dwellings of the labouring classes in London difficult, if not impracticable.

In the absence of any single municipal authority for the whole of London, we hold that the Metropolitan Board of Works should be

the executive authority within the area of the metropolis charged with the duty of administering the Torrens Act, 1868, as well as the Artizans and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act, 1875. The first Act is the most convenient when it is necessary to deal with single houses, and the latter Act gives power to deal with large areas. By concentrating the duty of administering these Acts in the hands of one authority, we shall remove the inducements which now encourage the vestries to neglect the administration of the Torrens Act, 1868, with the view of throwing the responsibility of effecting reforms upon the Metropolitan Board, more especially if the cost of work under both Acts is made a charge upon the common fund of the metropolis. The amendments in the method of assessing compensation and in the system of arbitration which have been recommended will, if carried into effect, largely contribute to effect a reduction in the expense of working the Act of 1875. But the value of land in London is at the bottom of the whole matter; and it is evident that unless we give the local authorities full discretion to act in this matter upon sound commercial principles, we shall fail to solve in a satisfactory manner a question which is of great and pressing importance.

In support of the views advocated in this Paper, we would draw attention to some comparisons between the Glasgow Improvements Act, 1866, and the Artizans' Dwellings Act, 1875, and the administration of those Acts.

These comparisons have been furnished us by Mr. C. S. Loch, Secretary to the Charity Organization Society, who has lately made inquiries on the spot into the working of the Glasgow Act.

1. By the Glasgow Act (Clause 28) the trustees cannot eject within six months any number of the labouring classes exceeding five hundred, without a certificate from the sheriff that sufficient accommodation exists within the city, or its immediate neighbourhood, for the population displaced.<sup>1</sup>

To ascertain the actual number of empty and available tenements within the boundary, within half a mile of the boundary, and within half a mile radius outside the boundary, suitable for the labouring and artizan class, a careful census was taken by the police. Thus information was obtained with respect to the whole of Glasgow from time to time, in the carrying out of the Act.

Secondly, the restrictions are more lenient. The Act of 1875 requires that accommodation shall be provided for at least as many persons of the working class as may be displaced in the area, in suitable dwellings which, unless there are any special reasons to the contrary, shall be situate within the limits of the same area, or in

(1) See *House Accommodation Provided for Displaced Population*. Mr. James Morrison, April, 1877.

the vicinity thereof. And the Act of 1875 requires that if it be proved to the satisfaction of the confirming authority, that equally convenient accommodation can be provided for any persons of the working class displaced at some other place than within the area, or the immediate vicinity thereof, schemes may be authorised or modified making such arrangements for accommodation.

Thus all the work between 1875 and 1879 has proceeded on a wrong assumption, viz. that all should be replaced on the spot. Since 1879 the grant to the Peabody trustees has been made on this wrong assumption, as if the necessity of passing the Act of 1879 had not shown that the replacement of a number equal to those displaced was entirely wrong. And now there is no reason for believing that any census of vacant or available dwellings has, since 1879, been taken, by which it could be shown how far, in London as a whole, accommodation was available for those displaced. Yet all this information regarding the working of the Glasgow Act was at hand in 1874, and there was evidence then in Glasgow to show that dispersion of the low class population had reduced crime, and that those displaced, although paying higher rent elsewhere, were satisfied with enforced displacement.

2. The Glasgow trustees deemed it politic to purchase the properties as far as possible by private negotiations. The various proprietors or their agents were waited on by an employé of the trust, and offers solicited, on obtaining which the property was inspected and valued by two of the trustees with competent assistance; and on their report the committee either accepted or declined the offer made.

On the other hand, the proceedings under the Act of 1875 are very public. An official representation is first made which is probably known by all the property holders in the district. Then this is followed by the formation of schemes, publication of the same for three weeks, serving of notices on every owner or reputed owner, presentation of petition to Local Government Board or Home Office by the local authority, public local inquiry with report, provisional order, and final confirmation by Act of Parliament.

The Glasgow people considered the whole of the work was to be done by them, and arranged accordingly. In London the Act necessitates a series of disconnected schemes considered and dealt with separately. In Glasgow the purchase was done as private individuals, or companies armed with compulsory powers would do it. In London the Act necessitates a publicity that tempts the raising of prices.

3. At Glasgow the trustees, unwilling to push reconstruction too quickly, and knowing that a long period must elapse before the scheme would be completed, expended large sums on temporary



remedies—whitewashing, ventilating, purifying, &c. The most important of these operations consisted in the demolition of the worst houses. They displaced in the four years ending 1874 about 1,524 persons.

Nothing like this is contemplated by the Act of 1875. Yet there is probably no better plan of commencing the series of changes necessary for the displacement of the people and the replacement of proper houses.

In December, 1878, the sanitary inspectors, acting under Dr. Liddell, of Whitechapel, reported that the houses bought by the Board were uninhabited, and in a state unfit for habitation, showing that the Board had not taken temporary preventive measures, such as those in Glasgow.

4. Without close supervision the pulling down of houses in Glasgow would not have spread the population who cling to their old haunts as long as possible, and the density would have been intensified by overcrowding two or more families in one house to the detriment of the health of all; but the supervision of the sanitary inspectors, and the prosecutions before the magistrate for such practices have reduced this to a point so low as almost to imply extinction shortly.

Evidence from Whitechapel and Great Wild Street would lead one to suppose that the people displaced have gone right away in London. This has been the practical result of the Act. But the aim of it was not to spread the population, but to replace it.

5. In Glasgow the trustees have provided, to some extent, house accommodation for the poorest class by the erection of 9,318 houses of one apartment, making provision in the ordinary ratio for a population of 46,590.

Now, in London, the Peabody trustees are going to build only sixty single rooms on the Whitechapel and Limehouse area, and the various dwelling associations make little provision of this kind. Yet it is obvious that, if the inhabitants of the slums are to be lodged, those, namely, who earn least and have most uncertain work, a large quantity of single rooms must be provided, the rent of which persons earning 20s. a week and less will be able to pay.

From a study of these comparisons it is evident that had the Glasgow trustees had to put in force the Artizans' Dwellings Act of 1875, they must, as a matter of necessity, have failed in effecting any great improvement in the dwellings of the labouring classes. At the same time the Metropolitan Board of Works might possibly, by more carefully considering the needs of the metropolis as a whole, and by carrying out the required changes more gradually, have made the Act of 1875 less inefficient.

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HENRY R. BRAND.

## OUR FOREIGN AND IRISH POLICY.<sup>1</sup>

GLOOMY and threatening as the past year has been for Europe, it closes less unfavourably than might have been expected. The change of government in England promised to be beneficial for our own country and empire, but could not be viewed without apprehension when it was remembered that our policy in Eastern Europe would be determined by a statesman so much swayed by religious fanaticism and blind antipathy to a certain race. The treaty of Berlin had given satisfaction to no one, certainly not to Positivists. But whether the peace which followed was or was not accompanied by a complete execution of the provisions of the treaty, was a matter of very trifling consequence in comparison with the fact that there was peace. The commencement of the war by Russia had been a crime, not so much because it was an unjust and hypocritical attempt at territorial aggrandisement, as because it was likely to reopen strife in the West, and precipitate a tremendous struggle which might otherwise be postponed, possibly even averted. The danger was recognised by every one. Whether it was tided over by the wisdom of statesmen or by mere good fortune, it is not profitable to discuss now. Probably the materials for judging are not and will not be for sometime yet in the hands of the public. It is enough that it was tided over, and that, contrary to all expectation, the Western nations, though armed to the teeth, and each from sheer nervousness constantly on the point of striking lest it should be struck, looked on while the two semi-barbarous powers of Eastern Europe fought out their quarrel. The settlement, I say, was an unsatisfactory one, marked in its every feature by rapacity and hypocrisy. Still peace had been reached again, and to preserve the new *status quo* became as much the duty of every sensible statesman as it had been to maintain the old one.

It makes one shudder to think that this fortunate and unhopedor respite for Europe was again troubled, the peace, or truce, so essential to the highest interests of civilisation was again risked, the general conflagration was again almost lighted up, by the reckless sentimentality and fanaticism of the Prime Minister of England. The objects were firstly to increase the territory of Greece, a change in itself legitimate and desirable, but not one for which any wise statesman would feel justified in running the risk of war; and, secondly, to hand over to a little barbarous tribe, which by the accident of its Christianity had secured the special favour of Mr. Gladstone, a district inhabited by men of another race and another religion, who protested against being bought and sold like sheep to suit the convenience of haggling plenipotentiaries.● For this it was

(1) This article formed part of the Annual Posivist Address delivered Jan. 1st, 1881.

that a match was again thrust into the European powder magazine. Fortunately the explosion has for the present been averted. France, Germany, and Austria showed manifest reluctance to be dragged into the naval demonstration, and would have nothing to do with Mr. Gladstone's proposal to blockade Smyrna. The result of all this blustering diplomacy has therefore been ridiculously small. The Albanians have been robbed of a morsel of territory for the benefit of Montenegro, but the claims of Greece have not been conceded.

Putting aside the humiliation this brought upon our country, and the discredit inflicted upon the European concert, it is difficult to imagine a more terrible responsibility than our minister has thus incurred. The Greeks were acquiescing like sensible people in the disappointment of the hopes raised by the treaty of Berlin, when Mr. Gladstone came into office and stirred them up by his promises of support to challenge the very superior strength of Turkey. A little nation, which I hope and believe has a future before it not unworthy of its glorious past, but whose chief needs just now are good domestic government and economical administration of its finances, has been incited to plunge into vast expenditure, a large portion of its very unwarlike population has been called away from industrial pursuits to form an army, and, what is worse, the excitable and somewhat boastful temper of the people has been worked up to such a point of effervescence, that we are assured Greece must either attack Turkey, with or without allies, or there will be a revolution. If she takes the former course it is certain immediately to be followed by an insurrection in Roumelia, which again would precipitate the collision between Austria and Russia, so dreaded by all the prudent statesmen of Europe. These are the risks that our ruler has faced with a light heart. It is something that the autumn has been tided over, and that the naval demonstration has come to a harmless if somewhat ridiculous conclusion. We must hope that during the winter Greece will reflect, and finding herself deluded, will have the sense to disarm, leaving the shame to be borne by those who have deluded her.

But it may be that we have played with the fire once too often, and that the year we are now beginning is destined to see the final dismemberment of Turkey. Much as we may regret for the sake of Eastern Europe itself that it should be scrambled for by the rival ambitions of overgrown empires, a still graver fear must weigh upon us when we reflect on the dangers which will threaten the more advanced civilisation of the West. Spoliation in one quarter will be closely followed by a claim for compensation in another. If Russia and Austria, with or without quarrelling over it, partition the provinces of Turkey, Germany will assuredly indemnify herself at the expense of some feeble nation whose territory would conveniently round off her frontier. This has been the process which

Europe has witnessed again and again, and we have absolutely no warrant for expecting that it would not be repeated. It is hardly probable that such a disturbance of the balance of power in the West would be acquiesced in by France or England, and a war would ensue which might arrest European progress for a generation. Yet it would be the least of evils. For the absorption of an old and respectable nation, peaceful and unoffending in its policy, orderly in its internal government, by the very fact of its smallness coming nearer to the ideal of civic society than the overgrown population of large states ; a country which has deserved well of Europe in the past, as the bulwark of political liberty and the shelter of free thought and a free press ; the country, in short, of William the Silent and Spinoza, the asylum of Des Cartes and Locke ; that such a country should drop from its honourable rank as a free member of the European confederation to be ground flat in the dull mill of Prussian bureaucracy and militarism ; this, I say, would be a calamity far out-weighing the extinction of twenty Bulgarian or Bosnian nationalities ; and the English minister who should have the folly to give occasion for it, or the cowardice to acquiesce in it, would leave a dishonoured name behind him in the history of his country.

To prevent this and other such disasters to the West it is essential that the Turkish Empire should be left to settle itself without any interference from outside. And, to put the matter more generally, whatever evils exist in Europe, there is none so mischievous, so intolerable, that an attempt to redress it by physical force would not be a greater evil. There is now only one cause for which it is right or wise that any nation in Europe should draw the sword ; and that is to prevent other nations drawing it. The malady of Europe is an intellectual and moral one ; it can be cured or alleviated only by intellectual and moral remedies. There are at present the widest differences in opinion as to what is right or wrong in international matters. These differences exist perhaps most markedly between thoroughly well-meaning people. The greatest misery, the wildest and most irreparable mischief, may be, and very likely will be, brought about for the sake of such ideas as liberty, nationality, sacredness of treaties, historical justice, commercial development, or, finally, the communication of the blessings of civilisation to backward races. All these principles have their good side, and any one of them is capable of exciting a perfectly disinterested enthusiasm. But it is certain that they may easily come into collision with one another, and that there is not at present anything like agreement even among the most well-meaning people as to their respective importance and the true way of adjusting them relatively to one another.

Of course such agreement, even when arrived at in principle, will leave room for dispute as to secondary deductions, and will also have to contend with evil passions and selfish interests. Still, when some

coherent system of principles is generally accepted, a very great step will have been made, and human providence will have a much better chance of guiding the world aright. That, however, is a point we have not yet reached. There can in future be no general acceptance of any doctrines except so far as they are scientifically demonstrated. Now, it is only within the last fifty years that sociology and morals have been constituted as sciences, and there is much still to be done in thinking out, developing, and applying them. Until they are more perfected and more widely appreciated there is no chance of general agreement on even the most elementary questions of politics, whether national or international.

Now what we Positivists believe and urge is, that since there is a prospect of arriving before very long at a body of demonstrated principles, sufficiently complete for useful application to concrete politics, and consequently of obtaining a sufficiently general assent to those principles, it is very undesirable that there should be in the meantime any attempt to settle the various difficult questions in Europe by blind force. Not only does this involve terrible misery and waste, but it means that some of those struggling ideas which I mentioned just now will by violence acquire undue and unnatural weight, while others equally valuable will be as unnaturally depressed or crushed. The ultimate application of scientific principles would thus be rendered all the more difficult and distant in proportion as natural growth had been interfered with by crude theorising, impatience, and violence. Hence we say that the aim of wise, practical statesmen should be to maintain the *status quo* provisionally.

Discouraging and alarming as is the present state of Europe if we look at the enormous and unexampled development of armies and the distrust which reigns between all the Powers, there are three considerations which may give us hope that these threatening clouds, whether they burst or not, will not overshadow us quite so long as is generally expected.

It would be indeed hard to take any other than a despairing view of the future, if the military system introduced by Prussia, and now extended so widely throughout Europe, seemed likely to be permanent. But let us notice, as the first element of hope, that with all this drilling and soldiering, in spite of universal conscription and barrack life, the population of Europe is not being militarised in spirit. It is not learning to delight in war or to be attracted to the profession of arms. On the contrary, it is becoming more industrial. There never was a time when dislike of military service was so strong and so universal. In France, even the rich and idle class despise it, while no inducement can be found powerful enough to tempt the private, whose term of service has expired, to re-enlist as a non-commissioned officer. Germany is the home of the new system. It is the only country in Europe where a purely military caste still

survives. The majority of the population have been broken to the conscription for three generations. Extraordinary pains have been taken, not only by the Government, but by the literary class, to train public opinion and sentiment in conformity with the military ideal, so that the duty of the soldier shall be regarded as the most sacred of all duties, and the honour of arms as the highest type of honour. Yet even in Germany, poor backward Germany, the mass of the people are notoriously sick of militarism, while an important and rapidly increasing party denounce it as a crime against social progress. These are encouraging facts, and may reassure us against the dread that European manners will be permanently depraved by the extraordinary development of warlike activity during the last fifteen years.

A second consideration is the manifest if not very rapid growth of a sense of solidarity between the various component members of the European commonwealth. Inherited first from the Roman incorporation, re-established by Charlemagne, fostered by the mediæval Papacy, conceived as systematic by Henri Quatre, caricatured and discredited by Napoleon I. and the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance, and at length clearly defined and proclaimed by Auguste Comte, this solidarity is beginning to reveal itself to the consciousness of the West. The European concert, of which we have heard so much lately, may not have been very hearty or have accomplished very great things. But the mere fact that all the Powers have felt compelled to *appear* to cling to it, the general conviction that no safety lay outside of it, the real check it has imposed on the ardent fanaticism of some and the restless cupidity of others—all these are evidences of the growth of an idea to which we must mainly look for the peaceful regulation of Europe in the future.

And this brings us to the third of the considerations to which I just now alluded. In proportion as partial combinations are superseded, and the European concert is strengthened and recognised as a permanent institution, we may expect with certainty that international relations will be regulated more in accordance with justice and the common welfare. It is as impossible for nations as for individuals to co-operate permanently on any other principle. At bottom there is not a single nation in Europe at the present moment, however strong, however self-reliant, which would not gain by such a mutual sacrifice of conflicting interests, nay, which does not stand in urgent need of it. Take the strongest of all, Germany. All her neighbours can see what a terrible blunder she committed in annexing Alsace and Lorraine. I do not despair of seeing her voluntarily retrace her steps. She has, by all accounts, made no progress whatever in winning the affections of the conquered provinces. France would pay almost any ransom to purchase their liberation. And so thoroughly pacific is the French population that all fear of a war of

revenge would then be absolutely at an end. What security comparable to this is afforded by the possession of Metz and Strasbourg? Both nations might and would reduce their armies to the comparatively moderate scale which satisfied them fifteen years ago. And all Europe would hasten to follow their example.

Now what stands between us and the realisation of this blissful vision? Two forces only: the military pride of the German aristocracy, and the crazy theories of German professors. But the mass of the people will not always submit to be dragooned by the one or made ridiculous by the other. When the hero of the aristocracy is said to be revolving a scheme for brigading the whole working class into something like a gigantic benefit society, if not a phalanstery, the funds and operations of which the Government will be kind enough to manage, we may be sure that he regards the existing system as almost in its death-throes. And when the most German of the professors carries his theories to the length of screaming for a new persecution of the Jew in order to purge the Fatherland from a non-Aryan race, we may hope that the reaction against such a grotesque fanaticism is not far off. Because kings and aristocracies with their military traditions have been slow to disgorge territorial conquests, it does not follow that industrial republics will be equally obstinate in disregarding the dictates of justice and their own obvious interest. When the mass of the German people realise that the intolerable load under which they stagger is entirely due to the unjust detention of the French provinces, and that France would rather redeem them than fight for them, I believe they will not hesitate.

The principal barrier, then, between Europe as it is and Europe as it might be and ought to be is after all a comparatively limited and manageable one. It may be swept away very soon and very suddenly, and its disappearance would be followed by an immediate and very considerable alleviation of the evils now tasking our endurance. The man who is suffering from a sharp fever or a severe wound is assuredly in an anxious and critical state; but yet it may not be a case for despondency and despair, as when some vital organ is impaired or the constitution is worn out. With good luck and wise treatment the patient may, in a few weeks or months, be well and strong. The malady of excessive armaments under which Europe now labours is acute and dangerous, but it admits of a radical cure. The remedy is evident and well known, and we may hope that the resolution to adopt it will not be long delayed.

My predecessor in this place last year dwelt on the two questions which then had most pressing interest for Englishmen—the Afghan and Zulu wars. It is a matter for deep satisfaction that the verdict of the constituencies at the general election was an emphatic condemnation of those atrocious crimes. Unfortunately, the new

Government has very imperfectly executed the mandate it received from the electors. It is not worth while inquiring here why the Afghan war was not brought to a speedy conclusion ; why unjustifiable pretensions were not frankly withdrawn ; why a British army still occupies Candahar ? The Liberal Government has distinctly fallen short of the professions it made in opposition, and is fully responsible for the bloodiest battle of the whole war, and for any calamities to ourselves or the unfortunate Afghans which may yet ensue.

The policy of the Liberal Government in South Africa has been even more reprehensible. It has, in fact, been identical with that of the late Government. This is the more discreditable, because their condemnation of the conduct of their predecessors had been unequivocal, and they were as distinctly pledged as men could be to reverse it. Not only have they maintained it, but by keeping Sir Bartle Frere at his post they have made themselves responsible for the infamous war of spoliation which he hastened to get up against the Basutos. As for the Boers of the Transvaal, I venture to say that they have the ardent sympathy of all Positivists in their resolution to resist our lawless annexation by arms. None of us can have read without shame the appeal to England now circulating in Holland. Would that there were any chance of the European concert being brought to bear on our shameless rapacity.

On comparing the feeling expressed by the constituencies at the election with the policy since pursued in Afghanistan and South Africa, we are obliged to say that our governing classes, to whichever party they belong, are distinctly less disposed than the mass of the people to subordinate politics to morals. Painful and mortifying as are the immediate results, we may console ourselves with the reflection that power will in futuro rest more and more with the class most amenable to moral considerations.

But it is not in our dealings with remote quarters of the world that the morality of our people is about to be most severely tested. During the last year the old standing Irish difficulty has forced itself upon us in such sort that frivolity itself is compelled to give heed, and the most hesitating to choose their side. For what I shall say on this subject I desire that no other Positivist may be held responsible. I believe that I shall represent the general feeling of my co-religionists. But some may think my language ill-chosen, or perhaps that my conclusions are unwarranted by Positivist principles. Divergence in application is incident, and always will be incident, to every general principle. Positivists cannot expect exemption from this defect, depending as it does on the feeble nature of man's deductive capacity. I believe there is a notion abroad that we do pretend to such exemption—that we are quite sure about everything ; and that, consequently, we all hold identical opinions on all political



matters. Perhaps individuals have sometimes held unwise language, which has given colour for this erroneous impression. There may have been, occasionally, a tendency to dogmatism on particular questions. If so, I hope we have learnt wisdom by our experience of the practical differences which may arise among ourselves.

Our difficulties in Ireland used to be of three sorts, political, social, and religious, each having its connections with the other, but for clearness of treatment better considered apart. The last has not entirely disappeared, but it has become so dwarfed that in comparison of the other two it is not now worth mentioning. For this relief the credit must be given to Mr. Gladstone; and after the severe reflections I have been obliged to make on that statesman, it is a pleasure to be able to say that as regards Ireland he has been in advance of public opinion. Not far in advance it is true; but a practical statesman must not be far in advance of public opinion. He is bound to be an opportunist.

Of the political and social questions, it is the latter that is just now the more urgent. It appeals most powerfully to the strongest and most indispensable, though not the highest of human instincts, that of self-preservation; and Irish discontent is concentrated upon it with extraordinary energy. The Irish tenant has always considered that his right to occupy and live out of his little farm was as real a right as that of the owner to receive a fair rent for it. The two rights subsisted side by side, and were capable of being adjusted by custom and of being exercised without clashing, if there had been a recognised standard of duty, and both parties had been amenable to public opinion. And if law had grown out of custom, as it usually does—if it had been, as it usually is elsewhere, an authoritative recognition of usages that had spontaneously arisen and were adapted to the ideas and circumstances of the people—we should not now be witnessing the breakdown of law. Unfortunately the Irish people, not possessing the national independence which every real nation ought to enjoy, were not able to turn their customs into laws. A law that had grown up in another country, under totally different and very peculiar conditions, was imposed upon them. It was a bad law in itself, tainted with injustice and prejudicial to the welfare of the country that was its birthplace, as we are at last beginning to find out. But there were circumstances which mitigated, and when they did not really mitigate, concealed its ill effects here.

The chief of these circumstances was that in England the old feudal system had left traces of its good side. There was a tradition of a community of interests and of reciprocal duties between landlord and tenant, not recognised by law, but kept up by education and public opinion. But between the native of Ireland and his English conqueror the feudal relation had never really existed. To

transport, therefore, to Ireland a land law springing out of the feudal system, was to give unchecked play to all its worst tendencies without any mitigating influences. Again, in England the extraordinary development of industries other than agricultural—due, not to our national character, as we flatter ourselves, but principally to our possession of coal-pits—has prevented the competition for land from becoming so excessive as to make the landlord absolute master of the situation. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say, has prevented landlordism from having been long since swept away. In Ireland there was no coal, and such manufactures as struggled to rise were deliberately crushed by England.

The tenant, therefore, had no means of living if he gave up his holding; and the knowledge of this enabled the landlord to raise the rent to a figure that did not leave the tenant a reasonable profit. Often it was a rent that could not possibly be paid. The tenant was then permanently and hopelessly in debt to his landlord, who took from him payments on account, leaving him just enough to keep himself and his family alive. Such a system of course extinguished all industry and enterprise in the occupier; for whether he farmed well or ill, worked hard or was idle, the gain or loss was the landlord's; his own share of the produce remained at the same wretched minimum. This explains what we often hear said about the rental of land being low in Ireland. Where cultivation is bad, for want of security, the rent may be lower than the land might be made to carry, and yet be higher than the actual tenant can pay.

This state of things has been compared to that which was remedied in France by the Revolution. It is in reality much worse. The French peasant, after all, was owner of his land. The exactions of the lord of the manor were vexatious and degrading, but they were not unlimited. There was no rent to be raised at pleasure. He could not wring the last penny of profit from the peasant. He could not squeeze him dry. What impoverished the peasant was rather the King's taxes, which were heavy, arbitrary, and uncertain. Now in Ireland the rates and taxes are equitable and not immoderate; and the tenant has not to submit to any exactions by the landlord of a vexatious or degrading kind. But the landlord has the power of raising the rent at his pleasure, so that he can by process of law, and in the name of the great principle of free trade, wring the last penny from his tenant, leaving him just so much as will keep him alive. The great object, therefore, of the tenant is to appear poor. He makes no improvement lest his rent should be raised. If he saves a little money he hoards it or puts it in some bank away from his own neighbourhood lest his rent should be raised. He does not venture to wear a decent coat lest his rent should be raised.

For a parallel to this state of things we must look, not to the old régime in France, but to some Asiatic despotism. Open any

elementary book on political economy and see what it says on the effects of imperfect security of property. You will find them all forcibly described and illustrated by awful examples drawn, as a rule, from Mahometan countries. The illustrations might have been found nearer home. It is the condition of the peasant of Mayo and Connemara. For revolting against it he is denounced as attacking the sacredness of property. It is a misuse of terms. The Irish are not communists. There is no people in Europe so absolutely free from any taint of communism. The present movement is emphatically a resistance to the confiscation of property—the tenant's property in his holding. To talk of the relation between a Connaught landlord and a Connaught tenant as one of "contract" is contrary to common sense.

Property exists for the sake of society. That co-operation for the common welfare, moral and intellectual no less than material, which we call society, requires as one of its primary conditions the institution and maintenance of property—private property. And if the social union is to get beyond its primitive state there must be private property in land. No one has insisted on this more powerfully than Auguste Comte. But property exists for the sake of society, not society for the sake of property, as some people seem to think. It has its origin in expediency; that is to say, the welfare of the community, in the long run. It can plead no higher or more sacred title. When it is so exercised as to be injurious to the community it may be interfered with; and when the injury is of a serious and permanent kind it *must* be interfered with.

This is no mere theory fit only for academic disputation, and out of the region of practical politics. It is a simple statement of the stern process by which, as a matter of fact, communities do protect themselves when they find that a power that can only exist by their support is being used for their ruin. It is a process which was carried out, on a small scale, it is true, but quite sufficiently to assert the principle, by the Irish Land Act of 1870, which recognised a stubborn fact, till that time unrecognised by the law, viz., that an Irish tenant has a certain property in his holding. What was then given to the tenant was taken away from the landlord, and without any compensation, in the name of the welfare of the community. If communities are afflicted with governments so selfish or ignorant (and by Government in this country we mean Parliament), that such necessary interference with property cannot be effected in a legal way, then there will be revolution. What we call a fever in the human body is the attempt of nature to throw off a poison which has got into the system. Revolution is a febrile crisis in the body politic, a spontaneous attempt to get rid of some evil which the State, functioning normally, is unable to eliminate. It is analogous to a war between nations or a strike and lock-out in industry. It is

a violent and abnormal state of things, but it may be the only issue out of a vicious and fatal circle.

We had better not deceive ourselves. We are in the presence of such a revolution in Ireland. If Ireland had been independent, if its people had been free to legislate for themselves, a crisis would probably have been avoided. Landlords would have been wise in time. Left by themselves, face to face with the Irish people, they would long ago have made concessions which now will avail them nothing. We all remember when the cry was for the extension of the Ulster Tenant Right. But the governing class in England denounced Tenant Right as confiscation, and the Irish landlords relying on England would not yield an inch. To-day the Irish people will not look at the Ulster Tenant Right. And next week, it is supposed that we shall see the Prime Minister proposing not merely Free Sale, but Fixity of Tenure and Fair Rents—happy if he may hope that the concession does not come too late.

For a change has come over the Irish people in twelve months—a change comparable to nothing but the breath of Revolution which swept over France in 1789, when a nation of slaves burst its bands and stood upright in the dignity and strength of freemen. But for the overwhelming military strength of England, the Irish peasants would have freed themselves from their landlords by a physical force revolution long ago. The delay has only made them more determined and more unanimous, so that they are now able to carry out what is infinitely more arduous, but also infinitely more effectual—a moral force revolution. Landlordism is down; and no indictments for conspiracy, no suspension of Habeas Corpus, no, nor Martial Law itself, can ever set it up again. Passive resistance will foil them all. You cannot evict a nation. All your prisons will not hold it. Is there any means known to criminal lawyers by which they can compel a Land Leaguer to buy and sell with a Land-grabber? There is only one way by which order can be restored. Law must be brought into harmony with the national sentiment, or law will obtain no respect. It will have to own itself beaten, as it has so often been beaten when it has measured its strength against Conscience worked up to the point of enthusiasm.

When I speak of landlordism, I must not be understood to mean that the letting of land for agriculture is in itself, or always, an illegitimate or undesirable way of dealing with it. That would be a very untenable position. I mean the bad social system which has grown up, in consequence of nearly the whole of the land being owned by a small idle class.

The peculiar feature of the present revolution is, that it is being carried out almost entirely by a process resembling the excommunication, formerly employed with such powerful, and, upon the whole, beneficial, effect by the Catholic Church in its best days, when it

really represented the conscience of the whole community. It is neither more nor less than a refusal of all co-operation and intercourse as a penalty for anti-social conduct. It is a form of moral force; and provided it is not mixed up with physical force, no individual, and no number of individuals, ought to, or indeed can be, prevented from using it, on his or their own responsibility. It may, of course, be used unjustly; but that is only to say that it is liable to abuse, like every other form of force. The principal guarantee for its just and beneficial use is, that it should be applied by a responsible body, acting with perfect publicity, and stating fully the motives of its decision in each case. Such a body was the Catholic priesthood. Such a body will be the Positivist priesthood when it is fully developed. The liability to abuse will then be reduced to a minimum. For an excommunication by a priesthood which has no superhuman authority and no superstitious terrors at its command will be impotent, unless it is based on reasons which commend themselves to the public generally. It was especially in the case of anti-social conduct of a peculiarly aggravated kind, by the possessors of property towards the working class, that Comte expected this form of coercion to be employed. He says:—

“The Sociocratic constitution demands of the Proletariate, that it renounce all violence as reactionary and anarchical. Where a struggle is unavoidable it must be limited to the refusal to co-operate; and in this numbers may triumph over wealth if their grounds of complaint deserve the sanction of the spiritual power, the only power which can give the requisite extension and union to the plebeian leagues. However great the popular excitement, an impartial and respected priesthood will as a rule obtain this abandonment of force. If it has to put the blame of society into its extreme form of excommunication, so effectually will its censure be supported by the Proletariate, that *when it is just*, the guilty person will be compelled, without any attack on his wealth, to depend entirely on himself for the supply of all his wants.”

That was precisely the position in which Captain Boycott found himself. He was obliged to depend on himself for the supply of all his wants. His neighbours, no doubt, went farther. They threatened his life and damaged his property, acts for which it is much to be regretted that they have not been severely punished. Where there is a custom and tradition of lawless violence, the example of which has been too often set in the past by the upper class, and by the very agents of Government themselves, it is not much to be wondered at that the people are prone to resort to physical force. They are acting under no public or responsible direction, for the leaders of the Land League are evidently unable to control them.

But after making full allowance for the influence of intimidation in certain cases, no reasonable person can doubt that a more spontaneous and unanimous exhibition of popular feeling has never been witnessed in any country. And when we are asked to believe that the universal refusal throughout a large part of Ireland to pay rents above Griffith's valuation has been forcibly imposed by a small

minority on a timid and peaceable peasantry who would much prefer to pay rackrents if left to themselves, we reply that such an explanation of the remarkable phenomenon we are witnessing is an insult to common sense. Besides, we are familiar, or rather we were familiar a few years ago, with a similar explanation of the influence of trades unions in England. It was all due to intimidation, we were told. The majority of workmen would rather be left to arrange their own terms with the masters. Some of us knew better then: and every one knows better now.

The truth is, that what alarms and enrages the Irish landlords, and still more the English landlords, is not the outrages, which statistics show to be much fewer and less atrocious than in many previous years, but the unanimity, the organization, the extraordinary exhibition of moral force which the Irish peasantry are presenting. We may remember that the most determined attempt to suppress trades unions, and the fiercest clamour about their outrages, occurred just at the time when those outrages had almost disappeared, and strikes were being much more successfully carried out by moral pressure alone. The truth was avowed by Lord Granville, a remarkably cool-headed member of the Government, in his speech at Hanley:—"It is quite true with regard to attempts upon life that the number of such attempts is fewer at this moment in Ireland than even in this country. It is true that the number of these attempts is less now than, unfortunately, has been the average in past years in Ireland. But what is equally true is this, that there is now a novel attempt, not only to infringe upon the rights of property, but to interfere with the liberty of the existing tenants, of incoming tenants, the tradesmen, and all the workmen. This is a state of things which it is impossible should continue." In other words, the Habeas Corpus Act is to be suspended, not for the purpose of stopping agrarian murders, which have become comparatively rare, but in order to break up a great trades union, to which alone the Irish people owe it, that what would have been regarded twelve months ago as a revolutionary measure of land reform is about to be introduced by the Government of which Lord Granville is a member. I say, what every one knows to be true, that but for the Land League Mr. Gladstone would not have had a chance of carrying his Land Bill. I will go further and say that his eyes would not have been opened to the necessity of carrying it.

It is not for me on this occasion to enter into any detailed criticism of the various schemes of Land reform that have been suggested. In my opinion, the three F.'s, though good as far as they go, will be of little permanent use unless they are accompanied by an application, on a large scale, of what are known as the Bright clauses. The Landlords, who have hitherto been encouraged in their folly by England, must not go entirely uncompensated. If money is wanted

England ought to find it. But, in awarding compensation, the Landlords' interest must not be estimated at what it was worth twelve months ago. If Griffith's valuation is taken as the basis, the precedent of the Irish Tithe Abolition Act will be pretty closely followed, and the Landlords ought to think themselves lucky. They are on their knees now, and beggars must not be choosers.

On the immediate prospect in Ireland time forbids me to say more. I leave many points of deep interest untouched. Next week will be a momentous one in the history of both Ireland and England. It is my fervent prayer that Mr. Gladstone may have the wisdom to propose a Land Law such as Ireland, were she independent, would, after careful consideration, give to herself. I pray not less that what he proposes, that he may have the firmness to carry through. For it is now the golden moment; and the majority of the English people, which does not love Ireland, is nevertheless prepared to do whatever he says it ought to do. I would add two recommendations. First: Let him drop his unwise prosecution of the most honest leader Ireland has had in our time, as a pledge that he will not take advantage of the suspension of Habeas Corpus to suppress freedom of speech and association. Second: Let the army in Ireland be raised to the highest possible strength, so that the people may not be tempted to any rash outbreak, which could have no other than a disastrous result.

I said that our difficulties in Ireland were not only social, but political. It is the confident hope of many Liberals that if they can satisfy the Irish people on the agrarian question, the longing for an independent national existence will disappear. Perhaps it is just as well that this confidence should prevail for the present. Unless much is hoped, little will be attempted. It is better that a sick man should take needful medicine under the belief that it is a panacea, than that he should not take it at all. It is possible that a good Land Bill may allay political discontent for a time. A large number of the peasantry will be absorbed for some time in turning their new position to account, and in improving their material condition. We may hope that there will be such a lull; for the English people is not yet educated to the point of being willing to let Ireland go. And here, as elsewhere in Europe, it is desirable that the *status quo* should not be violently disturbed before the re-organization of belief has made sufficient advance. Especially is this desirable in Ireland, where theologism is still so strong, and sectarian animosity so bitter.

But those who think that Ireland will settle down into permanent acquiescence in the effacement of her nationality do but deceive themselves. The demand for independence will certainly be renewed sooner or later. The wealthier, the more united, the more educated, the less sectarian she becomes, the more ardently will she aspire

towards a complete national life, and the more resolutely will she claim it. It is a legitimate and honourable aspiration; and let our statesmen and publicists of to-day chant their *non possumus* as loudly and resolutely as they will, it is an aspiration which will be fulfilled. Whenever Ulster comes into line with her sister provinces, whenever the solid Irish vote in the House of Commons is cast for independence, it will no longer be resisted. Our working men do not love Ireland: but they are not prepared, like our aristocracy, to keep her in bondage against the unanimously expressed wish of her people; and it will be easy to show them, when the proper moment comes, that they have no interest in doing so—that their interest lies quite the other way. I do not pretend to express an opinion how near that moment may be; our older statesmen may perhaps not live to see it; but the younger ones, if they have a shrinking from palinody, would do well not to pronounce the foolish word NEVER.

Those who cling to the maintenance of our empire should, at all events, remember that pure force is not a foundation on which it is safe to rely. At the present moment we have nothing to trust to but bayonets in Ireland, bayonets in South Africa, bayonets in the vast dependency of India. Perhaps in none of these quarters is there a military strength that can measure itself with ours. Yet there may be that which will pull us down. "It is not force," exclaimed the Roman statesman, as he looked round at the provinces tortured by the hectoring proconsuls and exterminating landlords of that day, "it is not force that we have to fear; it is the misery, the complaints, the tears of all nations: they are too strong for us."

But there is in England, what there was not in ancient Rome, a free working class pressing forward to the establishment of an industrial republic; and there is a demonstrated religion, little known indeed, and powerless in its beginnings, but too profoundly suited to the needs of workmen to be long without gaining their adhesion. Here lies the hope of safety for our country. Whether our empire is destined to go to pieces in a storm, or to be cut adrift in time by the good sense of the *new social strata*, our country will always remain to us. A new and better national life is in store for us. England for the English! Her soil shall not be monopolised by an idle aristocracy. Her money shall not be squandered, nor the lives of her sons thrown away in Afghanistan and South Africa. She shall not be handcuffed to Ireland. The wages of her workmen shall not be beaten down by the competition of Celtic peasants hunted out of their own island by exterminating landlords. Mistress of herself, free at last to attend to her own concerns, she will experience a revival of the patriotism and civic feeling which it is the special mission of Positivism to cultivate. Such is the future we desire for our country. Let us one and all labour to hasten it. E. S. BRESLY.



## THE TRAGIC COMEDIANS:

### A STUDY IN AN OLD STORY.

#### CHAPTER XII.

MORNING swam on the lake in her beautiful nakedness, a wedding of white and blue, of purest white and bluest blue. Alvan crossed the island bridges when the sun had sprung on his shivering fair prey, to make the young fresh Morning rosy, and was glittering along the smooth lake-waters. Workmen only were abroad, and Alvan was glad to be out with them, to feel with them as one of them. Close beside him the vivid genius of the preceding century, whose love of workmen was a salt of heaven in his human corruption, looked down on the lake in marble. Alvan cherished a worship of him as of one that had first thrilled him with the feeling of our common humanity, with the tenderness for the poor, with the knowledge of our frailty. Him, as well as the great Englishman and a Frenchman, his mind called Father, and his conscience replied to that progenitor's questioning of him, but said "You know the love of woman." He loved indeed, but he was not an amatory trifler. He too was a worker, a champion worker. He doated on the prospect of plunging into his work: the vision of jolly giant labours told of peace obtained, and there could be no peace without his prize. He listened to the workmen's foot-falls. The solitary sound and steady motion of their feet were eloquent of early morning in a city, not less than the changes of light in heaven, above the roofs. With the golden light came numbers, workmen still. Their tread on the stones roused some of his working thoughts, like an old tune in his head, and he watched the scattered files passing on, disciplined by their daily necessities, easily manageable if their necessities are but justly considered. These numbers are the brute force of earth, which must have the earth in time, as they had it in the dawn of our world, and then they entered into bondage for not knowing how to use it. They will have it again: they have it partially, at times, in the despot, who is only the reflex of their brute force, and can give them only a shadow of their claim. They will have it all, when they have illumination to see and trust to the leadership of a greater force than they—in force of brain, in the spiritual force of ideas; ideas founded on justice; and not the justice of these days of the governing few whose wits are bent to steady our column of civilized humanity by a combination of props and jugglers' arts, but a justice coming of the recognized needs of majorities, which will base the column on a broad plinth for safety—broad as the base of yonder mountain's towering

white immensity—and will be the guarantee for the solid uplifting of our civilization at last. “Right, thou!” he apostrophized the old Ironer at a point of his meditation. “And right, thou! more largely right?” he thought, further advanced in it, of the great Giuseppe, the Genoese. “And right am I too, between that metal-rail of a politician and the deep dreamer, each of them incomplete for want of an element of the other!” Practically and in vision right was Alvan, for those two opposites met fusing in him: like the former, he counted on the supremacy of might; like the latter, he distinguished where it lay in perpetuity.

During his younger years he had been like neither in the moral curb they could put on themselves—particularly the southern-blooded man. He had resembled the naturally impatient northerner most, though not so supple for business as he. But now he possessed the calmness of the Genoese, he had strong self-command now; he had the principle that life is too short for the indulgence of public fretfulness or of private quarrels; too valuable for fruitless risks; too sacred, one may say, for the shedding of blood on personal grounds. Oh! he had himself well under, fear not. He could give and take from opposition. And rightly so, seeing that he confessed to his own bent for sarcastically stinging: he was therefore bound to endure a retort. Speech for speech, pamphlet for pamphlet, he could be temperate. Nay, he defied an adversary to produce in him the sensation of intemperateness; so there would not be much danger of his being excited to betray it. Shadowily he thought of the hard words hurled at him by the Rüdigers, and of the injury Clotilde’s father did him by plotting to rob him of his daughter. But how had an Alvan replied?—with the arts of peaceful fence victoriously. He conceived of no temptation to his repressed irascibility save the political. A day might come for him and the vehement old Ironer to try their mettle in a tussle. On that day he would have to be wary, but, as Alvan felt assured, he would be more master of himself than his antagonist. He was for the young world, in the brain of a new order of things; the other based his unbending system on the visions of a feudal chief, and would win a great step perchance, but there he would stop: he was not with the future!

This immediate prospect of a return to serenity after his recent charioteeing had set him thinking of himself and his days to come, which hung before him in a golden haze that was tranquillizing. He had a name, he had a station: he wanted power, and he saw it approaching.

He wanted a wife too. Colonel von Tresten and Dr. Störchel were to breakfast with him when Clotilde had been asked by them for her answer—scarcely more than a formality when the answer was to be given in their presence, which would convince the girl of

her lover's ability to defend her; and the colonel took coffee with him previous to the start to General von Rüdiger's house. Alvan consequently was unable any longer to think of a wife in the abstract. He wanted Clotilde. Here was a man going straight to her, going to see her, positively to see her and hear her voice!—almost instantly to hear her voice, and see her eyes and hair, touch her hand. Oh! and rally her, rouse her wit; and be able to tell him the flower she wore for the day, and where she wore it—at her temples, or sliding to the back hair, or in her bosom, or at her waist! She had innumerable tricks of indication in these shifty pretty ways of hers, and was full of varying speech to the cunning reader of her.

"But keep her to seriousness," Alvan said. "Our meeting must be early to-day—early in the afternoon. She is not unlikely to pretend to trifle. She has not seen me for some time, and will probably enough play at emancipation and speak of the 'singular impatience of the seigneur Alvan.' Don't you hear her? I swear to those very words! She 'loves her liberty,' and she curves her fan and taps her foot. 'The seigneur Alvan appears pressed for time.' She has 'letters to write to friends to-day.' Stop that! I can't join in play: to-morrow, if she likes; not to-day. Or not till I have her by the hand. She shall be elf and fairy, French coquette, whatever she pleases to-morrow, and I'll be satisfied. All I beg is for plain dealing on a business matter. This is a business matter, a business meeting. I thoroughly know the girl's heart, and know that in winning the interview I win her. Only"—he pressed his friend's arm—"but, my dear Tresten, you understand. You're a luckier fellow than I—for the time, at all events. Make it as short as you can. You'll find me here. I shall take a book—one of the Pandects. I don't suppose I shall work. I feel idle. Any book handy; anything will interest me. I should walk or row on the lake, but I would rather be sure of readiness for your return. You meet Storchel at the General's house?"

"The appointment was at the house," Tresten said.

"I have not seen him this morning. I know of nothing to prepare him for. You see, it was invariable with her: as soon as she met me she had twice her spirit: and that she knows;—she was a new woman, ten times the happier for having some grains of my courage. So she'll be glad to come to terms and have me by to support her. Press it, if necessary; otherwise she might be disappointed, my dear fellow. Storchel looks on, and observes, and that's about all he can do, or need do. Up Mont Blanc to-day, Tresten! It's the very day for an ascent:—one of the rare crystalline jewels coming in a Swiss August; we should see the kingdoms of the earth—and a Republic! But I could climb with all my heart in a snowstorm to-day. Andes or Himalayas! as high as you

like. The Republic, by the way, small enough in the ring of empires and monarchies, if you measure it geometrically. You remember the laugh at the exact elevation of Mount Olympus? But Zeus's eagle sat on it, and top me Olympus, after you have imagined the eagle aloft there!—after Homer, is the meaning. That will be one of the lessons for our young Republicans—to teach them not to give themselves up to the embrace of dead materialism because, as they fancy, they have had to depend on material weapons for carving their way, and have had no help from other quarters. A suicidal delusion! The spiritual weapon has done most, and always does. They are sons of an idea. They deny their parentage when they scoff at idealism. It's a tendency we shall have to guard against; it leads back to the old order of things, if we do not trim our light.—She is waiting for you! Go. You will find me here. And don't forget my instructions. Appoint for the afternoon—not late. Too near night will seem like Orpheus going below, and I hope to meet a living woman, not a ghost—ha! coloured like a lantern in a cavern, good Lord! Say three o'clock, not later. The reason is, I want to have it over early and be sure of what I am doing; I'm bothered by it; I shall have to make arrangements . . . a thousand little matters . . . telegraph to Paris, I dare say; she's fond of Paris, and I must learn who's there to meet her. Now start. I'll walk a dozen steps with you. I think of her as if, since we parted, she had been sitting on a throne in Erebus, and must be ghastly. I had a dream of a dead tree that upset me. In fact, you see I must have it over. The whole affair makes me feel too young."

Tresten advised him to spend an hour with the baroness.

"I can't; she makes me feel too old," said Alvan. "She talks. She listens, but I don't want to speak. Dead silence!—let it be a dash of the pen till you return. As for those good people hurrying to their traffic, and tourists and loungers, they have a trick for killing Time without hurting him. I wish I had. I try to smother a minute, and up the old fellow jumps quivering all over and threatening me body and soul. They don't appear as if they had news on their faces this morning. I've not seen a newspaper, and won't look at one. Here we separate. Be formal in mentioning me to her, but be particularly civil. I know you have the right tone: she's a critical puss. Days like these are the days for her to be out. There goes a parasol like one I've seen her carry. Stay—no! Don't forget my instructions. Paris for a time. It may be the Pyrenees. Paris on our way back. She would like the Pyrenees. It's not too late for society at Luchon and Cauterets. She likes mountains, she mounts well: in any case, plenty of mules can be had. Paris to wind up with. Paris will be fuller about the beginning of October."

He had quitted Tresten, and was talking to himself, cheating himself, not discordantly at all. The poet of the company within him claimed the word and was allowed by the others to dilate on Clotilde's likings, and the honeymoon or post-honeymoon amusements to be provided for her in Pyrenean valleys, and Parisian theatres and salons. She was friande of chocolates, bon-bons: she enjoyed fine pastry, had a real relish of good wine. She should have the best of everything; he knew the spots of the very best that Paris could supply, in confiseurs and restaurants, and in millinery likewise. A lively recollection of the prattle of Parisian ladies furnished names and addresses likely to prove invaluable to Clotilde. He knew actors and actresses, and managers of theatres, and mighty men in letters. She should have the cream of Paris. Does she hint at rewarding him for his trouble? The thought of her indebted lips, half-closed, asking him how to repay him, sprang his heart to his throat.

Then he found himself saying: "At the age I touch! . . ."

At the age of forty, men that love love rootedly. If the love is plucked from them, the life goes with it.

He backed on his physical pride, a stout bulwark. His forty years—the forty, the fifty, the sixty of Alvan, matched the twenties and thirties of other men.

Still it was true that he had reached an age when the desire to plant his affections in a dear fair bosom fixedly was natural. Fairer, dearer than she was never one on earth! He stood bareheaded for coolness, looking in the direction Tresten had taken, his forehead shining and eyes charged with the electrical activity of the mind, reading intensely all who passed him, without a thought upon any of these objects in their passage. The people were read, penetrated, and flung off as from a whirling of wheels; to cut their place in memory sharp as in steel when imagination shall by and by renew the throbbing of that hour, if the wheels be not stilled. The world created by the furnaces of vitality inside him absorbed it; and strangely, while receiving multitudinous vivid impressions, he did not commune with one, was unaware of them. His thick black hair waved and glistened over the fine aquiline of his face. His throat was open to the breeze. His great breast and head were joined by a massive column of throat that gave volume for the coursing of the blood to fire the battery of thought, perchance in a tempest overflow it, extinguish it. His fortieth year was written on his complexion and presence: it was the fortieth of a giant growth that will bend at the past eightieth as little as the rock-pine, should there come no preternatural uprooting tempest. It said manhood, and breathed of settled strength of muscle, nerve and brain. Of the people passing, many knew him not, but marked him; some knew him by repute, one or

two his person. To all of them he was a noticeable figure; even those of sheeplike nature, having an inclination to start upon the second impulse in the flanks of curious sheep when their first has been arrested by the appearance of one not of their kind, acknowledged the eminence of his bearing: There may have been a passenger in the street who could tell the double tale of the stick he swung in his hand, showing a gleam of metal, whereon were engraved names of the lurid historic original owner, and of the donor and the recipient. According to the political sentiments of the narrator would his tale be coloured, and a simple walking-stick would be clothed in Tarquin guilt for striking off heads of the upper ranks of Frenchmen till the blood of them topped the handle, or else wear hues of wonder, seem very memorable, fit at least for a museum. If the Christian aristocrat might shrink from it in terror and loathing, the Paynim Republican of deep dye would be ready to kiss it with veneration. But, assuming them to have a certain bond of manliness, both agree in pronouncing the deed a right valiant and worthy one which caused this instrument to be presented to Alvan by a famous doctor, who, hearing of his repudiation of the duel, and of his gallant and triumphant defence of himself against a troop of ruffians, enemies or scum of their city, at night, by the aid of a common stout pedestrian stick, alone in a dark alley of the public park, sent him, duly mounted and engraved, an illustrious fellow to the weapon of defence, as a mode of commemorating his just abhorrence of bloodshed and his peaceful bravery. Observers of him would probably speculate on his features and the carriage of his person as he went by them; with a result in their minds that can be of no import to us, men's general speculations being directed by their individual aims and their moods, their timidities, prejudices, envies, rivalries; but none could contest that he was a potential figure. If to know him the rising demagogue of the time dressed him in such terrors as to make him appear an impending Attila of the voracious hordes which live from hand to mouth, without intervention of a banker and property to cry truce to the wolf, he would have shone under a different aspect, enough to send them to the poets to solve their perplexity, had the knowledge been subjoined that this terrific devastator swinging the sanguinary stick was a slave of love, who staked his all upon his love, loved up to his capacity desperately, loved a girl, and hung upon her voice to hear whether his painful knocking at a door should gain him admittance to the ranks of the orderly citizens of the legitimately-satiated passions, or else—the voice of a girl—annihilate him. He loved like the desert-bred Eastern, as though his blood had never ceased to be steeped in its fountain Orient; loved barbarously, but with a compelling resolve to control his blood, and act and be the civilised man, sober by

virtue of his lady's gracious aid. In fact, it was the civilised man in him that had originally sought the introduction to her, with a bribe to the untamable. The former had once led, and hoped to lead again. Alvan was a revolutionist in imagination, the workman's friend in rational sympathy, their leader upon mathematical calculation, but a lawyer, a reasoner in law, and therefore of necessity a cousin germane, leaning to become an ally of the Philistines—the founders and main supporters of his book of the Law. And so, between the nature of his blood, and the inclination of his mind, Alvan set his heart on a damsel of the Philistines, endowed with their trained elegancies and governed by some of their precepts, but suitable to his wildness in her reputation for originality, suiting him in her cultivated liveliness and her turn for luxury. Only the Philistines breed these choice beauties, put forth these delicate fresh young buds of girls; and only here and there among them is there an exquisite, eccentric, yet passably decorous Clotilde. What his brother politicians never discovered in him, and the baroness partly suspected, through her interrotation of her opposing sentiments, Clotilde uncloaks. Catching and mastering her, his wilder animation may be appeased, but his political life is threatened with a diversion of its current, for he will be uxorious, impassioned to gratify the tastes and whims of a youthful wife; the Republican will be in danger of playing prematurely for power to seat her beside him high: while at the same time children, perchance, and his hardening lawyer's head are secretly Philistinizing the demagogue, blunting the fine edge of his Radicalism, turning him into a slow-stepping Liberal, otherwise your half-Conservative, in his convictions. Can she think it much to have married that drab-coloured unit? Power must be grasped. . . .

His watch told him that Tresten was now beholding her, or just about to.

She was beginning to drop her eyelids in front of Tresten. Oh! he knew her so well. He guessed the length of her acting, and the time for her earnestness. She would have to act coquette at first to give herself a countenance; and who would not pardon the girl for putting on a mask? who would fail to see the mask? But he knew her so well: she would not trifle very long: his life on it, that she will soon falter! her bosom will lift, lift and check: a word from Tresten then, if he is a friend, and she melts to the truth in her. Alvan heard her saying: "I will see him: yes, to-day. Let him appoint. He may come when he likes—come at once."

"My life on it!" he swore by his unerring knowledge of her, the certainty that she loved him.

He had walked into a quarter of the town strange to him, he thought; he had no recollection of the look of the street. A friend

came up and put him in the right way, walking back with him. This was General Leczel, a famous leader of one of the hercical risings whose passage through blood and despair have led to the broader law men ask for when they name freedom devotedly. Alvan stated the position of his case to Leczel with continental frankness regarding a natural theme, and then pursued the talk on public affairs, to the note of: "What but knocks will ever open the Black-Yellow Head to the fact that we are no longer in the first years of the eighteenth century!"

Leczel left him at his hotel-steps, promising to call on him before night. Tresten had not returned, neither he nor the advocate, and he had been absent fully an hour. He was not in sight right or left. Alvan went to his room, looked at his watch, and out of the window, incapable of imagining any event. He began to breathe as if an atmosphere thick as water were pressing round him. Unconsciously he had staked his all on the revelation the moment was to bring. So little a thing! His intellect weighed the littleness of it, but he had become level with it; he magnified it with the greatness of his desire, and such was his nature that the great desire of a thing withheld from him, and his own, as he could think, made the world a whirlpool till he had it. He waited, figurable by nothing so much as a wild horse in captivity sniffing the breeze, when the sides of the quivering beast are like a wind-struck barley-field, and his nerves are cords, and his nostrils trumpet him, he is flame kept under and straining to rise.

### CHAPTER XIII.

THE baroness expected to see Alvan in the morning, for he kept appointments, and he had said he would come. She conceived that she was independent of personal wishes on the subject of Clotilde; the fury of his passion prohibited her forming any of the wishes we send up to destiny when matters interesting us are in suspense, whether we have liberated minds or not. She thought the girl would grant the interview; was sure the creature would yield in his presence; and then there was an end to the shining of Alvan! Supposing the other possibility, he had shown her such fierce illuminations of eye and speech that she foresaw it would be a blazing of the insurrectionary beacon-fires of hell with him. He was a man of angels and devils. The former had long been conquering, but the latter were far from extinct. His passion for this shallow girl had consigned him to the lower host. Let him be thwarted, his desperation would be unlikely to stop at legal barriers. His lawyer's head would be up and armed astoundingly to oppose the law; he would read, argue, and act with hot conviction upon the reverse of



every text of law. She beheld him storming the father's house to have out Clotilde, reluctant or conniving; and he harangued the people, he bore off his captive, he held her firmly as he had sworn he would; he defied authority, he was a public rebel—he with his detected little secret aim, which he nursed like a shamed mother of an infant, fond but afraid to be proud of it! She had seen that he aimed at standing well with the world and being one with it honourably: holding to his principles, of course: but a disposition that way had been perceived, and the vision of him in open rebellion because of his shy catching at the thread of an alliance with the decorous world, carved an ironic line on her jaw.

Full surely he would not be baffled without smiting the world on the face. And he might suffer for it; the Rüdigers would suffer likewise.

The forenoon, the noon, the afternoon went round.

Late in the evening her door was flung wide for Colonel von Tresten.

She looked her interrogative "Well?" His features were not used to betray the course of events.

"How has it gone?" she said.

He replied: "As I told you. I fancied I gauged the hussy pretty closely."

"She will not see him?"

"Not she."

The baroness crossed her arms.

"And Alvan?"

The colonel shrugged. It was not done to tease a tremulous woman, for she was calm. It painted the necessary consequence of the refusal: an explosion of Etna, and she saw it.

"He takes it so," said the baroness, musing. "It will be the sooner over. She never cared for him a jot. And there's the sting. He has called up the whole world in an amphitheatre to see a girl laugh him to scorn. Hard for any man to bear!—Alvan of all men! Why does he not come here? He might rage at me for a day and night, and I would rock him to sleep in the end. However he has *done* nothing?"

That was the point. The baroness perceived it to be a serious point, and repeated the question sharply. "Has he been to the house? no?—writing?"

Tristen dropped a nod.

"Not to the girl, I suppose. To the father?" said she.

"He has written to the general."

"You should have stopped it."

"Tell a vedette to stop cavalry. You're not thinking of the man. He's in a white frenzy."

"I will go to him."

"You will do wrong. Leave him to spout the stuff and get rid of his poison. He has written a savage letter to her father, sending the girl to the deuce with the name she deserves, and challenging the general."

"That letter is despatched?"

"Rüdiger has it by this time."

The baroness fixed her eyes on Tresten: she struck her lap. "Alvan! Is it he? But the general is old, gouty, out of the lists. There can be no fighting. He apologized to you for his daughter's insolence to me. He will not fight, be sure."

"Perhaps not," Tresten said.

"As for the girl, Alvan has the fullest right to revile her: it cannot be too widely known. I could cry: 'What wisdom there is in men when they are mad!' We must allow it to counterbalance breaches of ordinary courtesy. 'With the name she deserves,' you say? He pitched the very name at her character plainly?—called her what she is?"

The baroness could have borne to hear it: she had no feminine horror of the staining epithet for that sex. But a sense of the distinction between camps and courts restrained the soldier. He spoke of a discharge of cuttle-fish ink at the character of the girl, and added: "The bath's a black one for her, and they had better keep it private. Regrettable, no doubt: but it's probably true, and he's out of his mind. It would be dangerous to check him: he'd force his best friend to fight. Icczel is with him and gives him head. It's about time for me to go back to him, for there may be business."

The baroness thought it improbable. She was hoping that with Alvan's eruption the drop-scene would fall.

Tresten spoke of the possibility. He knew the contents of the letter, and knew further that a copy of it, with none of the pregnant syllables expunged, had been forwarded to Prince Marko. He counselled calm waiting for a certain number of hours. The baroness committed herself to a promise to wait. Now that Alvan had broken off from the baleful girl, the worst must have been passed, she thought.

He had broken with the girl; she reviewed him under the light of that sole fact. So the edge of the cloud obscuring him was lifted, and he would again be the man she prized and hoped much of! How thickly he had been obscured was visible to her through a retreating sensation of scorn of him for his mad excesses, which she had not known herself to entertain while he was writhing in the toils, and very bluntly and dismissingly felt now that his madness was at its climax. An outrageous lunatic fit that promised to release

him from his fatal passion, seemed, on the contrary, respectable in essence if not in the display. Wives he should have by fifties and hundreds if he wanted them, she thought in her great-heartedness, reflecting on the one whose threatened pretensions to be his mate were slain by the title flung at her, and merited. The word (she could guess it) was an impassable gulf, a wound beyond healing. It pronounced in a single breath the girl's right name and his pledge of a return to sanity. For it was the insanest he could do ; it uttered anathema on his love of her ; it painted his white glow of unreason and fierce ire as the scorn which her behaviour flung upon every part of his character that was tenderest with him. After speaking such things a man comes to his senses or he dies. So thought the baroness, and she was not more than commonly curious to hear how the Rüdigers had taken the insult they had brought on themselves, and not unwilling to wait to see Alvan till he was cold. His vanity, when threatening to bleed to the death, would not be civil to the surgeon before the second or third dressing of his wound.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

IN the house of the Rüdigers there was commotion. Clotilde sat apart from it, locked in her chamber. She had performed her crowning act of obedience to her father by declining the interview with Alvan, and as a consequence she was full of grovelling revolt. Two things had helped her to carry out her engagement to submit in this final instance of dutifulness ; one was the sight of that hateful rigid face and glacier eye of Tresten ; the other was the loophole she left for subsequent insurgency by engaging to write to Count Hollinger's envoy, Dr. Storchel. She had gazed most earnestly at him, that he might not mistake her meaning, and the little man's pair of spectacles had, she fancied, been dim. He was touched. Here was a friend ! Here was the friend she required, the external aid, the fresh evasion, the link with Alvan ! Now to write to him to bind him to his beautiful human emotion. By contrast with the treacherous Tresten, whose iciness roused her to defiance, the nervous little advocate seemed an emissary of the skies, and she invoked her treasure-stores of the craven's craftiness in revolt to compose a letter that should move him, melt the good angel to espouse her cause. He was to be taught to understand—nay, angelically he would understand at once—why she had behaved apparently so contradictorily. Fettered, cruelly constrained by threats and wily sermons upon her duty to her family, terrorized, a prisoner, ' beside this blue lake, in sight of the sublimest scenery of earth,' and hating his associate—hating him, she repeated and underscored—she had belied her-

self; she was willing to meet Alvan, she wished to meet him. She could open her heart to Alvan's true friend—his only true friend. He would instantly discern her unhappy plight. In the presence of his associate she could explain nothing, do nothing but what she had done. He had *frozen* her. She had good reason to know that man for her enemy. She could prove him a traitor to Alvan. Certain though she was from the first moment of Dr. Störchel's integrity and kindness of heart, she had stood petrified before him, as if affected by some wicked spell. She owned she had utterly belied herself; she protested she had been no free agent.

The future labours in her cause were thrown upon Dr. Störchel's shoulders, but with such compliments to him on his mission from above as emissary angels are presumed to be sensibly affected by.

She was directing the letter when Marko Romaxis gave his name outside her door. He was her intimate, her trustiest ally; he was aware of her design to communicate with Dr. Störchel, and came to tell her it would be a waste of labour. He stood there singularly pale and grave, unlike the sprightly slave she petted on her search for a tyrant. "Too late," he said, pointing to the letter she held. "Dr. Störchel has gone."

She could not believe it, for Störchel had informed her that he would remain three days. Her powers of belief were more heavily taxed when Marko said: "Alvan has challenged your father to fight him." With that he turned on his heel; he had to assist in the deliberations of the family.

She clasped her temples. The collision of ideas driven together by Alvan and a duel—Alvan challenging her father—Alvan the contemner of the senseless appeal to arms for the settlement of personal disputes!—darkened her mind. She ran about the house plying all whom she met for news and explanations; but her young brother was absent, her sisters were ignorant, and her parents were closeted in consultation with the gentlemen. At night Marko sent her word that she might sleep in peace, for things would soon be arranged and her father had left the city.

Quiet reigned in the household next day, and for the length of the day. Her father had departed, her mother treated her vixenishly, snubbing her for a word, but the ugly business of yesterday seemed a matter settled and dismissed. Alvan, then, had been appeased. He was not a man of blood: he was the humanest of men. She was able to reconstruct him under the beams of his handsome features and his kingly smile. She could occasionally conjure them up in their vividness; but had she not in truth been silly to yield to spite and send him back the photographs of him with his presents, so that he should have the uttermost remnant of the gifts he asked for? Had he really asked to have anything back? She

inclined to doubt all that had been done and said since their separation—if only it were granted her to look on a photograph showing him as he was actually before their misunderstanding! The sun-tracing would not deceive, as her own tricks of imageing might do: seeing him as he was then, the hour would be revived, she would certainly feel him as he lived and breathed now. Thus she fancied on the effort to get him to her heart after the shock he had dealt it, for he had become almost a stranger, as a god that has taken human shape and character.

Next to the sight of Alvan her friend Marko was welcome. The youth visited her in the evening, and with a glitter of his large black eyes bent to her, and began talking incomprehensibly of leave-taking and farewell, until she cried aloud that she had riddles enough: one was too much. What had he to say?

Marko, with her father's consent and the approval of the friends of the family, had taken up Alvan's challenge. That was the tale. She saw him dead in the act of telling it.

"What?" she cried: "what?" and then: "You?" and her fingers were bonier in their clutch: "Let me hear. It can't be!" She snapped at herself for not pitying him more, but a sword had flashed to cut her gordian knot: she saw him dead, the obstacle removed, the man whom her parents opposed to Alvan swept away: she saw him as a black gate breaking to a flood of light. She had never invoked it, never wished, never dreamed it, but if it was to be? . . . . "Oh! impossible. One of us is crazy. You to fight? . . . . they put it upon you? You fight *him*? But it is cruel, it is abominable. Incredible! You have accepted the challenge, you say?"

He answered that he had, and gazed into her eyes for love.

She blinked over them, crying out against parents and friends for their heartlessness in permitting him to fight.

"This is positive? This is really true?" she said, burning and dreading to realize the magical change it pointed on, and touching him with her other hand, loathing herself, loathing parents and friends who had brought her to the plight of desiring some terrible event in sheer necessity. Not she, it was the situation they had created which was guilty! By dint of calling out on their heartlessness, and a spur of conscience, she roused the feeling of compassion:

"But, Marko! Marko! poor child! you cannot fight; you have never fired a pistol or a gun in your life. Your health was always too delicate for these habits of men; and you could not pull a trigger taking aim, do you not know?"

"I have been practising for a couple of hours to-day," he said.

Compassion thrilled her. "A couple of hours! Unhappy boy! But do you not know that he is a dead shot? He is famous for his

aim. He never misses. He can do all the duellist's wonders both with sword and pistol, and that is why he was respected when he refused the duel because he—before these parents of mine drove him . . . and me! I think we are both mad—he despised duelling. He! He! Alvan! who has challenged my father! I have heard him speak of duelling as cowardly. But what is he? what has he changed to? And it would be cowardly to kill you, Marko."

"I take my chance," Marko said.

"You have no chance. His aim is unerring." She insisted on the deadliness of his aim, and dwelt on it with a gloating delight that her conscience approved, for she was persuading the youth to shun his fatal aim. "If you stood against him he would not spare you—perhaps not; I fear he would not, as far as I know him now. He can be terrible in wrath. I think he would warn you; but two men face to face! and he suspecting that you cross his path! Find some way of avoiding him. Do, I entreat you. By your love of me! Oh! no blood. I do not want to lose you. I could not bear it."

"Would you regret me?" said he.

Her eyes fell on his, and the beauty of those great dark eyes made her fondness for him legible. He caused her a spasm of anguish, foreknowing him doomed. She thought that haply this devoted heart was predestined to be the sacrifice which should bring her round to Alvan. She murmured phrases of dissuasion until her hollow voice broke; she wept for being speechless, and turned upon Providence and her parents, in railing at whom a voice of no ominous empty sound was given her; and still she felt more warmly than railing expressed, only her voice shrank back from a tone of feeling. She consoled herself with the reflection that utterance was inadequate. Besides her active good sense echoed Marko ringingly when he cited the usages of their world and the impossibility of his withdrawing or wishing to withdraw from the line of a challenge accepted. It was destiny. She bowed her head lower and lower, oppressed without and within, unwilling to look at him. She did not look when he left her.

Night passed dragging and galloping. In the very early light she thought of adding some ornaments to her bundle of necessities. She learnt of the object of her present faith to be provident on her own behalf, and dressed in two of certain garments which would have swoln her bundle too much.

This was the day of Providence. Her love of Alvan now was mixed with an alluring terror of him as an immediate death-dealer who stood against red-streaked heavens, more grandly satanic in his angry mightiness than she had ever realized that figure, and she trembled and shuddered, fearing to meet him, yearning to be on-

folded, to close her eyes on his breast in blindest happiness. She gave the very sob for the occasion.

A carriage drove at full speed to the door. Full speed could not be the pace for a funeral load. That was a visitor to her father on business. She waited for fresh wheels, telling herself she would be patient and must be ready.

Feet came rushing up the stairs: her door was thrown open, and the living Marko, stranger than a dead, stood present. He had in his look an expectation that she would be glad to behold him, and he asked her, and she said: "Oh, yes, she was glad, of course." She was glad that Alvan had pardoned him for his rashness; she was vexed that her projected confusion of the household had been thwarted: vexed, petrified with astonishment.

"But how if I tell you that Alvan is wounded?" he almost wept to say.

Clotilde informs the world that she laughed on hearing this. She was unaware of her ground for laughing. It was the laugh of the tragic comedian.

Could one believe in a Providence capable of letting such a sapling and weakling strike down the most magnificent stature upon earth?

"*You—him?*" she said, in the tremendous compression of her contempt.

She laughed. The world is upside down—a world without light, or pointing finger, or affection for special favourites, and therefore bereft of all mysterious and attractive wisdom, a crazy world, a corpse of a world—if this be true!

But it can still be disbelieved.

She sent him flying with a repulsive, "Leave me!" and the youth had too much on his conscience to let him linger. His manner of going smote her brain.

But it can be resolutely disbelieved.

Even on the fatal third day, when Marko, white as his shrouded antagonist, led her to the garden of the house, and there said the word of death, an execrating amazement, framing the thought: Why is it not Alvan who speaks! rose beside her shadowy conception of her loss. She framed it as an earnest interrogation for the half minute before misery had possession of her, coming down like a cloud. Providence was then too shadowy a thing to upbraid. She could not blame herself, for the intensity of her suffering testified to the bitter realness of her love of the dead man. Her craven's instinct to make a sacrifice of others flew with claws of hatred at her parents. These she offered up, and the spirit presiding in her appears to have accepted them as proper substitutes for her conscience.

## CHAPTER XV.

ALVAN<sup>\*</sup> was dead. The shot of his adversary, accidentally well-directed, had struck him mortally. He died on the morning of the third day after the duel. There had been no hope that he could survive, and his agonies made a speedy dissolution desirable by those most wishing him to live.

The baroness had her summons to hurry to him after his first swoon. She was his nurse and last confidante: a tearless woman, rigid in service. Death relaxed his hold of her hand. He met his fate like the valiant soul he was. Haply if he had lingered without the sweats of bodily tortures to stay reflectiveness, he also, in the strangeness of his prostration, might have cast a thought on the irony of the fates, felling a man like him by a youngster's hand, and for a shallow girl! He might have fathered some jest at life, with rueful relish of the flavour. There was no interval on his passage from anguish to immobility.

Silent was that house of many chambers. That mass of humanity profusely mixed of good and evil, of generous ire and mutinous, of the passion for the future of mankind and vanity of person, magnanimity and sensualism, high judgement, reckless indiscipline, chivalry, savagery, solidity, fragmentariness, was dust.

The two men composing it, the untamed and the candidate for citizenship, in mutual dissension pulled it down. He perished of his weakness, but it was a strong man that fell. If his end was unheroic, the blot does not overshadow his life. His end was a derision, because the animal in him ran him unchained and bounding to it. A stormy blood made wreck of a splendid intelligence. Yet they that pronounce over him the ordinary fatalistic epitaph of the foregone and done, which is the wisdom of men measuring the dead by the last word of a lamentable history, should pause to think whether fool or madman is the title for one who was a zealous worker, respected by great heads of his time, acknowledged the head of the voluminous coil of the working people, and who, as we have seen, insensibly though these wrought within him, was getting to purer fires through his coarser when the final intemperateness drove him to ruin. As little was he the vanished god whom his working people hailed deplorably on the long procession of his remains from city to city under charge of the baroness. That last word of his history ridicules the eulogy of partisan and devotee, and to commit the excess of worshipping is to conjure up by contrast a vulgar giant: for truth will have her just proportions, and vindicates herself upon a figure over-idealized by bidding it grimace, leaving appraisers to get the balance of the two extremes. He was neither fool nor madman, nor man to be adored: his last temptation caught



him in the season before he had subdued his blood, and amid the multitudinously simple of this world, stamped him a Tragic Comedian. The characters of the hosts of men are of the simple order of the comic ; not many are of a stature and a complexity calling for the junction of the two Muses to name them.

While for his devotees he lay still warm in the earth, that other, the woman, poor Clotilde, astonished her compatriots by passing comedy and tragic comedy with the gift of her hand to the hand which had slain Alvan. In sooth, the explanation is not so hard when we recollect our knowledge of her. It was a gentle youth ; her parents urged her to it : a particular letter, the letter of the challenge to her father, besliming her, was shown—a hideous provocation pushed to the foulest. Who could blame Prince Marko ? who had ever given sign of more noble bravery than he ? And he hung on her for the little of life appearing to remain to him. Before heaven he was guiltless. He was good. Her misery had shrunk her into nothingness, and she rose out of nothingness bearing a thought that she might make a good youth happy, or nurse him sinking—be of that use. She shut her eyes on the past, sure of his goodness ; goodness, on her return to some sense of being, she prized above other virtues, and perhaps she had a fancy that to be allied to it was to be doing good. After a few months she buried him. From that day, or it may be, on her marriage day, her heart was Alvan's. Years later she wrote her version of the story, not sparing herself so much as she supposed. Providence and her parents were not forgiven. But as we are in her debt for some instruction she may now be suffered to go.

THE END.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

THE distractions of the Irish Question have been rather increased than lessened since the meeting of Parliament. Ireland itself has fallen into something like tranquillity—expectant and ominous, but still superficial tranquillity. The landlords in some parts of the country are not receiving their rents. In some parts of the country they dare not evict a tenant, and, if they did, they would not find another who would dare to take the evicted man's place. Outrages, which have always been greatly overstated and over-coloured, have sunk altogether out of the serious category, though one hundred and fifty persons need, or believe themselves to need, the protection of the police. Meetings are comparatively infrequent. The language of the one or two prominent speakers, like Mr. Davitt, who are not at Westminster, is not pleasant for Englishmen to read, but it is for the present directed against acts of violence. The agitators are understood to be employing all their forces in completing their organization; in getting the engine of passive resistance into such working order that when the time comes there may be a general refusal to pay rent. For the moment there is a pause.

One of the great arts of statesmanship lies in the dexterous use of such moments. On many sides it is beginning to be feared that the Government are allowing it to pass, and that the present calm is only the prelude to a tremendous storm. The language of the Queen's Speech and the explanations of the Prime Minister afterwards were not fortunate. Everybody, including a good many Conservatives as well as Liberals, was on the look-out for promises of a Bill that should settle the Land Question. Most people were prepared, many people were eager, for measures of coercion. These were the two great instruments which the Minister was expected to bear as it were with equal step, into Parliament, one in one hand, and the other in the other. It then began to appear, to the growing astonishment of all men, that Coercion was ready, but that Land Reform was not ready. The effect of this has been during the greater part of the month to fill the political world with confusion. It has created a host of perplexities and embarrassments. The way out of them at the present moment, while we are writing, is not by any means clear. The further we advance into the difficulties of the situation which this method of action has created, the more clear is it that the true policy would have been exactly the opposite of that which has been actually followed. All the mischief of the present position would have been avoided if the Minister had produced an

adequate settlement of the grievances connected with land, and had been content merely to hold a Coercion Bill in the background. The Coercion Bill might have been read a first time, and then left in terror over the heads of evil-doers. As for contending that there is overwhelming urgency for coercion, even after Mr. Forster's speech, that is unproved. What is sought from coercion is to make the malcontent tenants pay their rents, on penalty of eviction. That may be a highly desirable result; we do not deny it. But be it never so desirable, it is not of such instant and momentous urgency that everything else in the whole field of policy must give way to it, and that to it we are bound to sacrifice a great opportunity of securing a pacification of Ireland. Even if it were proved that Coercion Bills would put an end to Boycotting and such practices—and they are not even to aim at this—even then it would still be worth considering whether it is not better to endure all this a little longer, as the price to be paid for the coming settlement. If the Land Bill is adequate, it will melt the League away. Lawless practices will cease with the motive for them. By degrees the spirit of agitation would die out. It is no small part of wisdom, as has often been said, to know how much of an evil is to be tolerated. It would be the greatest part of wisdom for England to know to-day how much of the present evil done to a few in Ireland is to be endured for a month or two longer, in order to secure an infinitely more than countervailing good to be done to the many.

There need not even be much harm done to the few, for the money damage done to them might perhaps be, partially at least, repaired. It was one of the foolish arguments used at the time of the war with the revolted American colonies a hundred years ago, that to make peace with the insurgents would be unjust to those who had made sacrifices by their loyalty to the mother country. Nobody in those days grudged the compensation that was paid to the Loyalists, and not many people in these days would grudge whatever compensation might be justly due to Irish landlords for the temporary suspension of their legal rights, exactly because that would be naturally much more expedient politically than continued repression and perpetual unsettlement, but would be very much less expensive both immediately and in the long run. All that, however, is mere detail, though it is very important detail. The real aim and end of the Government now should be to seize the present truce, by whatever means it may have been brought about, to make the best of it, and to turn it into an opportunity for effecting a solid peace. No doubt there are plenty of people to be found who will say, as Lord Cranbrook said at Leicester, that so long as the country is in a state of disorder, while it is not obedient to the law, while people's lives and property are in jeopardy, when more than one hundred and fifty

people are under the immediate protection of the police, and cannot move without being in fear of their lives—when that state of things is going on in Ireland that that is not the time to apply what is called remedial legislation. This is plausible enough, but it cannot be mistaken for statesmanship. The object of statesmanship is to turn occasions to the best uses, to make passing opportunity the bridge to lasting settlements, not to cut political knots with the sword but patiently to untie them. There is no credit in getting out of one set of difficulties by plunging into difficulties more perilous and complicated still. Nobody says that the British Government has not a right to suppress disorder in Ireland (if it can) before proceeding to remedial legislation. This does not touch the real question. The real question, as all sensible men and women must know, is not what are your rights, but what is expedient. As for “the time for remedial legislation,” one would say that it was the time for it whenever remedial legislation would be likely to stay an evil. The government of a country is not like the management of a nursery or a school. In these high and troublesome affairs, rulers of men are not supposed to be animated by the narrow motives, or to practise the petty acts, the alternation of caresses and whipping, rewards and penalties, which are proper enough in the disciplinary system of tutors and pedagogues. To brandish the sword in the face of a country so inflamed by agitation as Ireland is said to be now, may give a sinister pleasure to a certain number of heady persons among us, but it is not a policy. Above all things it is not the policy which a Liberal Ministry can enter upon with either wisdom or safety. For them it is fatal to appear even for two or three months as the champions of mere repression. It gives to their whole character a complexion which no later action can change or efface. As an incident to a great system of remedial policy, the assumption by the executive of exceptional powers might have been prudent and unobjectionable. It might have passed for a safeguard to the new legislation, and an emphatic assurance to those in Ireland whom it might concern that the British Parliament had done everything for Ireland that it was wise and even possible to do, and that the British Government meant to make a firm stand against all comers. As it is, over and above the immediate parliamentary difficulties of the time, it will certainly be represented by the Irish ill-wishers to all English Governments that repression is not the mere accident but the substance of the ministerial policy. There will unfortunately be time enough for this impression to stamp itself so deeply on the minds of the Irish peasantry as to give them a strong and profoundly mischievous bias against the remedial proposals when they come. For do not let us deceive ourselves as to what it is that Coercion Bills really mean. They mean that in this agrarian war

Great Britain has taken sides. They mean that the power of Great Britain is to be used on the side of the landlords. The peasants are for a longer time than it is pleasant to think of to be handed back without conditions to their masters. They will not love the Minister who executes this process upon them. One of two things will happen. The landlords will resort extensively to evictions, in which case there will assuredly be many an act of retaliation and revenge on the one hand, and on the other many an act of what the Government themselves by their Bill of last year, and then admissions and explanations connected with it, allow to be cruel hardship and injustice. But another thing may happen. The landlords may refrain from using their revived powers of eviction. If so, how will they be the better for the powers of arbitrary arrest, and so forth, with which the magistrates are to be armed? What will they gain? We know what they will lose. They will lose precious time in reaching that pacific and durable readjustment of relations, which will be every whit as welcome a relief to them as it can be to the tenants.

So far as the settlement of the Land Question goes, the current month has at least given us the benefit of two more Commissions, whatever that may amount to. If Ireland has to wait as long for any advantage from these two reports, as she had to wait for advantage from the Devon Commission, nearly forty years ago, the outlook is not bright. The first Commission was appointed by the late Government, and it contains some of the staunchest Conservatives in Parliament. Yet even the Conservative majority of this body find themselves constrained to recognize what English law and the English land-system have hidden from most men's eyes in this country for many a generation, namely, that it is the tenant who has given to the land its value, and that the tenant has a right to be protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his own industry against an arbitrary increase of rent by the landlord. As we have said, the realization of this admission in legislation may not be so immediate as we hope, and as it manifestly ought to be. But the question must be allowed to have advanced a stage when we find men of the highest consideration in the Conservative ranks, men who are not only Conservatives politically, but socially and economically, officially conceding that the Irish landlord is in fact only a co-proprietor with the tenant, and that he should be prevented by law from making the tenant pay a higher rent than a court of law would think reasonable and fair. When we have thus got men with all the prepossessions of the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Chaplin and others, to let the thin end of the wedge of equity, experience, and common sense into the mass of landlord prejudice, then we may be sure that we see the beginning of the end.

Another Commission was appointed by the present Ministry immediately after their accession to office. It is entirely composed of landlords, and the tenant farmers were entirely unrepresented upon it. Lord Bessborough's Commission goes further than the majority in the Duke of Richmond's Commission, but not further than Lord Carlingford, who, as a member of the latter, signs a dissentient report. What do Lord Bessborough and his brother landlords find to be the state of things in Ireland? They find the recognition on every hand of the tenant's right to continuous occupancy; and what they recommend is that this right to continuous occupancy should receive from law the formal recognition which it has so long had by usage and custom. It is impossible that, in the face of admissions of this kind, forced from half or wholly unwilling witnesses, people in England and Scotland can much longer remain blind to the true facts of the Irish case, or can much longer allow the maintenance of a system which is most inequitable and discouraging towards the cultivators of the soil, and in the highest degree inexpedient, both politically and socially, for the United Kingdom. "The difficulty of governing Ireland," as has been most truly said, "lies continually in our own minds; it is an incapability of understanding. When able to understand what justice requires, liberal Englishmen do not refuse to do it." They have now no excuse for failing to understand what justice requires in dealing with Irish land. Facts pour in upon them from every side, if we could only be sure that the readers of newspapers pay half the attention to these facts of the economic life of the Irish people that they pay to the ephemeral incidents of a transient disorder.

Our affairs in the Transvaal are practically at a standstill until the arrival of troops. There are those who believe that the arrival of troops will not produce any very rapid effect. According to the opinion of competent military judges, the Boers have every facility for carrying on a protracted and very harassing warfare. If there were anything to be gained for any good cause by all this, there would be no doubt that we should be bound to persevere in the task, however arduous and unwelcome. But nobody of any party who is accustomed to balance expediences can believe that we shall do so much good as harm by persisting with blind obstinacy in what nearly every set of politicians in England now regard as a very great blunder. The only question is how we can most conveniently wind up a bad piece of business. The only excuse for our forcible retention of a country which we do not want, and where we are not wanted, is that we are there as protectors of the natives. But it has been pointed out that, speaking broadly, the mass of the natives live in one part of the Transvaal, and the Boers live in another. It is

not denied that the natives in the northern parts are very well able to hold their own against the Boers to the south and west. What seems feasible is, that the Boers should be left to their own devices within the frontier thus marked out by the actual distribution of the two populations. That, or some similar course, is recommended to us by every consideration of prudence and sound statesmanship. Nothing that was said by any member of the Government in the debate favours a different opinion; nor, we may add, shuts out the hope that they may in some way or other act in some such way as we have indicated.

The situation in the East is serious enough to demand the attention even of a public preoccupied with troubles in the Transvaal and in Ireland. Diplomacy still busies itself with despatches, and the courts are discussing projects for a second Conference of Constantinople, but there seems little prospect that the dispute concerning the Greek frontier will be settled without war. Europe, which insisted upon undertaking at the Berlin Congress the tutelage of the wreck of the Ottoman empire, and which, last year at the Berlin Conference, undertook to define a new frontier for the Hellenic kingdom, shrinks from the logical consequence of her previous action, and refuses to enforce a decree which she publicly pronounced. The result, which is likely to be even more disastrous than that which followed the adoption of a similar course four years since, is due, not as in 1876, to the indecision and perversity of the English Cabinet, but to the vacillation and inconsistency of France. After posing for two years as the special protector of the Greek nationality, and after having taken the initiative in every stage of the discussion of the Hellenic question save the first, France has within the last few months taken up a policy of abstention and reserve which has paralysed the concert of the Powers, and brought Europe to the verge of a general war. In July, the French Government, through M. de Freycinet, demanded that the Powers should promise to proceed, by means of a naval demonstration if need be, "to enforce respect for their mediating decision on the Greek question." In December, instead of insisting upon the fulfilment of the pledge which it had extracted in July, the French Government, through M. St. Hilaire, repudiated the binding authority of the Berlin Conference, and declared that Europe had no right to insist upon the acceptance of the frontier which it had defined. The reversal of policy was complete. France having put her hand to the plough, had turned back while the share was still in the furrow. The immediate result was the paralysis of the European Concert, the only instrument by which peace can be preserved in the East. The Turks, believing that all danger of coercive measures was past, refused to accept the decision of the Berlin Conference.

The Greeks, as soon as the conference was ended, acting on the old adage that Heaven helps those who help themselves, set to work to organize all their able-bodied men in an army of liberation, and proclaimed their intention to occupy the provinces which Europe had assigned to the Hellenic kingdom. They were buoyed up by the hope that Europe which had pronounced the decree would assist in the execution of its own decision. They were allowed to indulge in that delusion for months, for it was not till the end of December that the French Government formally repudiated the interpretation which the Greeks attached to the decision of the Berlin Conference, and roughly told them that they need look for no help from without. It was then too late. Greece had gone too far to draw back. War lay before her, but to retreat meant revolution. Her choice was soon made—she elected to go on. Europe had decided that she should have Janina, Metzovo, and Larissa, and Janina, Metzovo and Larissa she would have or she would perish in the attempt. She was encouraged in this course by reflecting that she had it in her power to let loose a scourge upon the Powers who had betrayed her by lighting up the flames of what even M. St. Hilaire declared might become a universal conflagration. If the worst came to the worst, she knew she would not be left to be utterly destroyed. The French Government, alarmed at the consequences which followed the paralysis of the European Concert, sought in a feeble ineffective fashion to avert the threatened war by a proposal that the dispute should be submitted to the arbitration of the six Powers. The proposal immediately brought the question of coercion once more to the front. It was laid down as an indispensable condition of the adoption of the proposed arbitration that Greece and Turkey should bind themselves in advance to abide by the award of the arbitrators. The question, therefore, arose how this pledge was to be secured. It was obvious that the Turks, who had rejected every proposal to give an acre of territory to Greece in excess of that offered in the Note of October 3, would never voluntarily promise to accept the decree of a new tribunal, which, as M. St. Hilaire admitted, could not possibly reduce the 20,000 square kilometres assigned to Greece at Berlin by more than 2,000 or 3,000 kilometres at the outside. If, therefore, the arbitration scheme was to be adopted, the Turks must first be compelled to give the required assurance of their readiness to abide by the decision of the proposed tribunal. With almost incredible fatuity, the French Government seems to have permitted itself to be deceived by the smooth-spoken diplomacy of Constantinople, and turned its attention chiefly to the task of overcoming the reluctance of Greece to reopen a question which ought to have been finally settled at Berlin. While M. St. Hilaire was still engaged in lecturing the Greeks upon the absurdity of believing that his predecessor had meant what he said when he demanded the



employment of the naval demonstration to insure respect for the mediating decision of Berlin, and warning them of the calamities which would follow any attempt to occupy the districts assigned to them by Europe, the Porte peremptorily rejected the arbitration scheme, and brought the whole castle of cards to the ground. At Constantinople, not at Athens, lay the fatal obstacle in the way of a pacific solution of the Greek question, and the rejection of the arbitration scheme proposed by M. St. Hilaire was only the latest of a long series of warnings that the resistance of the Porte to the will of Europe is insuperable save by the display or the exercise of force.

The Porte, wishing to gain time to allay the discontent of the Albanians, whose threatening attitude for some time past has shown signs of developing into open revolt, proposed that negotiations should be reopened at a meeting of the ambassadors of the Powers at Constantinople. By dint of more than the usual make-believe, it was assumed that this invitation implied a readiness on the part of the Sultan to make concessions to Greece considerably in excess of those indicated in the Note of October 3, and at present it seems probable that all the Powers will consent to see what can be done, even at the eleventh hour, to arrange by diplomatic means a dispute which threatens to involve Europe in war. The projected Conference at Constantinople is the forlorn hope of diplomacy. If the Powers agree to enforce the decision at which they arrive upon both disputants, peace may still be preserved. But unless they are determined to teach both Sultan and King that behind the ambassadors stand the admirals, and behind the Conference the cannon, the Constantinople Conference of 1881 will prove as abortive as the Constantinople Conference of 1877, and the peace of Europe will not be worth six weeks' purchase.

The break up of the Conference without effecting a settlement will probably be the signal for an attempt on the part of the Greeks to take possession of the provinces assigned to them at Berlin. If their preparations are not complete, or if the state of weather renders marching impossible, the invasion of Thessaly and Epirus may be postponed for a few weeks, but failing the determination of the Powers to impose their will upon both disputants, the respite will be of but short duration. At the earliest opportunity the Greek army will be launched across the frontier and the war will begin. At first the Powers will probably attempt to secure the localisation of the war, that last refuge of a diplomatic impotence. They will keep the ring, making, it is to be hoped, provision against the bombardment of unarmed seaports. Our Government should secure the strict enforcement of the Foreign Enlistments Act against Hobart Pasha and the English en-

gineers on board the Turkish ironclads. Under the capitulations, Hobart Pasha can be arrested at Constantinople for any offence against English law, and our Government should not permit the violation of the strongest provisions of the Act which forbids a British subject to take service in the army or navy of a state at war with a power with which Her Majesty is at peace. Supposing their anticipations to be correct, and the Greeks are left to fight their way into Thessaly and Epirus without any dread of seeing their capital burned in the rear, the issue of the struggle cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty. Much will depend upon the attitude of the Albanians. If they are hostile to the Turks, the Greeks will have a fair chance of success. If, on the contrary, the Greeks have to face both Albanians and Turks, their prospects will be bad. None of the Greek troops have ever been under fire. Their fighting value is an unknown quality. They are sadly under-officered, and although they have been constantly drilled, they are no better than militia. In numbers, they will at first have a slight advantage over the Turks, but as they have to assume the offensive, this will not count for much. The Turkish troops, although in poor condition, badly fed, and suffering from disease, are their superiors both in physique and in experience. The Turkish soldier is one of the finest fighting men in Europe. Behind entrenchments he is almost without a rival; and although Janina may not have a garrison equal to that of Plevna, the Greeks will find it difficult to take possession of either Thessaly or Epirus. Fifty years ago the Greeks were unable to storm the Turkish stronghold, and it was left to the French expedition to clear the Morea of Turkish garrisons. The Greeks probably calculate upon being assisted by the Hellenic population of the provinces which they seek to annex. The assistance available from that source is inconsiderable. The rising of the Bulgarians on the advance of the Russian army did not materially affect the fortunes of the war, while it exposed the unfortunate Bulgarians to the restless vengeance of the Turks.

The Greeks, however slight their chances of success may appear to be, are astute enough to take advantage of the weak places of their adversary's line of defence. A judicious bribe skilfully administered may do much to atone for mistaken strategy, or to compensate for the inexperience of the Hellenic soldiery. The Greeks swarm in every department of the Ottoman administration. Their bankers keep the Sultan supplied with money. The commerce of the empire is in their hands. Their colonies, as in ancient days, line the Asiatic coasts of the *Ægean*, and there is no province of the Ottoman Empire in which their influence is not felt. Adept in all the arts of intrigue, versed in all the secrets of the court, with their finger upon every pulse, they may have means at their disposal to cripple the fighting force of

Turks, or to make a diversion on unexpected quarters, which would materially assist the army of liberation in the coming campaign in Thessaly and Epirus.

If the Greeks won one decisive battle the news of the defeat of the Turk will be the sentence of doom to the dynasty of Othman. Unless immediately retrieved, it would be taken as a signal that the long-expected scramble had at last begun, and the vultures which have long been hovering over the sick man's couch would hasten to feed upon his quivering carcase. The defeat of the Turks would precipitate a catastrophe which the defeat of the Greeks would not less certainly or more slowly bring about. When once blood has been shed, the difficulties in the way of a settlement become almost insuperable until one or other of the combatants is crushed into impotence. In the case of Greece that stage would not be easily reached. Every day that the combat lasted, and it would be a combat not of pitched battles but of desultory engagements and guerilla warfare, would increase the strain upon the resources of Turkey, and weaken the resistance which she could offer to aggression from without. The experience of Servia shows how difficult, not to say impossible, it is to localise a war when once the fire has been kindled in the great European magazine of combustibles. A single incident in the campaign might make Italy as unmanageable as Russia after the death of the first volunteer, and a single repetition of the tragedy of Batak on Grecian soil might create a demand for British intervention to which even the late Government would have had to bend. It is improbable that the Bulgarians will stir hand or foot to help the Greeks, but if they see that the Turks are going down they may strike in to help themselves. M. St. Hilaire did not in the least exaggerate the perils attending the outbreak of war on the Greek frontier when he said, "In the condition in which at the present time we find the whole peninsula of the Balkan there is no doubt but that the war will grow, step by step, and that the conflagration extinguished with such difficulty in 1878 will be rekindled with an intensity almost irresistible." If that war is permitted to break out we shall soon be face to face with that problem which has been the nightmare of generations of European statesmen—the partition of Turkey.

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POLITICAL FORMS AND FORCES.

THE conceptions of biologists have been greatly advanced by the discovery that organisms which, when adult, appear to have scarcely anything in common, were, in their first stages, very similar; and that, indeed, all organisms start with a common structure. Recognition of this truth has revolutionized not only their ideas respecting the relations of organisms to one another, but also respecting the relations of the parts of each organism to one another.

If societies have evolved, and if that mutual dependence of their parts which social co-operation implies, and which constitutes them organized bodies, has been gradually reached, then the implication is that however unlike their developed structures become, there is a rudimentary structure with which they all set out. And if there can be recognized any such primitive unity, recognition of it will help us to interpret the ultimate diversity. We shall understand better how in each society the several components of the political agency have come to be what we now see them, and how those of one society are related to those of another.

Setting out with an unorganized horde, including both sexes and all ages, let us ask what must happen when some question, as that of migration or defence against enemies, has to be decided. The assembled individuals will fall, more or less clearly, into two divisions. The elder, the stronger, and those whose sagacity and courage have been proved by experience, will form the smaller part, who carry on the discussion, while the larger part, formed of the young, the weak, and the undistinguished, will be listeners, who usually go no further than to express from time to time assent or dissent. A further inference may safely be drawn. In the cluster of leading men there is sure to be some one whose weight is greater than that of any other—some aged hunter, some distinguished warrior, some cunning medicine-man, who will have more than his individual share in forming the resolution finally acted upon. That is to say, the entire assemblage will resolve itself into three parts.

\*To use a biological metaphor, there will, out of the general mass, be differentiated a nucleus and a nucleolus.

These first traces of political structure which we infer *a priori* must spontaneously arise, we find have arisen among the rudest peoples: repetition having so strengthened them as to produce a settled order. When, among the aborigines of Victoria, a tribe plans revenge on another tribe supposed to have killed one of its members, "a council is called of all the old men of the tribe. . . The women form an outer circle round the men. . . The chief [simply 'a native of influence'] opens the council." And what we here see happening in an assemblage having no greater differences than those based on strength, age, and capacity, happens when, later, these natural distinctions have gained definiteness. In illustration may be named the account which Schoolcraft gives of a conference at which the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottowattomies met certain United States' Commissioners: Schoolcraft being himself present. After the address of the head commissioner had been delivered, the speaking on behalf of the Indians was carried on by the principal chiefs: the lead being taken by "a man venerable for his age and standing." Though Schoolcraft does not describe the assemblage of undistinguished people, yet that they were present is shown by a passage in one of the native speeches:—"Behold! see my brethren, both young and old—the warriors and chiefs—the women and children of my nation." And that the political order observed on this occasion was the usual order, is implied by its recurrence even in parts of America where chiefs have become marked off by ascribed nobility; as instance the account quoted by Bancroft of one of the Central American tribes, who "have frequent reunions in their council-house at night. The hall is then lighted up by a large fire, and the people sit with uncovered heads, listening respectfully to the observation and decisions of the *ahualcs*—men over forty years of age, who have occupied public positions, or distinguished themselves in some way." Among peoples unlike in type and remote in locality, we find, modified in detail but similar in general character, this primitive governmental form. Of the Hill tribes of India may be instanced the Khonds, of whom we read that—

"Assemblies of the whole tribe, or of any of its sub-divisions, are convened, to determine questions of general importance. The members of every society, however, have a right to be present at *all* its councils, and to give their voices on the questions mooted, although the patriarchs alone take a part in their public *discussion*." . . . "The federal patriarchs, in like manner, consult with the heads of tribes, and assemble when necessary the entire population of the federal group."

In New Zealand the government was conducted in accordance with public opinion expressed in general assemblies; and the chiefs "could not declare peace or war, or do anything affecting the whole people, without the sanction of the majority of the clan." Of the

"Tahitians, Ellis tells us that the king had a few chiefs as advisers, but that no affair of national importance could be undertaken without consulting the land-holders or second rank, and also that public assemblies were held. Similarly of the Malagasy. "The greatest national council in Madagascar is an assembly of the people of the capital, and the heads of the provinces, towns, villages, &c." The king usually presides in person.

Though in these last cases we see considerable changes in the relative powers of the three components, so that the inner few have gained in authority at the expense of the outer many, yet all three are still present; and they continue to be present when we pass to sundry historic peoples. Even of the Phœnicians, Movers notes that "in the time of Alexander a war was decided upon by the Tyrians without the consent of the absent king, the senate acting together with the popular assembly." Then there is the familiar case of the Homeric Greeks, whose Agora, presided over by the king, was "an assembly for talk, communication and discussion to a certain extent by the chiefs, in presence of the people as listeners and sympathisers," who were seated around, and that the people were not always passive is shown by the story of Thersites, who, ill-used though he was by Odysseus and derided by the crowd for interfering, had first made his harangue. Again, the king, the senate, and the freemen, in primitive Rome, stood in relations which had manifestly grown out of those existing in the original assembly; for though the three did not simultaneously co-operate, yet on important occasions the king communicated his proposals to the assembled burgesses, who expressed their approval or disapproval, and the clan-chiefs, forming the senate, though they did not debate in public, had yet such joint power that they could, on occasion, negative the decision of king and burgesses. Concerning the primitive Germans, Tacitus, as translated by Mr. Freeman, writes—

"On smaller matters the chiefs debate, on greater matters all men, but so that those things whose final decision rests with the whole people are first handled by the chiefs . . . The multitude sits around in such order as it thinks good, silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have also the right of enforcing it. Presently the king or chief, according to the age of each, according to his birth, according to his glory in war or his eloquence, is listened to, speaking rather by the influence of persuasion than by the power of commanding. If their opinions give offence, they are thrust aside with a shout, if they are approved, the hearers clash their spears."

Similarly among the Scandinavians, as shown us in Iceland, where, besides the general Al-thing annually held, which it was "disreputable for a freeman not to attend," and at which "people of all classes in fact pitched their tents," there were local assemblies called Var-things "attended by all the freemen of the district, with a crowd of retainers . . . both for the discussion of public affairs and the administration of justice . . . Within the circle [formed for

administering justice] sat the judges, the people standing on the outside." In the account given by Mr. Freeman of the yearly meetings in the Swiss cantons of Uri and Appenzell, we may trace this primitive political form as still existing; for though the presence of the people at large is the fact principally pointed out, yet there is named in the case of Uri, the body of magistrates or chosen chiefs who form the second element, as well as the head magistrate who is the first element. And that in ancient England there was a kindred constitution of the Wittenagemót, is indirectly proved; as witness the following passage from Freeman's *Growth of the English Constitution* :—

"No ancient record gives us any clear or formal account of the constitution of that body. It is commonly spoken of in a vague way as a gathering of the wise, the noble, the great men. But, alongside of passages like these, we find other passages which speak of it in a way which implies a far more popular constitution. King Eadward is said to be chosen King by 'all folk.' Earl Godwine 'makes his speech before the king and all the people of the land.'"

And the implication, as Mr. Freeman points out, is that the share taken by the people in the proceedings was that of expressing by shouts their approval or disapproval.

This form of ruling agency is thus shown to be the fundamental form, by its presence at the outset of social life and by its continuance under various conditions. Not among peoples of superior types only, such as Aryans and some Semites, do we find it, but also among sundry Malayo-Polynesians, among the red men of North America, the Dravidian tribes of the Indian hills, the aborigines of Australia. In fact, as already implied, governmental organization could not possibly begin in any other way. On the one hand, no controlling force at first exists save that of the aggregate will as manifested in the assembled horde. On the other hand, leading parts in determining this aggregate will are inevitably taken by the few whose superiority is recognized. And of these predominant men some one is sure to be most predominant. That which we have to note as specially significant, is not that a free form of government is the primitive form; though this is an implication which may be dwelt upon. Nor are we chiefly concerned with the fact that at the very beginning there shows itself that separation of the superior few from the inferior many, which becomes marked in later stages; though this, too, is a fact which may be singled out and emphasized. Nor is attention to be mainly directed to the early appearance of a controlling head, having power greater than that of any other; though the evidence given may be cited to prove this. But here we have to note, particularly, the truth that at the very outset may be discerned the vague outlines of a tri-une political structure.

Of course the ratios among the powers of these three components are in no two cases quite the same; and, as implied in

sundry of the above examples, they everywhere undergo more or less change—change determined here by the emotional nature of the men composing the group, there by the physical circumstances as favouring or hindering independence, now by the activities as warlike or peaceful, and now by the exceptional characters of particular individuals.

Unusual sagacity, skill, or strength, habitually regarded by primitive men as supernatural, may give to some member of the tribe an influence which, transmitted to a successor supposed to inherit his supernatural character, may generate a chiefly authority subordinating both that of the other leading men and that of the mass. Or a division of labour, such that while some of the tribe remain exclusively warriors the rest are in a measure otherwise occupied, may give to the two superior components of the political agency an ability to over-ride the third. Or the members of the third, keeping up habits which make coercion of them difficult or impossible, may maintain a general predominance over the other two. And then the relations of these three governing elements to the entire community may, and ordinarily do, undergo change by the formation of a passive class, excluded from their deliberations—a class at first composed of the women and afterwards containing also the slaves or other dependents.

War successfully carried on, not only establishes the passive or non-political class, but also, implying as it does subordination, changes more or less decidedly the relative powers of these three parts of the political agency. As, other things equal, groups in which there is little or no subordination are subjugated by groups in which subordination is greater, there is a tendency to the survival and spread of groups in which the controlling power of the dominant few becomes relatively great. In like manner, since success in war largely depends on that promptitude and consistency of action which singleness of will gives, there must, where warfare is chronic, be a tendency for members of the ruling group to become more and more obedient to its head: disappearance in the struggle for existence among tribes otherwise equal, being ordinarily a consequence of inadequate obedience. And then it is also to be noted that the over-runnings of societies one by another, repeated and re-repeated as they often are, have the effect of obscuring and even obliterating the traces of the original political form.

While, however, recognizing the fact that during political evolution these three primitive components alter their proportions in various ways and degrees, to the extent that some of them become mere rudiments or wholly disappear, it will greatly alter our conception of political forms if we remember that they are all derived from this primitive form—that a despotism, an oligarchy, or a democracy, is to be regarded as a type of government in which one of the original components has greatly developed at the expense of the



other two,\* and that the various mixed types are to be arranged according to the degrees in which one or other of the original components has the greater influence.

Is there any fundamental unity of political forces accompanying this fundamental unity of political forms? While losing sight of the common origin of political structures, have we not also become inadequately conscious of the common source of their powers? How prone we are to forget the ultimate, while thinking of the proximate, it may be worth while pausing a moment to observe.

One who in a storm [watches the breaking-up of a wreck or the tearing down of a sea-wall, is impressed by the immense energy of the waves. Of course, when it is pointed out that in the absence of wind no such results can be produced, he recognizes the truth that the sea is in itself powerless, and that the power enabling it to destroy vessels and piers is given by the currents of air which roughen its surface. If he stops short here, however, he fails to identify the force which works these striking changes. Intrinsically, the air is just as passive as the water is. There would be no winds were it not for the varying effects of the Sun's heat on different parts of the Earth's surface. Even when he has traced back thus far the energy which undermines cliffs and makes shingle, he has not reached its source; for in the absence of that continuous concentration of the solar mass, caused by the mutual gravitation of its parts, there would be no solar radiation.

The tendency here illustrated, which all have in some degree and most in a great degree, to associate power with the visible agency exercising it, rather than with its inconspicuous source, has, as above implied, a vitiating influence on conceptions at large, and among others on political ones. Though the habit, general in past times, of regarding the powers of governments as inherent, has been, by the growth of popular institutions, a good deal qualified; yet, even now, there is no clear apprehension of the fact that governments are not themselves powerful, but are the instrumentalities of a power. This power existed before governments arose; governments were themselves produced by it; and it ever continues to be that which, disguised more or less completely, works through them. Let us go back to the beginning.

The Greenlanders are entirely without political control; having nothing which represents it more nearly than the deference paid to the opinion of some old man, skilled in seal-catching and the signs of the weather. But a Greenlander who is aggrieved by another, has his remedy in what is called a singing combat. He composes a satirical poem, and challenges his antagonist to a satirical duel in face of the tribe: "he who has the last word wins the trial." And then Crantz adds—"Nothing so effectually restrains a Greenlander

from vice, as the dread of public disgrace." Here we see operating in its original unqualified way, that governing influence of public sentiment which precedes more special governing influences. The dread of social reprobation is in some cases enforced by the dread of banishment. Among the otherwise unsubordinated Australians, they "punish each other for such offences as theft, sometimes by expulsion from the camp." Of one of the Columbian tribes we read that "the Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government;" and then, further, we read that "criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe." Certain aborigines of the Indian hills, widely unlike these Columbians in type and in their modes of life, show us a similar relation between undeveloped political restraint and the restraint of aggregate feeling. Among the Bodo and Dhimáls, whose village heads are simply respected elders with no coercive power, those who offend against customs "are admonished, fined, or excommunicated, according to the degree of the offence." But the controlling influence of public sentiment in groups which have little or no political organization, is best shown in the force with which it acts on those who are bound to avenge murders. Concerning the Australian aborigines, Sir George Grey writes:—

"The holiest duty a native is called on to perform is that of avenging the death of his nearest relation, for it is his peculiar duty to do so, until he has fulfilled this task, he is constantly taunted by the old women, his wives, if he is married, would soon quit him if he is unmarried, not a single young woman would speak to him, his mother would constantly cry, and lament that she should ever have given birth to so degenerate a son, his father would treat him with contempt, and reproaches would constantly be sounded in his ear."

We have next to note that for a long time after political control has made its appearance, it remains conspicuously subordinate to this control of general feeling; both because, while there is no developed political organization, the head man has little ability to enforce his will, and because such ability as he has, if unduly exercised, causes desertion. From all parts of the world may be cited illustrations. In America among the Snake Indians "each individual is his own master, and the only control to which his conduct is subjected, is the advice of a chief supported by his influence over the opinions of the rest of the tribe." Of a Chinook chief we are told that "his ability to render service to his neighbours, and the popularity which follows it, is at once the foundation and the measure of his authority." If a Dakota "wishes to do mischief, the only way a chief can influence him is to give him something, or pay him to desist from his evil intentions. The chief has no authority to act for the tribe, and dare not do it." And among the Creeks, more advanced in political organization though they are, the authority of the elected chiefs "continues during good behaviour. The disapproval of the body of the people is an effective bar to the exercise of their powers and

functions." Turning to Asia, we read that the bais or chiefs of the Khirgiz "have little power over them for good or evil. In consideration of their age and blood, some deference to their opinions is shown, but nothing more." The Ostyaks "pay respect, in the fullest sense of the word, to their chief, if wise and valiant, but this homage is voluntary, and founded on personal regard." And of the Naga chiefs Butler says—"Their orders are obeyed so far only as they accord with the wishes and convenience of the community." So too is it in parts of Africa; as instance the Koranna Hottentots. "A chief or captain presides over each clan or kraal, being usually the person of greatest property; but his authority is extremely limited, and only obeyed so far as it meets the general approbation." And even among the more politically-organized Kaffirs, there is a kindred restraint. The king "makes laws and executes them according to his sole will. Yet there is a power to balance his in the people: he governs only so long as they choose to obey." They leave him if he governs ill.

In its primitive form, then, political power is the feeling of the community, acting through an agency which it has either informally or formally established. Doubtless, from the beginning, the power of the chief is in part personal: his greater strength, courage, or cunning, enables him in some degree to enforce his individual will. But, as the evidence shows, his individual will is but a small factor; and the authority he wields is proportionate to the degree in which he expresses the will of the rest.

While this public feeling, which first acts by itself and then partly through an agent, is to some extent the feeling spontaneously formed by those concerned, it is to a much larger extent the opinion imposed on them or prescribed for them. In the first place, the emotional nature prompting the general mode of conduct is derived from ancestors, being a product of all past activities; and in the second place, the special motives which, directly or indirectly, determine the courses pursued, are induced during early life by seniors, and enlisted on behalf of beliefs and usages which the tribe inherits. The governing sentiment is, in short, mainly the accumulated and organized sentiment of the past.

It needs but to remember the mutilation to which, at a prescribed age, each member of a tribe is subject—the knocking out of teeth, the gashing of the flesh, the tatooing, the submission to torture—it needs but to remember that from these imperative customs there is no escape; to see that the directive force which exists before political agency arises, and which afterwards makes the political agency its organ, is the gradually-formed opinion of countless preceding generations; or rather, not the opinion, which, strictly speaking, is an intellectual product wholly impotent, but the emotion associated

with the opinion. This we everywhere find to be at the outset the chief controlling power.

The notion of the Tupis that "if they departed from the customs of their forefathers they should be destroyed," may be named as a definite manifestation of the force with which this transmitted opinion acts. In one of the rudest tribes of the Indian hills, the Juánga, less clothed even than Adam and Eve are said to have been, the women long adhered to their bunches of leaves in the belief that change was wrong. Of the Koranna Hottentots we read that "when ancient usages are not in the way, every man seems to act as is right in his own eyes." Though the Damara chiefs "have the power of governing arbitrarily, yet they venerate the traditions and customs of their ancestors." Smith says, "laws the Araucanians can scarcely be said to have, though there are many ancient usages which they hold sacred and strictly observe." According to Brooke, among the Dyaks custom simply seems to have become the law, and breaking of the custom leads to a fine. In the minds of some clans of the Malagasy, "innovation and injury are . . . inseparable, and the idea of improvement altogether inadmissible."

This control by inherited usages is not simply as strong in groups of men who are politically unorganized, or but little organized, as it is in advanced tribes and nations, but it is stronger. As Sir John Lubbock remarks—"No savage is free. All over the world his daily life is regulated by a complicated and apparently most inconvenient set of customs (as forcible as laws), of quaint prohibitions and privileges." Though one of these rude societies appears to be structureless, yet its ideas and usages form a kind of invisible framework for it, serving rigorously to restrain certain classes of its actions. And this invisible framework has been slowly and unconsciously shaped, during daily activities impelled by prevailing feelings and guided by prevailing thoughts, through generations stretching back into the far past.

In brief, then, before any definite agency for social control is developed, there exists a control arising partly from the public opinion of the living, and more largely from the public opinion of the dead.

But now let us note definitely a truth implied in some of the illustrations above given—the truth that when a political agency has been evolved, its power, largely dependent on present public opinion, is otherwise almost wholly dependent on past public opinion. The ruler, in part the organ of the wills of those around, is in a still greater degree the organ of the wills of those who have passed away; and his own will, much restrained by the first, is still more restrained by the last.

For his function as regulator is mainly that of enforcing the

inherited rules of conduct which embody ancestral sentiments and ideas. Everywhere we are shown this. Among the Arafuras such decisions as are given by their elders, are "according to the customs of their forefathers, which are held in the highest regard." So is it with the Khirgiz: "the judgments of the Bis, or esteemed elders, are based on the known and universally recognized customs." And in Sumatra "they are governed, in their various disputes, by a set of long-established customs (*adat*), handed down to them from their ancestors. . . . The chiefs, in pronouncing their decisions, are not heard to say, 'so the law directs,' but 'such is the custom.'"

As fast as orally-preserved custom passes into written law, the political head becomes still more clearly an agent through whom the feelings of the dead control the actions of the living. That the power he exercises is mainly a power which acts through him, we see clearly on noting how little ability he has to resist it if he wishes to do so. His individual will is practically inoperative save where the overt or tacit injunctions of departed generations leave him free. Thus in Madagascar, "in cases where there is no law, custom, or precedent, the word of the sovereign is sufficient." Among the East Africans, "the only limit to the despot's power is the *Ada*, or precedent." Of the Javans, Raffles writes—"the only restraint upon the will of the head of the government is the custom of the country, and the regard which he has for his character among his subjects." In Sumatra the people "do not acknowledge a right in the chiefs to constitute what laws they think proper, or to repeal or alter their ancient usages, of which they are extremely tenacious and jealous." And how imperative is this conformity to the beliefs and sentiments of progenitors, is shown by the fatal results apt to occur from disregarding them.

" 'The King of Ashantee, although represented as a despotic monarch. . . . is not in all respects beyond control.' He is under an 'obligation to observe the national customs which have been handed down to the people from remote antiquity; and a practical disregard of this obligation, in the attempt to change some of the customs of their forefathers, cost Osai Quamina his throne.'"

Which instance reminds us how commonly, as now among the Hot-tentots, as in the past among the ancient Mexicans, and as throughout the histories of civilized peoples, rulers have engaged, on succeeding to power, not to change the established order.

Doubtless the proposition that the political head, simple or compound, is in the main but an agency through which works the force of public feeling, present and past, seems at variance with the many facts showing how great may be the power of a ruling man himself. Saying nothing of a tyrant's ability to take lives for nominal reasons or none at all, to make groundless confiscations, to transfer subjects bodily from one place to another, to exact con-

tributions of money and labour without stint, we are apparently shown by his ability to begin and carry on wars which sacrifice his subjects wholesale, that his single will may over-ride the will of the nation. In what way, then, must the original statement be qualified?

While holding that, in unorganized groups of men, the feeling manifested as public opinion controls political conduct, just as it controls the conduct distinguished as ceremonial and religious; and while holding that governing agencies, during their early stages, are at once the products of aggregate feeling, derive their powers from it, and are restrained by it; we must admit that these primitive relations become complicated when, by war, small groups are compounded and re-compounded into great ones. Where the society is largely composed of subjugated people held down by superior force, the normal relation above described no longer exists. We must not expect to find in a rule coercively established by an invader, the same traits as in a rule that has grown up from within. Societies formed by conquest may be, and frequently are, composed of two societies, which are in large measure, if not entirely, alien; whence it results that there is no longer anything like such united feeling as can embody itself in a political force derived from the whole community. Under such conditions the political head either derives his power exclusively from the feeling of the dominant part of the community, or else, setting the diverse masses of feeling originated in the upper and lower societies, one against the other, is enabled so to make his individual will the chief factor.

After making which qualifications, however, it may still be contended that ordinarily, nearly all the force exercised by the governing agency originates from the feelings, if not of the whole community, yet of the part which is able to manifest its feelings. Though the opinion of the subjugated and unarmed lower society becomes of little account as a political factor, yet the opinion of the dominant and armed part continues to be the main cause of political action. What we are told of the Congo people, that "the king, who reigns as a despot over the people, is often disturbed in the exercise of his power, by the princes his vassals,"—what we are told of the despotically-governed Dahomans, that "the ministers, war-captains, and fetishsheers may be, and often are, individually punished by the king: collectively they are too strong for him, and without their cordial co-operation he would soon cease to reign;" is what we recognize as having been true, and as being still true, in various better-known societies, where the power of the supreme head is nominally absolute. From the time when the Roman emperors were chosen by the soldiers and slain when they did not please them, to the present time when, as we are told of Russia, the desire of the army often determines the will of the Czar, there have been many illustrations of the

truth that an autocrat is politically strong or weak according as many or few of the influential classes give him their support; and that even the sentiments of those who are politically prostrate greatly affect the political action: instance the influence of Turkish fanaticism over the decisions of the Sultan.

A number of facts must be remembered if we are rightly to estimate the power of the aggregate will in comparison with the power of the autocrat's will. There is the fact that the autocrat is obliged to respect and maintain the great mass of institutions and laws produced by past sentiments and ideas, which have acquired a religious sanction; so that, as in ancient Egypt, dynasties of despots live and die and leave the social order essentially unchanged. There is the fact that a serious change of the social order, at variance with general feeling, is likely afterwards to be reversed, as when, in Egypt, Amenhotep IV., spite of a rebellion, succeeded in establishing a new religion, which was abolished in a succeeding reign; and there is the allied fact that laws much at variance with the general will prove abortive, as, for instance, the sumptuary laws made by mediæval kings, which, continually re-enacted, continually failed. There is the fact that, supreme as he may be, and divine as the nature ascribed to him, the all-powerful king is yet shackled by usages which often make his daily life a slavery: the opinions of the living oblige him to fulfil the dictates of the dead. There is the fact that if he does not conform, or if he otherwise produces by his acts much adverse feeling, his servants, civil and military, refuse to act, or turn against him; and in extreme cases there comes an example of "despotism tempered by assassination." And there is the further fact that habitually in societies where an offending autocrat is from time to time removed, another autocrat is set up: the implication being that the average sentiment is of a kind which not only tolerates but desires autocracy. That which is by some called loyalty and by others servility, both creates the absolute ruler and gives him the power he exercises.

But the cardinal truth, difficult adequately to appreciate, is that while the forms and laws of each society are the consolidated products of the emotions and ideas of those who have lived throughout the past, they are made operative by the subordination of existing emotions and ideas to them. We are familiar with the thought of "the dead hand" as controlling the doings of the living in the uses made of property; but the effect of "the dead hand" in ordering life at large through the established political system, is immeasurably greater. That which, from hour to hour, in every country, governed despotically or otherwise, produces the obedience making political action possible, is the accumulated and organized sentiment felt towards inherited institutions, made sacred by tradition. Hence

it is undeniable that, taken in its widest acceptation, the feeling of the community is the sole source of political power: in those communities, at least, which are not under foreign domination. It was so at the outset of social life, and it still continues substantially so.

It has come to be a maxim of science that in the causes still at work, are to be identified the causes which, similarly at work during past times, have produced the state of things now existing. Acceptance of this maxim, and pursuit of the inquiries suggested by it, lead to verifications of the foregoing conclusions.

For day after day, every public meeting illustrates afresh this same differentiation characterizing the primitive political agency, and illustrates afresh the actions of its respective parts. There is habitually the great body of the less distinguished, forming the audience, whose share in the proceedings consists in expressing approval or disapproval, and saying aye or no to the resolutions proposed. There is the smaller part, occupying the platform—the men whose wealth, position, or capacity give them influence—the local chiefs by whom the discussions are carried on. And there is the chosen head, commonly the man of greatest mark to be obtained, who exercises a recognized power over speakers and audience—the temporary king. Even an informally summoned assemblage soon resolves itself into these divisions more or less distinctly; and when the assemblage becomes a permanent body, as of the men composing a commercial company, or a philanthropic society, or a club, definiteness is quickly given to the three divisions—president or chairman, board or committee, proprietors or members. To which add that, though at first, like the meeting of the primitive horde or the modern public meeting, one of these permanent associations, voluntarily formed, exhibits a distribution of powers such that the select few and their head are subordinate to the mass; yet, as circumstances determine, the proportions of the respective powers usually change more or less decidedly. Where the members of the mass are not only much interested in the transactions, but are so placed that they can easily co-operate, they hold in check the select few and their head; but where wide distribution, as of railway shareholders, hinders joint action, the select few become, in large measure, an oligarchy, and out of the oligarchy there not unfrequently grows an autocrat: the constitution becomes a despotism tempered by revolution.

In saying that from hour to hour proofs occur that the force possessed by a political agency is derived from aggregate feeling, partly embodied in the consolidated system which has come down from the past, and partly excited by immediate circumstances, I do not refer only to the proofs that among ourselves governmental actions are habitually thus determined, and that the actions of all minor



bodies, temporarily or permanently incorporated, are thus determined. I refer, rather, to the illustrations of the irresistible control exercised by average sentiment and opinion over conduct at large. Such facts as that, while public opinion is in favour of duelling law fails to prevent it, and that sacred injunctions backed by threats of damnation, are powerless to check the most iniquitous aggressions when the prevailing interests and passions prompt them, alone suffice to show that legal codes and religious creeds, with the agencies enforcing them, are impotent in face of an adverse sentiment. On remembering the eagerness for public applause and the dread of public disgrace which stimulate and restrain men, we cannot question that the diffused manifestations of feeling habitually dictate their careers when their immediate necessities have been satisfied. It requires only to contemplate the social code which regulates life down even to the colour of an evening neck-tie, and to note how those who dare not break this code have no hesitation in smuggling, to see that an unwritten law enforced by opinion is more peremptory than a written law not so enforced. And still more on observing that men disregard the just claims of creditors, who for goods given cannot get the money, while they are anxious to discharge so-called debts of honour to those who have rendered neither goods nor services, we are shown that the control of prevailing sentiment, unenforced by law and religion, may be more potent than law and religion together when they are backed by sentiment less strongly manifested. Looking at the total activities of men, we are obliged to admit that they are still, as they were at the outset of social life, guided by the aggregate feeling, past and present; and that the political agency, itself a gradually-developed product of such feeling, continues still to be in the main the vehicle for a specialized portion of it, regulating actions of certain kinds.

Partly, of course, I am obliged here to set forth this general truth as an essential element of political theory. My excuse for insisting at some length on what appears to be a trite conclusion, must be that, however far nominally recognized, it is actually recognized to a very small extent. Even in our own country, where non-political agencies spontaneously produced and worked are many and large, and still more in most other countries less characterized by them, there is no due consciousness of the truth that the combined impulses which work through political agencies can, in the absence of such agencies, produce others through which to work. Politicians reason as though State-instrumentalities have intrinsic power, which they have not, and as though the feeling which creates them has not intrinsic power, which it has. Evidently their actions must be greatly affected by reversal of these ideas.

HERBERT SPENCER.

## HOW TO GET OUT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DIFFICULTY.

NEARLY two years ago, while editing a journal in Natal, I had occasion to write the following sentence at the conclusion of a leading article :—

“The first shot fired in suppression of a Boer revolt is the first shot fired in the cause of South African independence.”

At that time—March, 1879—the disaster of Isandhlwana was still fresh; troops were arriving to relieve the beleaguered garrison at Etshowe; bitter things were being said of South African colonists by the London press. More than all, however, the second deputation from the Transvaal Boers to the Colonial Office had recently returned from England, and the fact was beginning to be realised that the Boers, though willing to come to an understanding with the British Government upon vexed questions of policy, such as confederation and the treatment of the native population, were almost to a man resolved upon regaining their independence. At that time, too, Sir Bartle Frere was about to proceed from Natal to the Transvaal, and those whose eyes had been opened by events to the real nature and tendency of his aims, were not disposed to regard his visit as likely to lead to any satisfactory solution of the Transvaal problem.

What I ventured to say then, may be repeated to-day, on grounds which, though not more real, are at least more conspicuous. But to-day it can be shown, as it could not be satisfactorily shown then, that in the independence of South Africa, freely granted and guarded by certain treaty agreements with Great Britain, is to be found the only safe, honourable, and permanent escape from a responsibility which must otherwise become year by year more anxious and more burdensome to this country.

What is the main fact with regard to South Africa upon which public attention is now centred? At this moment the Boers—the original inhabitants of the Transvaal, to whom its free possession was guaranteed by treaty in 1852—are in military possession of that territory, in defiance of the British Government established there in 1877, and in the face of the British troops by which that Government was supported. In order to regain possession of the territory—in other words, in order to conquer it—troops have been despatched both from England and from India, and it is confidently expected that when those troops have been fairly brought into the field, the Boers will be suppressed. This conclusion need not be disputed, so far as it points to the suppression of the Transvaal Boers at

one time or another. But to suppose that suppressing them will be either a short or inexpensive business would be contrary to the whole existing conditions of the case.

There are two questions the answers to which will be found to throw considerable light on the military probabilities of the situation. First—Are the Boers likely to submit to a mere show of force? Next—If they do not, what is likely to be the cost and the length of the war for their subjugation?

The Boers, it may be predicted with tolerable certainty, if they are not fairly and generously met, will not yield up their claim to independence as long as they are able to maintain any force in the field. Apart from the traditional dislike to British rule which pervades South Africa wherever there is a Dutchman to be found, the injuries which, in their own estimation at least, the Transvaal Boers have sustained will inspire them with a spirit of dogged resistance which not even a defeat in a pitched battle will abate. "You have," they say to the Imperial Government, "stolen our independence from us, in defiance of treaty rights, by means which to-day you yourselves condemn. You have subjected us for three years to a Government which violates even the pledges given at the time of the annexation. Our language has, as the official language of the country, been tabooed. Our Volksraad, never dissolved even at the time of the annexation, has been set at nought. You attempt to govern us by a cliquo which we despise. Your Governor is a young lieutenant-colonel utterly incapable of understanding the first rudiments of civil administration; your Colonial Secretary is an English magistrate who had formerly ruled over a native district in the Cape Colony; your Secretary for Native Affairs is a son of that Sir Theophilus Shepstone who has been rendered peculiarly odious to us by his patronage of the Zulus; your Treasurer is an ex-Indian official, carried here by some unknown wind of private patronage; your Attorney-General is a clerk out of the office of the Attorney-General of Natal, who cannot speak a word of Dutch, and who never held a brief in his life before he was sent here; your Chief Justice is a Cape Colony judge translated here from the Diamond Fields, and placed over the head of our own Chief Justice, whose appointment by President Burgers was confirmed by Sir Theophilus Shopstone; your Legislative Council, nominated by Sir Garnet Wolseley, and composed of members who only hold their position during pleasure, is an insult and a mockery. If we had ever granted you the right to annex, such flagrant violations of the promises made at the time would have justified us in recalling our consent. But we never gave you that right; we never accorded that consent without which Sir Theophilus Shepstone's instructions as regards annexation were expressly rendered powerless. We have for three years remained in a state of

protest; we have appealed to a Liberal Government for justice with as little success as we appealed to a Conservative Government. We have at last, with the utmost reluctance, taken up arms for the recovery of our independence. We admit that in the past we may, as a State, have not always acted well or wisely; we admit that in some cases our treatment of native populations has not been what it ought to have been; and we admit, for the sake of argument, that we may have been, owing to misgovernment, in a state hardly calculated to resist any sudden or united native inroad. We make these admissions, because these two grounds have been put forward over and over again, sometimes together, sometimes separately, as affording justification for the act of Sir Theophilus Shepstone. To-day, however, in demanding our independence, we offer you specific guarantees in respect of both these matters. We offer to enter into an agreement with you as to the treatment of native populations; we prove by the force which we put in the field against yourselves how little we need have dreaded an invasion even of the whole Zulu nation. We offer to provide protection for British interests by receiving a British representative; we offer to undertake the whole financial burden laid upon the country during the annexation *régime*; we offer to recognise a British Protectorate by hoisting the British flag once a year in our capital. There is nothing more which we can offer or you can ask, except our independence. The issue is therefore narrowed to this one point. It is for the one purpose of extinguishing our independence that you are massing troops against us, and we shall maintain our independence by force of arms as long as there is a man left to take the field."

This is the Dutch case, and it is as well that it should be understood. A people thus united and determined will require, as some one has said, a great deal of putting down. And he would be a very sanguine man indeed who would regard a war of less than twelve months' duration as necessary for the conquest and occupation of the country. What will be the cost of this war? The Zulu campaign lasted some six months, and cost every penny of £5,000,000. As any force which is to be effectual against the Boers must eventually be fully as strong as that employed against the Zulus, to say that the cost of the war will be £10,000,000 is to state an obvious fact. Those who dream that 10,000 Boers will be more easily subjugated than 20,000 Zulus will find themselves grievously in error. That, even from a military point of view, the difficulties of the Transvaal war will be serious and its cost proportionately great, is certain. A word must now be said on the subject of the political friction that may be anticipated. This is of importance, even from a military point of view. For if, as is the case, Dutchmen are the principal owners of waggons, horses, and oxen in Natal and the

Free State—the most natural sources for the supply of these very necessary articles—and if the sympathies of Dutchmen are everywhere enlisted, as they are, on the side of the Transvaal Boers, it seems only too probable that the difficulties placed in the way of getting the reinforcements up to the front, will be enhanced far beyond any point at present anticipated. But for the mules, the horses, and the oxen that came down from the Free State, the Zulu war must have come to a standstill. For service against the Transvaal Boers the Free State will supply nothing.

The true facts with regard to the position of the Dutch population in South Africa cannot at this juncture be too strongly pointed out. People in England who talk of Cape Town as the capital of a British colony do not realise the fact that it is to this day more Dutch than English. The largest church in Cape Town is the Dutch Reformed Church, where every Sunday a congregation of between two and three thousand listen to sermons preached in Dutch, and join in Dutch psalms sung to Lutheran chorales. The newspaper which has probably the largest circulation in South Africa is the *Zuid Afrikaan*, published in Cape Town, and edited by Mr. Hofmeyr, the leader of the Dutch party in the Cape Legislative Assembly. The Dutch language is spoken as the native language over the whole of the western half of the Cape Colony. The rich farmers and agriculturists are Dutch to a man. In the Free State the preponderance of Dutch over English is probably not less than four to one. In the Transvaal it is at least ten to one. In Natal Dutch and English are more equally balanced, though even there the Dutch would probably be found preponderating over the purely English. The Dutch in South Africa constitute at least two-thirds of the entire European population. And, although they have little fancy for public life, they hold in their hands the real wealth of the country. Here is an instance which came under my own immediate knowledge, and which may be regarded as typical. In the latter part of 1878 a movement, with which I had something to do, was set on foot in Natal with the view of raising subscriptions in aid of the sufferers by the Indian famine. Funds were raised from two centres—Durban and Pietermaritzburg. From the latter place we forwarded a sum of upwards of £800 to the Mansion House Fund, collected from the European population of the capital and the upper districts of the colony—a population of perhaps 12,000 of all ages. Amounts were contributed by wealthy traders and Government officials varying from two to ten guineas; but from one little group of six Dutch farm-houses in an out-of-the-way corner of the colony came no less a sum than £130.

Let another fact be borne in mind. The Dutch throughout South Africa are united together by the strongest family ties. Brothers of

Mr. Pretorius, one of the Transvaal Triumvirate, resides on their farms in Natal. The brother of Sir Henry De Villiers, the talented Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, is Chief Justice of the Free State. These are but single instances of the threads of kinship that are found running everywhere. And the network of association spreads over long spaces of time as well as over distance. The Bezuidenhouts and Prinsloos of the Transvaal of to-day represent families that were to be found in the Cape Colony sixty years ago, while it was a Joubert who was mainly instrumental in bringing about a defeat of British troops in Natal some forty years back.

Further, let it be borne in mind that there is not a Dutchman in South Africa at this moment, whether British subject or not, no matter what his position, whose heart is not with the Transvaal Boers in their struggle to regain their independence. The Dutch throughout South Africa are a people who, though they may have in many cases forgiven, have never forgotten the fact of their conquest in the early years of the present century by a British force. Nor have they forgotten the wrongs which they have suffered, from generation to generation, at the hands of the British Government. The history of those wrongs—the never-to-be-forgotten execution at Slachter's Nek in 1815, when five Boers were hanged, under circumstances of peculiar inhumanity, in sight of their friends—the breach of faith committed in 1834 in respect of the compensation paid to the farmers for liberating their slaves—the unjust censure by Lord Glenelg of a native war in which the Kafirs were the aggressors, and in which upwards of eight hundred farmhouses were either wholly or partially destroyed—the pursuit after the emigrant Boers into the Free State and into Natal, with the avowed intention of reducing them to powerlessness in the presence of overwhelming hordes of warlike natives—to give any clear account of these matters would require far more space than could be possibly occupied here. Such a detailed history, moreover, is not necessary for the purposes of the present argument. The special grievances of the Transvaal Boers have been touched upon; the extent and nature of the general grievance will be realised when it is remembered that the Dutch communities in the Free State, in the Transvaal, and in Natal are where they are because their forefathers believed that the British Government, from whose control they sought some fifty years ago to escape, desired nothing less than their extermination. And while this grievance is borne in mind, let another thing be also remembered. The feeling in England against the Transvaal Boers in the matter of their treatment of native races, is largely based upon the impressions of Dr. Livingstone, who, good man as he was, was capable of forming the strongest prejudices. He had a grudge against the Boers because, in 1852, they destroyed his mission station at Kolobeng;

and yet for the destruction of that station the British Government at the Cape was mainly responsible.<sup>1</sup>

Having regard to all the facts already stated, it becomes interesting to ask what will be the result of the Transvaal war upon other South African communities.

Take the Free State first. Already, there can be little doubt, numbers of its Dutch inhabitants are flocking to the aid of their brethren in the Transvaal, and if President Brand can avoid being compelled to throw in his lot with the popular party, it will be as much as he can do. That he has no control over the Dutch population is proved by the fact that, more than twelve months ago, the Volksraad passed, in the face of the President's strongest entreaties, a resolution expressing sympathy with the Transvaal Boers. It may even be, then, that President Brand, notwithstanding his desire to stand well with the British Government and to maintain neutrality, will be constrained to cast in his lot with the war party. Not only have his efforts after mediation been contemptuously rejected by the Colonial Office, but a distinctly hostile act has been committed by the Cape Government in prohibiting the exportation of arms and ammunition to the Free State.

Tako Natal. The Dutch population are to a man inspired with bitterest feelings towards the Imperial Government in respect of the Transvaal question. The English farmers follow very much the same bent. In the towns the feeling is somewhat different, though it is significant that a journal like the *Natal Mercury*, edited by one of the most prominent members of the elected Legislature, which took the extreme "jingo" view during the Zulu war, was expressing itself in December in strong terms of sympathy for the Transvaal Boers. Since the reinforcements began to arrive, this sympathy has doubtless suffered a partial eclipse. The sight of men armed with weapons of war naturally suggests ideas of a bloodthirsty order, and the cry for strong measures against the Boers will be heard from the "jingoes" of Natal until it is perceived, as it will be shortly, that by a Transvaal war Natal will be ruined. Her customs revenue, on

(1) This neglected fact is brought out with much clearness in Livingstone's own works, and by his most recent biographer. In 1852 the feeling of the whole European population in the Cape Colony was strongly anti-native, owing to the Kafir war which had just been concluded. In January, 1852, the Sand River Convention, recognising the independence of the Transvaal, was signed under the auspices of Sir George Cathcart, then High Commissioner at the Cape. The Boers asked on that occasion what they should do about the missionaries. The reply was, "You may do as you please with them." (*Missionary Travels in South Africa*, first edition, pages 38—39.) That this sentence expressed a genuine feeling is proved by the manner in which Livingstone himself was treated when he visited Cape Town in the early part of the same year. Dr. Blaikie, in his recently published *Personal Life of Livingstone*, states (p. 131) that he was so much distrusted by the Cape authorities that it was only with the utmost difficulty he could obtain a supply of powder and shot. Kolobeng was destroyed in the following August, the Boers no doubt being convinced that the act would be acceptable to the Cape Government, as it probably was.

which she largely depends, and out of which the interest on her debt has practically to be paid, arises in a very great degree from goods in transit to the Transvaal. The customs revenue of Natal will therefore most seriously suffer, embarrassing the colony for years. The effect on trade will be still more ruinous. Nearly all Natal merchants have extensive commercial interests in the Transvaal. It has been owing to this that most of them have hitherto been adverse to a reversal of the annexation, fearing its effect upon a somewhat artificial system of credit. Soon, however, owing to the very same cause, their feelings will turn just the other way about. The war, if prolonged, means to them certain insolvency, and to keep insolvency at arm's length they will lose no chance of declaring themselves in favour of Transvaal independence. A few persons, perhaps, will welcome the arrival of more reinforcements as affording an additional opportunity of plundering the Imperial Government. But the number of these persons will be restricted to the number of jobs to be done.

Take Griqualand West. Here, it may be granted, some sympathy may be felt with the Imperial Government in its conquest of the Transvaal. There are always at the Diamond Fields a number of ruffians and rowdies who have nothing to lose, and who may, besides their pay as irregulars, turn an honest penny by looting the cattle of a native chief, or plundering the farmhouse of a Transvaal Boer. Whether it will be thought desirable to enlist ruffians and rowdies into our service in this affair, is not a question which I can answer.

As for the Cape Colony, it is already plain enough which way things are turning. Meetings have been held in Dutch towns expressing sympathy with the Transvaal Boers. A more serious consideration is to be found in the position and views of the Government. Mr. Sprigg's Cabinet—the Cabinet that was called into existence to register the decrees of Sir Bartle Frere—is doomed. It was very nearly defeated on the Basuto disarmament question. How was it saved? By the votes of certain Dutch members who had been brought under special influences emanating from Government House. But, if the Transvaal question turns up—and it most certainly will turn up in some shape—in the next session of the Cape Parliament, these votes will be transferred to the other side. The Sprigg Ministry will go out of office, and will be succeeded by a ministry animated by the strongest Dutch sympathies, in which Mr. Hofmeyr, the editor of the *Zuid Afrikaan*, will be a prominent member—possibly Premier. This is the Ministry from which Lord Kimberley expects—and would undoubtedly obtain—support in the moderate settlement of the Basuto question. Did it ever occur to him that that Ministry will expect in return to be listened to on the Transvaal question?



What have we got, then, in the present and immediate future, as results of the Transvaal war? At the Cape, a Government and a population only not hostile when it is apathetic. In the Free State, a population joining, either with or in spite of the Government, in the struggle against us. In Natal, financial ruin, with discontent breaking out, in the more Dutch districts of the colony, into sparks of sedition. Only the Diamond Fields, with its ruffians and rowdies, in any degree loyal.

Is it, in the face of these facts, absurd to say that the question of the suppression of the Transvaal revolt involves also the larger question of South African independence? Let it be remembered that the Transvaal question has already exercised an important effect upon South African politics, and that the annexation has been the means of utterly defeating the Imperial schemes for Confederation. The present Ministry at Cape Town managed, as has been said, last year to defeat, by a small majority, a vote of censure on their Basuto policy. This was done by the aid of a few Dutch members, who had been detached from the main body of the Opposition. The proposal for a Confederation Conference, however, they were compelled, through fear of a defeat, to withdraw. The whole Dutch party, partly of their own motion, and partly through the influence of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, who visited Cape Town for the express purpose, were against Confederation to a man. The further result of this action of the Dutch party was that there was a decent excuse afforded for recalling Sir Bartle Frere, and putting an end to his control of South African affairs. Can it be believed that politics at Cape Town will be less sensitive to the more powerful influence of the Transvaal war?

What will be the nature of that influence? It is unpleasant to prophecy evil things; but the situation is serious, and the truth must be told. If the Imperial Government had been possessed with a deliberate intention of driving the whole of the Dutch population of South Africa into open rebellion, they could not have adopted any better means for that end than the course they have pursued. It has been said, and probably with truth, that the action of the Government in respect of the Irish Coercion Bill has made the existence of a Liberal party in Ireland an impossibility. It is still more true that the action taken in the Transvaal question has made it impossible for the Dutch population in South Africa to put faith henceforth in any Government that may hold office in England. The annexation of the Transvaal, they knew, took place under a Tory régime, and was but the expression of the old bad principles which have marked Toryism from its beginning as a distinct political creed. When Sir Bartle Frere declared to a deputation at Cape Town that, if the Transvaal Boers ventured to claim their independence, "soldiers must follow upon soldiers" till they

were effectually crushed, this expression of opinion, horrible and inhuman as it was, seemed still in keeping with the policy of the party then in power. The Boers waited, because they believed and hoped that Toryism would, before long, be discredited in England, and that a Ministry would come into office which would render them justice. They were not very intimately acquainted with English parliamentary history; but they knew enough to know that two men, whose names they honoured, must play an influential part in the councils of any Liberal Administration. Those men were Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright. It is a matter to which I can speak of my own knowledge, that the name of Bright has been regarded by the Boers of the Transvaal with something almost amounting to affection. It gave them, they thought, an assurance that there was at least one leading statesman in England who, if ever it lay in his power to do so, would take care that their grievances would be fairly considered, and that no attempt would be made to deprive them of their independence at the point of the bayonet. In Mr. Gladstone they saw—and the feeling is expressed not without eloquence in a letter addressed to the Prime Minister some nine months back by Messrs. Kruger and Joubert—the denouncer of Neapolitan despotism, the natural advocate of the rights of nationalities. That this view was shared by the better-informed Dutch residents in the Cape Colony is sufficiently proved by the address to Mr. Gladstone, signed by Dutch subjects of the Queen, which was forwarded to England about the time of the general election last year. The address, for some reason, seems never to have reached its destination; the letter was unfortunately met by a substantial refusal to grant the justice implored; and though the refusal was accompanied by some civil expressions of regard for the political rights of the Transvaal population, months and months went by without a single sign being made of any intention to rescue the Transvaal from the hands of the miserable clique by which it was misgoverned. And to-day, as if to cap the irony of the situation, it is the Government in which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright are prominent members that can do nothing better than echo Sir Bartle Frere's words, and send "soldiers upon soldiers" to deprive a brave and sorely-injured people of their independence. Can it be supposed, after this, that any Dutchman in South Africa will trust any Ministry in England?

But besides this general ground of discontent and anger, there are special grounds which will have even greater force. Misled though the Imperial Government has been from the first by its inefficient or intriguing agents in the Transvaal, every Dutchman in South Africa knew well that the Boers had but one mind, and that if a collision once occurred with the Imperial troops a war of independence was inevitable. Had Lord Kimberley wished to have his eyes opened to

the real truth of the case, the memorial that went home to Mr. Gladstone—and it certainly went home, whether it reached Mr. Gladstone or not—from the Dutch Burghers in the Cape Colony might surely have had some effect. He might, at least, have taken some pains to inquire whether the assurances received from Pretoria as to the attitude of the people were reliable or not. There was a direct conflict of statement and opinion upon a point involving most seriously the well-being and prosperity of several British colonies, and the presumption was surely, looking at the matter in a common-sense light, in favour of those who had lived in the country longest. According to Colonial Office views, however, the presumption is always in favour of the official, no matter how brief his experience or how great his proved incompetence. Sir Owen Lanyon, writing on the 19th November, complained of the want of “political sagacity” on the part of the Boers—of the absence of any “*vox populi*” which could be regarded as the “originally evolved opinion of the people.” A month later, Sir Owen Lanyon and his Government were shut up in Pretoria, whilst four thousand armed Boers held the road between Sir George Colley and himself. Even then Sir Owen Lanyon did not think the Boers would “hold together;” while Sir George Colley thought the force at his disposal, consisting of six companies of infantry, four guns, and sixty mounted men, besides a detachment of dragoons, sufficient to make everything secure. The report that four thousand men were in arms at so short a distance from the capital should, it might be thought, have had some weight with a statesman accustomed to habits of reflection. The opinion had, however, been stereotyped in the Colonial Office that “the Boers would not fight.” And if the Boers would not fight there was no reason to consider in any respect their grievances. Not one single word of instructions, therefore, did Lord Kimberley send to Sir George Colley, face to face though he was with what might have been easily guessed to be a general rising. It was left for Sir George Colley to act as he pleased, and to crush the rebellion, if he could, without regard to the complaints from which it sprung, without regard to the propositions put forward by the Boer Triumvirate. For all the instructions he received, Sir George Colley might have issued a proclamation declaring his intention to hang in chains any prisoner that might be taken. The only instruction Lord Kimberley sent was contained in a telegram dated 3rd January, in which he impressed upon Sir George Colley the necessity for taking the oath of allegiance as Governor the moment he entered Transvaal territory! Surely the force of red tape could go no further than this.

In justice to Lord Kimberley, it is true, one thing must be said. It was not until the end of December—a week after he had heard of the four thousand Boers at Heidelberg—that he had any notification

from an outside quarter of the serious aspect of affairs. This was not because no notification had been made, or because it was attempted to convey such notification through an improper or unofficial channel. Early in December Mr. Brand, the President of the Orange Free State, had telegraphed to Sir George Strahan, who was then administering the Government at Cape Town, in the following terms :—

“I read with very deep concern the account of the very serious aspect of affairs in the Transvaal. The gravity of the situation will, I hope, be accepted by your Excellency as an excuse for the liberty of asking your Excellency whether your Excellency will not devise some means by which a collision, which seems imminent, may be averted, a collision which will have the most disastrous results, and seriously imperil the *prestige* of the white man with the native tribes.”

Such a telegram as this, one would say, brought into view considerations of the very highest importance. Sir George Strahan, however, did not seem to think so. He wired back that, though always glad to exert himself in the cause of order, the Transvaal was out of his jurisdiction. All he could do was to forward President Brand's telegram to Sir George Colley. At the same time, however, thinking it a matter on which Lord Kimberley might possibly wish to be informed, he posted a copy of the telegram to England, where it arrived on the 30th December.

Sir George Strahan, however, had had another intimation of the serious aspect of affairs. On the 9th December a deputation of Dutch residents at The Paarl, a town some thirty miles from Cape Town, waited on him with copies of resolutions passed at a public meeting, expressing apprehension at the state of affairs in the Transvaal, and imploring the Administrator to ask the Imperial Government to prevent, by telegraph, a war in the Transvaal, and to settle the dispute by Royal Commission. Owing to the officious interference of Mr. Sprigg, the Cape Premier, the deputation experienced great difficulty in seeing the Administrator at all; and Sir George Strahan never—it will hardly be believed—thought it worth while to refer to the deputation even in a despatch, until, thirteen days later, he sent home a defence of his own action in the matter against comments which had appeared in one of the Dutch papers. As a matter of fact, therefore, Lord Kimberley never even heard of this deputation of the 9th December till the 20th January. This, however, though it matters a good deal so far as Sir George Strahan is concerned, matters little as far as Lord Kimberley is concerned. For, on the 29th December, Lord Kimberley heard by telegraph of the request made by a most influential deputation of members of the Cape Parliament that Sir Henry de Villiers, the Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, might be sent up to the Transvaal as a Commissioner to inquire into Boer grievances. To this request Lord Kimberley

made reply, on the 30th December, that the moment was "not opportune" for acting on the suggestion. What Lord Kimberley then thought of the situation is shown by his telegram of the 3rd January, instructing Sir George Colley to take the oath of allegiance as Governor as soon as he entered the Transvaal.

On the 10th January President Brand recommenced his efforts at mediation, telegraphing this time to the Free State Consul in London. Lord Kimberley was by this time more impressed with the seriousness of the situation, and empowered the Free State Consul to wire back that if the Boers desisted from armed opposition, her Majesty's Government did not despair of being able to make a satisfactory arrangement. President Brand thereupon, on the 11th January, wired again, as follows:—

"Give my thanks to Government for kind expression, and communicate to them that I think not a moment should be lost, and some one, say Chief Justice De Villiers of Cape Town, be sent to the Transvaal burghers by the Government with the view of stopping further collision, and with a clear and definite proposal for the settlement. Moments are precious. The allegations in proclamation issued by Paul Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert deserve to be investigated, as they maintain the collision was commenced by the authorities."

To this, on the 14th January, Lord Kimberley replied that if armed opposition ceased, her Majesty's Government would consider whether the difficulty could be settled by the appointment of a Commissioner. On the 16th the President again wired as follows:—

"The only way in which I believe further bloodshed and the great calamities to South Africa which I dread to contemplate can be prevented, is, in my opinion, that the British Government make a clear and distinct proposal to the Transvaal people without delay."

In answer to this urgent appeal Lord Kimberley contented himself with referring to his reply to the previous telegram.

On the arrival of Sir Hercules Robinson in Cape Town Mr. Brand made another attempt. Could not, he asked, this be made the occasion of a renewed attempt to prevent further bloodshed? Sir George Colley was then advancing from Newcastle, and another engagement seemed imminent. To Sir Hercules Robinson Lord Kimberley telegraphed back in terms somewhat more conciliatory than he had used before, specially authorising Mr. Brand to communicate the substance of his answer to the Transvaal Triumvirate. To Sir George Colley, however, no instructions were sent, nor any intimation of the negotiation in progress. On the 28th January the British troops attacked Laing's Nek, with results that are known.

All these things are clearly set forth in the recently-published Blue-books, copies of which have by this time reached Cape Town. The effect they will have will be to convince every Dutchman in South Africa that the Imperial Government has rejected every opportunity for a peaceable settlement of the difficulty, and has resolved that, come

what will, the Transvaal shall no longer exist as an independent State. The Dutch in the Free State will be driven into open hostility; the Dutch in the Cape Colony into a condition of exasperation. Even in the beginning of January the feeling on the subject was so strong in the western province of the Cape Colony that it was deemed unadvisable to march a column of British troops from Cape Town to Kimberley. Whether this state of exasperation would presently result in the Dutch population of the Cape Colony joining in the struggle against British rule, is a question to which it would be difficult to return an answer. Even without this, however, the state of things that would exist in Cape Town and the Cape Colony, with a Dutch population actively sympathizing with the Transvaal Boers and a Dutch Ministry in office, can be readily imagined. And this is the state of things that will have to be faced if the Government maintains its present attitude.

Is it possible to go on towards this inevitable result? Is it possible to go back and grant to the Transvaal Boers the very reasonable and moderate demands which they tabulated in December? Both courses are attended with the utmost difficulty. What would have met the conditions of the case three months ago will hardly meet them now, after blood has been shed and bitterness stirred up between Dutch and English all over South Africa. On the other hand, to go on is to court a general war for South African independence, which must, after fearful sufferings, result in a separation.

There is, however, a middle course, which is to take advantage of the situation to offer South Africa her independence on certain prescribed conditions, only retaining for ourselves a naval port at the Cape. The idea may seem startling, but it is not new, and the points of objection to such a course may be combated without much difficulty.

Why are we at the Cape at all? We seized the Cape for Imperial purposes, and the purpose for which we seized it—the protection of our commerce and of a still useful highway to India—still holds good. Having done so, it was necessary (as it may be granted for the sake of argument) to prevent other European Powers gaining a footing anywhere in the immediate neighbourhood. This reason lay, without doubt, below much of our treatment of the Dutch settlers. It certainly had something to do with the annexation of the Transvaal. If by any means, therefore, we can retain our hold on our naval station at the Cape, and leave all the rest of South Africa to take care of itself with some reasonable prospect of success, we shall be at once ridding ourselves of a most troublesome burden, and retaining in South Africa the footing for the sake of which we seized Cape Town at the beginning of the present century. In other words, what has to be done is to set the whole of South Africa free of the

British flag, only retaining for ourselves, by treaty, the few square miles necessary for the existence of our naval port at Simon's Bay.

How would this affect other ends which we deem desirable for South Africa? We desire that South Africa should be strengthened by a union of its several States and provinces: we desire that it should be self-governing and self-defending; we desire that native rights should be duly protected. These ends Lord Carnarvon had in view when he framed his unlucky Confederation scheme. They can all be much more simply and more quickly arrived at by granting South Africa her independence. That self-government and self-defence against internal attack will be attained is obvious. That union under a common Government would also result, seems in the highest degree probable. Once let the English flag disappear and the ties of kinship between the Dutch settlers in every part of South Africa would draw them together to make a single mass. The movement, taking place spontaneously, could not but have its effect upon settlers of other nationalities, who would themselves naturally combine for the purpose of counterbalancing the political influence of the Dutch party. As to the prospect of leaving the native question in a safe position, a word or two must be said later on.

The next question that arises is, how would South Africans regard the prospect of a separation from England? The Orange Free State is, as we know, already independent; the Transvaal is fighting to become so. In the Cape Colony (with which the Diamond Fields are now incorporated) the Dutch population would hail the prospect with delight; the English population generally with relief. Every South African knows that the Imperial flag is of no advantage to him, that he derives no practical benefit from it whatever. It does not enable him to find any better market for his wares, but, on the other hand, it is continually interfering with his interests. Only a very few weeks ago the public had before them the picture of British-born colonists proclaiming that they would have help in their struggles from anywhere rather than from England. The Imperial Government is to them a power which, having granted them full political liberty in a hurry, may some day want to withdraw that liberty or at least seriously to curtail it. And anything that would offer a guarantee against such a possibility would be welcomed with avidity.

In Natal—which is placed in the somewhat anomalous position of being a Crown colony with an elected Legislature—the feeling would be found very much the same. The Dutch population would rejoice to be independent; the English population would not grumble. The truth is, the petty annoyances practised on the colony by the Colonial Office have gone far to exhaust the patience of even the most loyal Englishman in Natal. Matters of local concern

are dealt with in an abrupt and peremptory manner. One year the colonists are blamed for the state of their gaols, their bridges, their roads. The next year they are abused even worse for venturing to raise a loan for expenditure on these very works. Every order for everything necessary for the public service has to come through the Crown agents for the colonies in England, who attend to the order or not as it pleases them. Not very long ago, in view of the opening of the railway from Durban to Maritzburg, the Colonial Government sent home an order for some more locomotives, without which the railway could not be worked. The Colonial Office refused to sanction the order, imposing upon the colony, through delay in opening the line, the burden of several thousands of pounds more as interest on a loan raised for railway purposes. "We are not," has been the cry of Natal colonists from year to year, "we are not even allowed to spend our own money as we please." It was largely on such grounds as these that the Natal colonists sent home some twelve months ago a petition praying for the establishment of responsible Government.

If, then, no objection were felt in England to taking this course, no grave objection would be raised in South Africa. The native question has now to be considered. It is important, for there can be no doubt that the chief obstacle to granting independence to South Africa would be the interest felt in England in this question.

There are two distinct problems included under this native question. First—Can the colonists defend themselves against native attack? Next—Will they deal fairly by the natives in matters of land and legislation? To the first question a most unhesitating affirmative may be returned. I do not say that the colonists, if left to themselves, would be necessarily successful in wars of aggression. They have not, for example, as yet succeeded in making much impression on Basutoland. But that they could protect their boundaries from native inroad must be regarded as beyond doubt. The Transvaal Boers, though they failed to reduce Sekukuni's stronghold in the war of 1876, effectually prevented any inroad by natives into territory in European occupation. The chief centres of danger are in Zululand and Basutoland. Now no one who pays regard to the forces which the Transvaal Boers have now in the field can doubt that they would have made but short work of a Zulu invasion. Further, there can be as little doubt that, had the Free State been able and willing to co-operate with the Cape Government against the Basutos, the Basuto war would have assumed a very different appearance. With regard to the treatment accorded by colonists to natives, the fact must be recognised that to grant complete independence would make very little difference indeed. The Free State even now does what it pleases in respect of native affairs. The Transvaal offers at least to arrive



at an understanding with the Imperial Government on the subject. The Cape Colony has been told, in terms that will never be forgotten and which cannot be recalled, that native affairs are under their sole control. This is the more remarkable because, in 1877, several members of the present Government, and especially Mr. Forster, expended some eloquence in support of a clause in Lord Carnarvon's South Africa Act, by which legislation affecting native questions was specially reserved for the consideration of the Crown. By the recent action of the present Government, however, the principle expressed by that clause has been abandoned, and any attempts to reassert it, after what has passed, will certainly be met by resistance from all classes of Cape politicians.

Only Natal, then, remains to be considered in respect of the native question. Now in Natal the native question presents a very peculiar aspect, which ought to be thoroughly understood. To Natal the argument often used about the hunger of colonists after native lands will not apply. The natives are there for the most part the interlopers, and not the colonists. When some five and forty years ago the country was ceded by the Zulu chief Dingaan to the Dutch emigrant farmers, it was almost desolate. It had been swept clear by the Zulu armies under Chaka, and its original inhabitants either destroyed or driven far westward into what is now British Kaffraria. Some native population there was, undoubtedly, remaining in odd corners; but otherwise, when the Zulus retired, the country was clear. Who, then, are the native population of Natal? They are Zulu refugees, admitted into the colony on sufferance, and allowed to occupy certain tracts of land set apart as "locations." This was Sir Theophilus Shepstone's system—a system well enough, perhaps, as a makeshift for a time, but already developing disagreeable moral and political results. The native population, living in complete idleness, have increased and multiplied till, in their own estimation, the locations they occupy have become too small for them. They squat here and there, sometimes on private farms, where they pay, and can afford to pay, a high rent for the privilege—the Natal Land and Colonisation Company receives a large portion of its revenues in the shape of rents from Kafir huts—sometimes on Crown lands, where, owing to the apathy of the Government, they pay nothing at all. They perfectly understand their own position as dependents on the good-will of the Government, and are keen enough to make the most of the willingness of the Government to favour them. But that grievous injury is done to the prospects of the colony by this means, and grievous injustice often enough done to the interests of colonists, there can be no doubt. As to the effect of the system upon the natives themselves, it may be summed up in one word. It discourages many of their natural virtues, and

encourages most of their natural vices. Good-natured, lazy, and sensual, their chief desires in life are to amass cattle, increase their harems, and to booze away their days in front of their kraals. That they are keen lawyers and politicians, they show often enough when they come before the established courts, or engage in conversation with any Englishman in whom they have confidence. Their commercial instinct, when they take the trouble to exercise it, is not less marked. That they are capable of a very high degree of civilisation is abundantly proved by what, in one or two localities, has been done in this way already. But in the meantime they present a picture which is anything but edifying. Their customs in some respects are unmentionable; yet many of these customs have been recognised by the existing Government and given the sanction of law. Incredible as it may seem, British magistrates in Natal are not unfrequently called upon to deal with disputes involving the consideration of the price that ought to be paid for a wife, while in one case within my own knowledge the only assets in the estate of a native insolvent consisted of the prospective marriageable value, by sale, of some of his grandchildren.

It will thus be seen that, in respect of Natal, the native question presents none of those aspects which are most likely to awaken humanitarian sympathies. In Natal we have not an aboriginal population living in pristine innocence upon their native soil, but a refugee population, living in protected viciousness, upon soil lawfully transferred—the particulars of the cession are well known—to Europeans by its native conquerors. And whatever the intrinsic difficulties and delicacy of the Natal native question, there is nothing in it whatever to excite sensitiveness in England on the question of leaving the native population free from the protection of the Crown. The protection of the Crown, as interpreted under Sir Theophilus Shepstone, has been anything but a benefit to them. The imposition of a tax on Kafirs “squatting” on the Crown lands—a measure insisted on by the colonists year after year—would possibly, if put in force from the first, have brought the matter to its natural solution. It might go a long way towards solving the difficulty even now, and the natives, though grumbling, would recognise its justice. They would either come into the towns and on to the farms and work for their living—there is always plenty of work to be had—or they would migrate back into Zululand. The great difficulty that has always been said to stand in the way of the settlement of the native question in Natal is the tribal power of the chiefs. But the truth is that in this power lies the surest means of dealing with the question.

F. REGINALD STATHAM.

## NOTES OF TRAVEL IN THESSALY AND EPIRUS.

### THE VALE OF TEMPE.

TCHAI-AGHAZY, *October 23, 1890.*

My pleasantest recollection of Larissa will be the moment when, halting two miles outside the town on one of the tumular mounds studded about the plain, I turned to cast a farewell glance on the yellow patch of mud houses and mud streets, half-veiled in the silver mist of malaria, which marked the capital of Thessaly. My course lay north-east across the plain towards the gorge where the Peneius, with an energy long since lost to its lazy waters, erst forced its passage to the sea between Ossa and Olympus. For to leave Thessaly without performing a pilgrimage to the Vale of Tempe would be a sin which not even the terrors of brigandage could excuse. After three hours' riding across the flat, the monotony of which is more than redeemed by the glorious prospect of the mountains clothed with the early lights of morning, the plain is broken by projecting spurs thrown out from the lofty slopes of Ossa. The Peneius disappears amid clumps of spreading plane-trees and silver willow, brawling streams come tumbling merrily down from the hills, the fields are fringed with hedges of blackberry and yellow thorn, and presently a tapering minaret, rising out of a dark grove of cypress-trees, marks the Turkish village of Baba, which lies at the western entrance to the gorge. Baba owes its name to a famous dervish, Baba Osman, who came into the country with the first Musulman conquerors, and selected this favoured spot to found a *tekke*, or monastery. When Baba Osman died, wonderful miracles were wrought at his tomb: sultans endowed his *tekke*, and the dervishes of Baba became a power in the land. But now its prosperity has long been on the wane, though pious Moslems still journey from afar to the holy shrine, and the Christian peasants of the neighbourhood still hang their votive rags to its venerable cypress-trees, whether to conjure the evil one or to propitiate Baba Osman's spirit, I was unable to discover. I had scarcely installed myself for my midday's rest in the quaint old graveyard which adjoins the *tekke*, when the old dervish who is now the sole inmate of the monastery sallied out to greet me. Now there are dervishes and dervishes. If in some of them the worst form of Musulman fanaticism seems made incarnate, there are many of a more liberal, because perhaps more sceptical, school, who have tempered the harsh exclusive dogmatism of Shiite orthodoxy with the milder inspirations of

Buddhistic pantheism. When the grey-bearded patriarch of Baba spread out his hands as in prayer upon the stranger and gave him, a Christian, the welcome peculiar to the true believer, "El salaam aleikoum," I knew that I had no fanatic to deal with. After the ordinary expressions of welcome and frugal show of hospitality, he insisted upon taking me himself round the *tekke* and into the small mosque where his first ancestors were buried. For dervishhood runs in families, and the eldest son of a dervish is invariably brought up to the same vocation. In the largest of the tombs, covered with a broad green mantle, rests the founder of the *tekke*, and to the wall are suspended his sword and his Koran. Many were the tales he told me of the wonders they had worked, but he added, naïvely enough, "God has now withdrawn his strength from them, and now I am told I shall have to take them down from yonder wall, where they have so long hung, an object of veneration throughout the land, and wander forth with them in my old age to the far country whence we came." And when I asked him why he could not remain and finish his days in peace under Christian rule, he added, "To me all men are sons of God, but Baba Osman (the mercy of God be upon him) lived in other days, and his sword is still red with the Ghiaours' blood. It would not be well that it should fall into their hands."

From Baba the direct road through the Vale of Tempe runs almost alongside the Peneius (which the Greeks now call the Salemyria and the Turks the Gostem); but the more interesting route runs up between terraced vineyards to a lofty plateau, where Ambelakia lies buried in a perfect bower of verdure. More than four hundred houses, many of them of stately construction, nestling amid groves of chestnuts and of plane-trees, still bear witness to its former prosperity, but two-thirds of them at least are now untenanted and fast falling into ruins. The twenty-four manufactories which at one time supplied the markets of Eastern Europe with famous cotton yarns dyed with the rich red madder from Asia Minor stand desolate and silent; the long caravans which used every year to convey some 5,000 hundredweight of yarn overland to Pesth and Belgrade have long since disappeared from its deserted streets; the high school, which once rivalled the best Greek colleges of Smyrna and Constantinople, has dwindled down to a mere village class-room where peasant children painfully spell out their A B C; the library, which ranked with those of the Holy Mountain, has been scattered to the four winds. English spinning jennies first shook the commercial supremacy of Ambelakia, the Turkish soldiery completed its ruin during the Greek War of Independence. From this melancholy abode of decayed prosperity another steep path leads down again into the valley. The gorge rapidly narrows. Olympus on one side, Ossa on the other, throw out their gigantic buttresses almost down to the

water's edge, scarcely leaving room for the fringe of oleander and plane-trees intermingled with the darker green of olive and of oak, and the laurel sacred to Apollo, which overhang the placid waters of the Peneius. The ruined walls of an ancient castle rise to the left of the path, and far above, on a bold and lofty crag, a single arch stands out in sharp relief against the dark blue sky. It is still called the Beauty's Tower, and a legend tells how a local syren, an Eastern Marguerite de Valois, used to cast the paramours whom she seduced into her stronghold down the precipice into the stream below. Here and there traces are visible of the Roman road which connected the plain of Thessaly with Thessalonica, and at one point a Latin inscription on a rock tablet records the fact that the Proconsul Lucius Cassius Longinus fortified Tempe. Of late the Turks have turned their attention to this road and repaired it with unwonted care—perhaps in view of a future retreat of their army along this route to Macedonia. The scenery presents that combination of the beautiful and the grand by which nature in her gentler moods tempers her awful majesty. The valley is a wild garden of broad-spreading trees and flowering bushes, *Tempe, quæ silvæ cingunt superinpendentes*, while lofty cliffs of grey limestone, made bright with patches of red and yellow lichens, and luxuriant vegetation growing out from every nook and cranny, tower above it to the right and to the left, now rising in one sheer unbroken wall, now broken up into a thousand fantastic pinnacles and buttresses. For about an hour and a half from Baba the road winds through the gorge, and then suddenly the valley expands. Olympus and Ossa fall away on either side in gentler slopes, and the Peneius rolls onward to the Aegean across a broad flat plain, where the yellow maize is still waiting for the reaper. The traveller to Salonica crosses the stream by a ferry near a ruined bridge, but our path keeps along the foot of the southern hills and between clumps of magnificent plane-trees and green ilex overgrown with a thousand creepers, which brings us in two hours to Tchai-Aghazy. It is a pretty little open roadstead which does a good deal of trade, and a good deal more smuggling, with small Greek craft from Salonica and the ports of Greece. Much of the produce of Northern Thessaly finds its outlet here, and the village, which is purely Greek, is prosperous. The Turkish Government has of late cherished the hope that if Larissa were left to Turkey, Tchai-Aghazy might be made to rival Volo. But were even Northern Thessaly to remain under Ottoman rule, Tchai-Aghazy could never be converted into a first-class port without an enormous outlay. Sheltered though it is from the south and south-east winds by a spur of Mount Ossa, it is open to the north-east gales which in winter sweep across the gulf from Salonica. The beach is shallow and anchorage is bad. Only two years ago a Turkish gunboat was driven on shore near here and went

to pieces. Two small Greek coasting barques, that certainly do not run over fifty tons, are lying at the present moment fully half a mile from the shore. However, a ridge of rocks and the remains of an ancient mole run out in a north-easterly direction, and a good breakwater might no doubt be built there at no great expense, and ensure a fair amount of safety to moderate-sized vessels. But should Thessaly ever enjoy its proper share of material prosperity and development, the future of Tehai-Aghazy as a summer resort and watering-place should be assured of success. A more lovely position can scarcely be imagined. Lying amid shady groves of trees under the forest-girt slopes of Ossa, which shelter it from the ardour of the south, it catches the fresh breezes across the gulf. As I stood on the beach this evening the sun had already sunk behind the massive chain of Mount Olympus, and its eastern slopes were clothed in the purple mists of evening; but its majestic domes were still bathed in sunlight; the glory of the heavens was reflected on the glassy waters of the gulf; to the north the faint outline of Mount Khortiatzi marked the bay where Salonica lies; and far away to the east the cone of Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain, strangely luminous and transparent, rose like a fairy vision out of the bosom of the Ægean Sea.

#### ACROSS THE PLAIN OF THESSALY.

TRIKALIA, *October 25, 1880.*

In a country where his time is limited, one generally grudges having to retrace his steps along the same road. But the Vale of Tempe is too beautiful to allow of such regrets. The next day, on my way back, its grandeur revealed itself in a new shape. Storm-clouds had gathered about the mountains, the summits of the cliffs were lost amid dark lowering nimbi, and the voice of the thunder god was heard muttering on Olympus. But the sun ever shines at Baba, and on issuing from the defile all was placid and serene. From Baba a road crosses the Salemyria and leads along the northern edge of the great plain of Thessaly to the large wine-growing village of Tirnowa. This is the district of Thessaly which was first occupied by Musulman immigrants. For, before the conquest of the country by the Turks, the Greeks of Larissa applied to a Musulman chieftian to protect them against the predatory incursions of the Bulgars, and in response to their invitation 5,000 families from Asia Minor settled in the valley of Vereli at the mouth of the gorgo of Tempe and along the southern spurs of Mount Olympus, and thus formed a barrier against the northern invaders. In about three hours Tirnowa is reached, a large straggling village, or rather town, of about 6,000 inhabitants, through which I had already passed on my way to Monastir. It lies pleasantly enough amid vineyards

watered by the Europus, and its mixed population of Greeks, Wallachs, and Turks are unusually prosperous. For besides its extensive wine trade, Tirnowa is one of the few places in the province which can still boast a native industry; its cotton prints and woollen tissues are to be seen in almost every homestead of Thessaly. From Tirnowa the road to Trikala crosses the Europus and reaches the Salemyria near some ruins which are supposed to mark the site of the ancient Larissa. The modern town lies about six miles further down the stream. Hence to Trikala is a wearisome thirty miles' ride across the plain. At this season of the year, after the harvest has been gathered, the landscape is brown and bleak. The villages are squalid and ill-favoured. The houses are mere hovels built of mud, often without even a tree to redeem their gracelessness. Yet if you go inside them you will find a measure of comfort which many an Irish peasant might well envy. There are bright pots and pans displayed along the whitewashed wall, a good rush matting on the mud floor; the wooden divan which lines one side of the room is covered with a gay bit of Klassona carpet or Tirnowa print; in that further recess the mattresses and coverlets which constitute an Eastern bed are carefully stowed away against the night; and in the corner, where a smoky lamp is burning beneath the family Icon, a baby wrapped in the tightest of swaddling clothes lies peacefully asleep in a wooden cradle of many colours. The chiftlik of the Turkish Bey to whom the village belongs, though he may perhaps count his income by thousands, does not boast much greater luxury. True a rickety wooden staircase leads up to a second floor, while the peasants' houses seldom possess an upper storey; his divan is covered with a tenth-rate Manchester print instead of the more solid tissue of the country, and a clock which has long ceased to go or a vase of paper flowers shows the pretensions of the master; and there he lives among the peasants, whenever his presence is required on his estates, sharing their frugal fare and boorish ways. At this hour the village is deserted save for a few urchins playing about the well, and a few old grandmothers spinning or dozing in the doorways. All that can toil have long since turned out abroad, some to plough the fields, some to the threshing-floors where the golden corn cobs of the Indian maize are waiting to be picked and sorted, others to the vineyards where the grape is just ripe and ready for the vintage. But we shall meet them further on along the road—men in fustanellas and leggings and thick cloaks of coarse grey homespun, women in dark blue serge petticoats and braided boddices fastened high up round the waist with big silver clasps, children in fragmentary nondescript garments, yet warm and comfortable withal, and every one well socked and shod, which is always in the East a sign of comparative affluence. A large herd of buffaloes, useful if

ungainly animals, are wallowing in a marshy pool by the roadside to rid themselves of the flies, one of the chief plagues of Thessaly. Heavy waggons full of grain for Larissa, and curious barrel-shaped carts laden with grapes and drawn by sleek grey oxen, creak slowly along on ponderous wheels hewn out of the solid oak. Though the race of horses and of horsemen, which once made Thessaly famous as the home of the Centaur, has long since died out, there is still many a useful bit of imported horseflesh to be seen about the country. Yet with all these indications of material prosperity, it is painfully easy to see the moral havoc wrought by centuries of ignorance and bondage. The men are either cringing or surly; they are little better than serfs attached to the soil they till—for among the peasantry of the plain there are scarcely any who own the land upon which they live—and their bearing is that of serfs. No trace do they show of the manly spirit which marks the Greek or Wallach mountaineer; for wealthier though they may be, they can never call their wealth their own. The women, prematurely worn by hardships and exposure, have a hard degraded look; even here among Christians they are treated like mere beasts of burthen. Often have I seen them tramp along the road bent double under a heavy load, while husband or brother slouches along empty in front of them, or sits dangling his legs from the side of a waggon.

Misgovernment, indolence, and ignorance have not only cast their blight upon man, they have even marred the generosity of nature. A province which might easily maintain a million souls scarcely suffices to provide for 350,000 inhabitants. Owing to the enormous size of many of the estates, fifty, sixty, eighty thousand acres being often held in one hand, the landowners seldom feel the need of bringing the whole of their property under cultivation; and as the soil is light and no artificial means are used to stimulate its productiveness, land is often allowed to lie fallow for two or three years at a time. Moreover, the amount of pasture land is out of all proportion to the grain-producing area. Thus it happens that of this rich plain of Thessaly not more than one-fourth or fifth is actually under cultivation. Yet in good years Thessaly has yielded 1,000,000 *Stamboul kilchs* of barley (the *Stamboul kilch* is rather less than half a hundredweight), 1,800,000 *kilchs* of wheat, 1,200,000 *kilchs* of Indian corn, 3,000,000 lbs. of tobacco, besides other smaller crops of rye, oats, beans, millet, &c.; and even these figures multiplied by four or five would be far from reaching the possible yield of this enormous garden, were as much ingenuity applied to the development of its resources as the Turkish Government display to paralyse them.

But statistics and considerations on the wealth and possible yield of brown fields and fallow land do not suffice to relieve the monotony



of a six hours' ride across the plain when a grey sky encompasses the landscape on all sides, and impresses it with its uniform dulness. Right welcome, therefore, was the view when, towards evening, the sun just sinking behind the Pindus broke through the clouds and lit up with its last rays the minarets and ancient stronghold of Trikala. Trikala, "the thrice-lovely," does not perhaps quite deserve so ambitious an appellation, but its position is certainly picturesque. Its straggling houses interspersed with trees spread up the slopes of an isolated hill at the end of a long low ridge which the Kambunian chain throws out into the plain of Thessaly; and, rising above the town, an old mediæval fortress, still jealously held by a Turkish garrison, forms an ornamental, if no longer useful, feature in the landscape. A quaint square clock tower bears witness to the rule of Latin princes in the land, and like all similar constructions is popularly ascribed to the Genoese, but it has long since been taught by the conqueror to toll out the hours *à la Turque*. Trikala is a sleepy town of about 8,000 inhabitants, mostly Greeks and Wallachs, with a few wealthy Moslem families and a small colony of Jews. Its position is naturally strong and of considerable strategic importance, as it commands the débouché from Epirus down the upper valley of the Salemyria. In Hellenic times Tricca was a famous seat of learning, sacred to Æsculapius, and its medical university was the resort of aspiring M.D.'s from all parts of Hellas. But nowadays all that is forgotten, and the Trikaliotes are reputed for anything but intelligence or instruction. Greek schools are doing something towards rousing them from their comas, but the intellectual standard is still very low even for Thessaly. Mine host is a rich landowner and merchant, the first Greek notable of the town, and his income, he informs me, not without pride, exceeds £3,000 in good years; but wealthy and worthy as he may be, his mind appears as scantily furnished as his wardrobe. His political opinions, if simple, are, however, at least robust and commendable: "Confusion to the Turks, and long life to Gladstone, only it's a pity that he should have been born a Bulgar!"

#### IN THE HEART OF THE PINDUS.

Metzovo, October 28, 1880.

On the evening before I left Trikala, the Turkish Governor insisted that I should swell my escort, which had hitherto consisted of ten suwaris or cavalrists, by taking with me a small detachment of foot soldiers. Now a numerous escort adds no doubt to one's importance and to the picturesqueness of one's cavalcade, but it is also apt to impede one's progress, and materially increases the expenses of a journey, and I strongly resisted, though in vain, the favour

thrust upon me. But the first piece of news I heard in the morning was well calculated to dispel any lingering hesitation. It was supposed that, thanks to the energetic measures of the present Muahir, brigandage had been well-nigh stamped out of the plains of Thessaly, and in truth there had been of late but few cases of highway violence in the province, and those only in the mountain districts. Anyhow the brigands were out again, and no mistake about it. On the preceding Tuesday they had seized, near Armyro, two Musulman farmers and a petty Government official, and on the following Thursday they had waylaid a wealthy Turkish gentleman, Arif Bey, the President of the Municipal Council of Salonica, who was on his way to visit his farm at Velestin, on the high road between Larissa and Volo, and after killing two of his escort they had carried him off to the mountains and demanded 9,000 liras ransom. After this piece of intelligence, when my escort arrived, I counted the thirty men, cavalry and infantry, and found them not one too many.

From Trikala the valley of the Salomvria makes a sharp bend to the north-west, the stream descending from its mountain home in the Pindus between the precipitous slopes of Mount Kotsiaka (the Eastern Pindus) and the low spurs of the Kambouni, at the extremity of which lies Trikala. To the south the Agrapha, or Mountains of the Unwritten Villages, so called from the privileges granted by the Ottoman sultans to their free Wallach populations, stretch far away into the kingdom of Greece, a mass of peaks and crests of exquisitely varied forms. But the ridge which rises to our left is a lofty unbroken cliff, averaging 4,000 to 5,000 feet in height, a gigantic natural wall twenty miles in length dividing Epirus off from Thessaly. Opposite to the northern extremity of this wall, on the left bank of the Salomvria, rise the strange columnar rocks upon which are perched the famous aerial monasteries of Meteora. Seldom does nature show herself more lavish of rich colours and fantastic shapes. Masses of conglomerate, cleft asunder by some primordial cataclysm, have been chiselled by the hand of time into the strangest forms of columns, pinnacles, pilasters, bastions, towering above the valley. The deep ravines which intersect them are clothed with the most luxurious vegetation, while rain and sunshine have painted their grey cliffs with rich streaks of yellow, brown, and madder red. The ascetic fervour of the early Christian ages scaled these inaccessible heights, but many centuries elapsed before the monasteries now perched aloft were built. The first hermits of the Meteora doubtless dwelt in the rock caves which still honeycomb its rocks. It was only in the fourteenth century, at the time when the Servian so-called Paleologos Simeon Orosch reigned in Thessaly and Southern Albania (1367), that the Monk Nilos obtained permission from Bessarion, Bishop of Stagus, to found

four churches on the rocks of the Meteora, and thus laid the foundation of the monkish republic which emperors afterwards endowed and visited. Since then the Meteora rocks never ceased to be a favourite retreat of Eastern monks, until the confiscation of their property in Wallachia of late precipitated their decay. To-day many of these holy dwellings are tenantless, while others are only occupied by two or three inmates. Altogether there are only seven monasteries now inhabited out of twenty-four; and the pious colony which used to number from 500 to 600 has dwindled down to twenty-one. No new recruit has arrived at Meteora within the last twenty years, and when the present generation has died out the traveller will be condemned to stand at the foot of the rocks and look up from afar with vainly curious eyes at these strange monuments of a time-expired piety; for the secret or the courage which enabled the pioneers of Christian asceticism to scale those walls has long been lost. Nowadays the monks, true fishers of men, let down a net from their lofty perch, and by means of a rope and windlass haul the visitor up to their quaint mid-air abodes. The Monastery of St. Stephen and one or two smaller ones are alone approached by a drawbridge thrown over a deep cleft in the rocks. As my time was limited. I was only able to visit one of the monasteries, and my choice fell upon that which is called *par excellence* the Great Monastery of Meteora. Although second in size to St. Stephen's, it boasts the finest church and a rich treasure of ancient books and manuscripts. The clatter of our horses' hoofs up the ravine over which it towers brought one of the monks to the overhanging balcony which forms the only entrance to the monastery. It is not every comer who is admitted to these aeries, especially in the present troublous times, for they have been for centuries the savings-banks of the peasantry of Thessaly, who entrust their hoards to the safe keeping of these monkish strongholds. In reply to our shouts for admission a small net was lowered, into which I put the letters of recommendation which I had obtained from the Metropolitan of Larissa. Their contents having been found satisfactory, a servant was lowered in the larger net, which is used for living freight; and having taken his place, I presently found myself hoisted in mid-air, cramped up in the meshes of the net and feeling altogether uncomfortably helpless. Three mortal minutes does this aerial journey last; and it was with a sense of pleasurable relief that I felt the net being caught by a long hooked pole and dragged on to *terra firma*. I was speedily released from my cage, and right hearty was the welcome which the old monks gave me. The monastery is composed of several rickety, rambling wooden buildings, built, however, on solid foundations of stone. In the centre rises the church, a small but handsome Byzantine structure, the inner walls still rich with

ancient frescoes. But the rows of carved wood stalls are nowadays scantily tenanted. There are only four occupants left in the monastery which once counted over a hundred inmates. In olden days every monk was taught a trade, so that the monastery was able to supply all its own wants. But the workshops are now empty. The library, with its fine collection of parchments and vellum-bound volumes, is deserted, and the dust is allowed to accumulate undisturbed on its shelves. The youngest of the four monks is over sixty, and when the last one dies the solitary servant of the monastery will climb down the face of the cliff on the giddy ladder which forms the only other means of communication with the world below, and the great Monastery of Meteora will be abandoned to the havoc of the elements, until there remain of it but a name, *ut pueris declamatio fiat*. Again I ensconced myself in my cage and was pushed into space. The descent was certainly more rapid and pleasant than the ascent; and after waving a farewell to the good monks, who were watching me from their weird abode, 280 feet above the ravine, we returned for the night to Kalabaka, a large village which lies at the foot of the Meteora group of rocks.

Thence it is a long and hard day's journey to Metzovo. The first part of the route lies up the valley of the Salemyria, between shady groves of plane and maple trees, of which I have never seen more magnificent specimens than in Thessaly. On either side the hills are clothed with timber, while here and there Wallach villages peep out of the dense foliage. But brigandage desolates this fair country. Two villages under which we passed had been within the last ten days sacked and partly burnt by bands of dastardly marauders. On the way we meet numerous bodies of the unfortunate peasantry abandoning their homes and flying for safety to the plains, further on the Wallachs driving their herds and flocks down to their winter quarters in the lowlands—picturesque caravans of men, women, and children, and beasts of every kind, their small household goods packed on nimble ponies, with here and there a baby's head peeping out of a heap of wraps and blankets. A different type, too, from the Wallachs whom I had seen about Olympus—smaller, darker, and better-featured, far more nearly approaching the Greek type than the so-called Greek populations of the plain. Five hours from Kalabaka, the Salemyria, which is no longer the placid, lazy stream of the plains, divides into three branches. Our route lies up the central valley, past the military post of Kalamash. The ascent becomes steep and rugged, the character of the vegetation changes; we leave the oak, the plane, the maple beneath us, and pass into dense forests of pine and naked beech-trees, through which the cold mountain wind whistles and moans. As we rise the view expands; beyond the lower heights

of the Eastern Pindus the plains of Thessaly reach away to the long low ridge of Pelion and the pointed peak of Ossa. A dark depression marks the Vale of Tempo, and over it tower the snow-capped domes of Olympus, while to the north behind the Kambouni chain the mountains of Macedonia rise in jumbled masses fading away into blue space. A little higher still and everything is enveloped in rolling masses of grey mist; and in another hour, four hours from Kalamash, we stand on the watershed of Epirus and Thessaly, on the summit of the Zygos, a pass which culminates in bare rocks forming a majestic gateway between the two provinces, 5,640 feet above the sea. Heavy rains have fallen, and the rushing of many waters is heard on all sides, for this is the home of many mighty streams. From these heights the Arathus runs down to the Gulf of Arta, the Achelous, or Aspropotamos, flows across the Greek frontier to the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, the Venetikos goes to swell the waters of the Vistritza, and the Salemyria descends to fertilise the lowlands of Thessaly. Dark clouds hang about the mountains of Epirus and shut in the view; but beneath us we look down into the deep valley of the Arta Metzoviticos. The sides of the mountains are bare and black; the path, which is called a road, leads downwards in sharp zigzags, torn here and there by landslips and by foaming torrents; thunder and flashes of forked lightning harmonise with the wild grandeur of the scene. Over on the opposite side of the valley Metzovo hangs on to the precipitous rocks. It seems but a stone's throw to its dark grey houses, yet after two hours' toilsome descent we find ourselves only at the bridge which spans a northern branch of the Arta. Night has already closed in upon us, dark and gloomy, and we still have to climb up the other side of the ravine, picking our way among the rocks, the horses stumbling, the escort cursing, until at last, after twelve hours' travelling, we reach the welcome shelter of the *Han* of Metzovo. A hostelry in Turkey consists only of a roof and a floor, already tenanted perhaps by unwelcome guests; but it affords food and rest, and neither men nor horses are inclined to cavil at the quarters which supply these two desiderata.

#### AMONG THE WALLACHS.

Metzovo, October 28th, 1880.

It is almost a miracle how Metzovo holds on to the precipice against which it is built. Its square greystone houses rise tier upon tier clinging as best they may to the rocks upon which they are perched, above them a mountain wall 2,000 feet high, beneath them a deep precipice falling away into the ravine, where, 1,000 feet below, three brawling torrents join to form the Arta Metzoviticos. On the opposite side of the gorge a cluster of houses under the

shadow of towering cliffs form the suburb where the sun never shines, Metzovo Anhelion. The position of Metzovo must have been at all times one of surpassing strategical importance, commanding as it does the only practicable pass between Thessaly and Epirus, and it is probably to this cause that the very existence of the town amid such inhospitable precipices is due. The picturesque battlements of the castle which still overshadow its houses no doubt mark the site of a far more ancient citadel. The inaccessible fastnesses of the Pindus seem to have been the chief refuge of the Wallachs in the evil days which have befallen their race. Seven centuries have passed since the Wallachs, united with the Bulgars, carried terror to the very gates of Constantinople, and wrested the acknowledgment of their virtual independence from the Byzantine Emperors. The Musulman invasion, which swamped for a time all the varied populations of this peninsula, drove the Wallachs into the mountain ranges which separate Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia. But there they have lived, a compact population with their own tongue and their own traditions, treasuring up the past until the great hour of awakening has rung for each and all of the subject races of Turkey. No one who carries his eye along the map from Kalarrytæ to Metzovo and Samarina in the Pindus, down the Macedonian slopes of the Kambouni to Grevena, Kosana, and Servicen, and across the confines of Thessaly to Wlacholivada and Elassona under the brow of Mount Olympus, can suppose that a hardy and intelligent race holding such commanding positions can fail to make its weight felt in the settlement of the destinies of these countries. And those are only the bulwarks of the Wallach race; they have their outposts in all the neighbouring towns of the three provinces, and every winter when the snow lies deep on their mountain homes they sweep down upon the plains, dotting them about with tents and sheds, and covering the pasture lands with herds and flocks innumerable. Adventurous and enterprising, they present a rare combination of pastoral virtues and commercial instinct with a contemptuous repugnance for all agricultural pursuits. Almost the whole pastoral wealth of the country is in their hands; among the Albanians they are known only as the "Tchoban," or shepherds. Yet they show an equal aptitude for all commercial and industrial pursuits. Every year scores of young men leave their homes to return only when their fortunes are made. The cotton and woollen tissues of Western Turkey, the coarse grey cloaks of the Greek and Albanian peasantry, the gorgeous gold and silver embroidery and inlaid weapons of which the Skipetar and the Palikar are so proud, the delicate woodwork which adorns the ceilings and panels of so many Albanian houses, are all the work of clever Wallach hands. But after years of toiling in the towns, the Wallach returns to his mountain home to enjoy the

evening of life among his own kinsmen. In some respects there is no race among whom the national feeling is so strong as among the Wallachs. This national feeling has scarcely yet grown into a political movement. Hitherto the influence of the Greek clergy has prevented them from looking elsewhere than to Greece for the fulfilment of their destinies. But their faith has always sat light upon them. When the hand of the Byzantine Emperors was lifted against them they went over in a body to the Latin Church. When Latin Emperors reigned at Constantinople the spirit of opposition drove the Wallachs back to the orthodox creed. They have since then adhered to it, because the orthodox clergy could alone afford them protection and support in the dark ages of Turkish rule. But there are already indications of an approaching change. As in Bulgaria a religious movement preceded the political movement, so also among the Wallachs it is not improbable that the first step towards the assertion of a national existence may be the demand for a national church. Coming events cast their shadows before, and a slight incident which occurred a few weeks ago in a Wallach village of the Pindus may perhaps be pregnant with big results. One Sunday morning the villagers collected round the church and informed their priest that he had to read the mass in Wallach. The priest, though himself a Wallach, demurred to their request, probably because, like many of his flock, he scarcely understood the sense of the Greek words which he recited. The peasants, however, insisted, and replied that they were one and all determined not to attend again at church until the service was performed in their own tongue. On that Sunday the priest celebrated the Divine service in an empty church. In the course of the week he thought better of it, and on the following Sunday mass was read in Wallach, probably for the first time in history. Since then the priest has been suspended, the village threatened with excommunication, and the church closed by the ecclesiastical authorities. If, as the Greek clergy assert, this incident was merely the work of Roumanian propagandists, the movement may be nipped in the bud; but if, as I believe, it is the first open expression of a general feeling among the Wallachs, the spiritual and temporal weapons of the orthodox church will be as powerless to check its development as they proved themselves to hinder the growth of the national church of Bulgaria. It has always been the error, not to say the crime, of the Patriarchate, that it has invariably failed to allow sufficient latitude for national expansion within the bosom of the orthodox church. It was not till after many years of struggle and the threat of a disastrous schism that the Patriarchate recognised the claims of free Greece to a national autokephalous church. The same obstinacy has provoked the Bulgarian schism, and, by estranging the Slavs of Turkey, endangered

the very existence of Hellenism. Such another criminal folly may lose to Greece the wavering allegiance of the Wallachs, for their sympathy at the present moment is but a negative sort of sympathy. Their nation does not count altogether probably more than half a million souls, and it is only through annexation to Greece that they have hitherto looked for release from Turkish rule. But military conscription, heavy taxation, possible restrictions on their nomadic habits, are so many circumstances which tend to temper their enthusiasm for Greek annexation. Were the headstrong pride of the Greek clergy to involve them in a struggle with their spiritual leaders, it is not at all unlikely that the Wallachs might be induced to turn their eyes away from Greece, either towards Bulgaria, with whom they are connected by the ancient traditions of their history, or towards a free Albania. Roumanian propaganda is already at work amongst them, and though in some places its emissaries have been coldly received, in many others their words have found ready listeners, for they have been addressed to men among whom the pride of race is as strong, if not stronger, than among any other of the rising nationalities of Turkey, and the experience of the last few years is at hand to show how quickly and irresistibly the spark concealed for so many centuries under the smouldering ashes of past traditions can leap once more into an all-consuming flame. For the future of Hellenism, for the future of the Wallachs themselves, who are bound to it by so many ties, it is surely better to point out the danger with a word of friendly warning than to pleasantly deny its existence until it has perhaps outgrown all power to arrest it. Met-zovo is a town of some 5,000 inhabitants; but though, as in all towns, Hellenisation has acquired, thanks partly to the more immediate presence of Turkish misrule, a firmer foothold than in the country districts, there is not a homestead where the Wallach language is not spoken, where Wallach traditions are not treasured up, where the old *Civis Romanus* feeling is not still alive: "We are Wallachs, *Romounoi*."

#### IN TO YANINA.

YANINA, Nov. 7th, 1880.

Autumn, with its constant alternations of fierce storms and bright sunshine, is the season which most harmonises with the wild nature of Epirus. The swollen streams rush headlong down its narrow valleys or leap over its cliffs in foaming cascades, the wind sweeps freely over its bleak precipices, the forked lightning plays among its lofty peaks, the thunder rolls in resounding peals from rock to rock, while now and again the sun bursts forth, shedding rainbows on the retreating clouds and lighting up with its transient glory the grand outlines of the desolate landscape.



After the first sharp descent from Metzovo, the track to Yanina, for it would be idle to call it a road, lies for some fifteen miles along the bed of the Arta. Yet in olden days there must have been a road, and a fine and frequented road too, to judge from the number of *Hans*, or wayside inns, and bridges of which traces are still to be seen. But the *Hans* are nowadays empty and ruinous, and the bridges are only marked by broken piles or by one solitary span spared by the devious torrent. Needless to say that in winter communication is constantly interrupted by snows and storms, and Epirus and Thessaly are temporarily cut off from one another. On both sides the mountains rise grandly from the broad bed of the Arta Metzovitico, which is presently joined by the sister waters of the Arta Zagoritico, descending from the heights of the Zagori district. Villages nestle in the shelter of their flanks, looking at this distance prosperous and peaceful enough amid their oases of green trees and terraced fields. Yet there is scarcely another district in Turkey where lawlessness and brigandage have wrought such havoc as in Zagori. For the last three years it has been the happy hunting ground of two formidable Greek bands led by two brothers, Davelli by name, who have acquired for themselves in Epirus no less infamous a reputation than the mighty Kapitanos Kathrakia in Macedonia. The highlands of the Zagori district contain forty-three villages, all Christian; within three years more than half of them, and those the wealthiest, have been burnt, pillaged, and desolated by these ruffians. Nor are they content to spoil them once and for all; time after time do they return to the charge, carrying off the wealthier inhabitants for ransom, outraging the women, plundering and destroying in the mere wantonness of lust. Only two days ago they came down upon the village of Dobra, four hours from here on the north-western slopes of the Zagori, and as they were not satisfied with the result of their expedition they seized some of the notables of the place, and after anointing them with cooking fat, set fire to them, in order to make them reveal the hiding places where they were supposed to have stowed away their money. This refinement of cruelty seems too horrible to be credited, yet it has been related to me by reliable persons. In the presence of these atrocities what does the Government do? Nothing, worse than nothing. Now and then an expedition is organized, and a troop of Circassians sent off to the hills to find the brigands, but whether the latter receive information from the terror-stricken peasants who fear their revenge or from corrupt officials who take their bribes, they always succeed in eluding pursuit, and the Circassians after living for a few days at the villagers' expense and completing their ruin, return to their quarters until a fresh opportunity is afforded for another such fruitless errand. The police

alone are sometimes more successful, for in this province, where they are almost without exception recruited from among the Albanians, they are, as a body, honest and energetic. Only nine months ago a detachment of zaptiehs was despatched against the notorious band of Leonidas, and after six days of ceaseless marching and counter-marching they tracked the brigands to their lair, and the colonel of the zaptiehs, who was himself in command of the expedition, slew the robber chief with his own hand. But the *coup* has never been repeated. The zaptiehs are neither sufficiently numerous nor organized to cope with so gigantic and widespread an evil, and the military authorities, who, perhaps, alone have the power, are criminally supine. Mehemet Zekki Pasha, the general in command of the troops in Epirus, a fanatical and haughty Circassian, who owes his high and rapid promotion to Palace influences, is reported to have said that "so long as Greeks only killed Greeks, the harm was not very great." But of late the brigands have not restricted themselves to the innocent amusement of torturing unfortunate peasants; they have even ventured to attack some of the leading Musulmans, and no little commotion was caused some ten days ago by the murder of Muslim Agha, one of the prominent promoters of the Albanian agitation. It remains to be seen whether these outrages committed on his own co-religionists will rouse his Excellency from his supineness, or whether indeed, as many of the Musulmans themselves assert, his indifference is but a cloak conveniently assumed to disguise his incapacity or worse. But, whatever the reason, the unhappy peasants of the Zagori are abandoned to the tender mercies of the brigands, and their once thriving villages are being fast converted into desolate ruins. More than 600 of them have already fled from their homes, preferring misery and exile to the horrors of their present existence.

For three hours our route lay along the border of the Zagori district, and the groups of mournful wanderers journeying towards Yanina with the scanty wrecks of their household goods and chattels bore eloquent testimony to the stories which our escort had to tell of the Davellis' savage bands. After crossing and recrossing some twenty times the tortuous bed of the Arta, our track suddenly left the valley to climb the steep ridge of Mount Dryseo, which alone separates the main chain of the Pindus from the plain of Yanina. An hour up the zigzag path, carried away in many places by landslips, and we stand on the sharp crest of the hill. At our feet lies the lake, overcast at present with the reflected gloom of heavy storm clouds; the precipices of Mount Metzikeli rise sheer out of the bosom of the glassy waters, but its lofty peaks are lost in darkness above us; over on the other side, the grim battlements and yawning vaults of the ruinous fortress which still attest the barbaric

pomp and power of Ali Pasha, and the town with its many domes and minarets, and streets made bright with white houses and green trees are still lighted up with a furtive ray of sunshine ; but to the north, beyond the island where the octogenarian tyrant met his fate, the head of the lake and the distant mountains of Albania are veiled in blackness, lightning quivers in the clouds, and the thunder rolls incessantly like the din of distant battle. Long ere we reach the foot of the hills the strong blast of the storm wind has swept over the lake, lashing its waters into white fury ; and the tempest of rain which beats upon us as we plod for three hours across the marshy swamps which border the southern end of the lake thoroughly confirms at least the last portion of the Turkish saying, that at Yanina there are only three things worth seeing, the lake, the tomb of Ali Pasha, and the rain. But Yanina rains are short-lived. Ere we enter the walls of the town the sun once more glistens merrily on its bright stone houses and tiled roofs, the storks perched on their high nests are shaking their rumpled feathers, big raindrops sparkle on the trees which overhang the walls of many a garden and mosque, and the neat, well-paved streets are crowded with the picturesque bustle of every-day life.

W. VALENTINE CHIROL.

## ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY.<sup>1</sup>

I LOOK upon the establishment of this society as a sign that there is in this great town, just as there might be in a capital or an university, a body of historical students in the higher sense, who feel that it will be a help towards their common objects to work in some measure in common, and from time to time to exchange their ideas on their common subjects of study. Now it is no small matter to supply another proof, one among many, that the pursuit of business and the pursuit of knowledge are not inconsistent. In this last union I have never seen the wonder or paradox which some people seem to see in it. It seems to me that we may fairly expect more and better intellectual work from those who have something else to do than from those who have nothing to do. Intellectual work, like all other work, needs effort; it needs self-discipline; it sometimes calls on a man to do one thing when he feels more inclined to do another. But surely the man who, in the practice of other work, has gained the habit of doing all these things, must be better able to do them for the sake of a new object than the man who is not in the habit of doing any of them at all. The man who is used to map out his time according to rule, as I suppose every man engaged in active business must do, will be better able to find some time in each day for intellectual employments than the man who has no thought of mapping out his time at all, except according to the frivolous demands of fashion. You may have indeed to overcome a certain temptation to neglect studies which do not at once bring a return in money. That temptation indeed is so low a one that I should hardly have affronted you by speaking of it, if the temptation had not sometimes taken the shape of a kind of philosophical dogma. Men of some reputation in the world have gone about preaching the doctrine that all studies are useless except those which directly tend to fill the pocket. And from this premiss they draw the inference—an inference that I must allow follows most logically from the premiss—that no studies can be less useful than those which deal with the events and the languages of past times. You have all heard the doctrine that it is loss of time to concern ourselves with such trifling events as the fight of Marathón, a fight which happened so long ago and in which so few people were killed, when modern science can at a moment's notice provide a good accident in the coal-pit or on the railway which shall slay a much greater number. That doctrine can

(1) This was read at Birmingham, November 18th, 1880, as the opening address of the President of the newly formed Historical Society.

hardly have an agreeable sound to the votaries of physical science, whom we historical students are not in the habit of looking on as votaries of destruction. Still the doctrine is there, a doctrine put forth in the honour of science by one of no small account in other subjects besides science. I think that your presence here shows that you do not accept that doctrine. It shows, I think, that you cast aside the philosophy which teaches that the various branches of knowledge are to be followed, either according to the number of guineas that they can bring in or according to the number of men that they can slay. You will, I think, on the other hand, agree with me that it is some comfort that, if our studies are not specially wealth-bringing, they are at least not specially bloodthirsty. We have unluckily a good deal to do with recording death and suffering; but we ourselves, in the course of our own studies, are never tempted to do hurt to man or beast. The accidents of the present time lie as much out of our control as the battles of past times which are so scornfully compared with them. In serious truth, I look on the formation of this society in such a place as Birmingham as one of the best witnesses that historical study, though it may not immediately fill the pocket, is not an unpractical but a practical study, not a dead but a living thing. Your presence here is, I think, a witness that our pursuits are no mere groping into things of distant times which have no reference to present affairs or present duties, but that they are rather a marshalling of events in their due order and relation, an unfolding of effects according to their causes, which at once brings the past to explain the present and the present to explain the past. Your presence is, I think, a witness that you accept what is surely a highly practical truth that history is simply past politics and that politics are simply present history.

Another thing I think I may take for granted, that we feel sure enough of the intellectual dignity and the practical usefulness of our own subject to feel no need to disparage or to forbid any other subject, or to put on an attitude of the slightest hostility towards any other subject. Our subject is History; but we will not write over our door that no natural science shall be allowed within it. I think we know too well the way in which one branch of knowledge constantly stands in need of some other branch. We venture to think that the study of natural science may sometimes be glad of help from the studies of history, language, and literature. And we know that the studies of history, language, and literature are often glad of help from the study of natural science. I do not think so meanly of any department of genuine knowledge as to believe that it really cannot set forth its own merits without depreciating the merits of some other department. I cannot believe that it is really impossible to hold up the usefulness of one kind of institution without running

down the usefulness of some other. I cannot believe that such an invidious necessity is really involved in the pursuit of any branch of knowledge. If any branch of knowledge can flourish only by depreciating other branches, that would at once prove a weakness, an inferiority, on the part of that branch which I am unwilling to believe on the part of any genuine intellectual pursuit of any kind. The fault must surely lie, not in the cause, but in the champion. The votary of any branch of knowledge who thinks it needful to depreciate any other branch can surely not have grasped the dignity of his own branch. He must think, mistakenly I doubt not, that his own pursuit has not strength enough, not dignity enough, to stand by itself on its own merits, but that it can flourish only if it

“Bears, like the Turk, no brother near its throne.”

We, on the other hand, believe in the true brotherhood of sciences. We believe that he who depreciates any one among them does no real honour to the other which he tries to exalt. We believe that there is room for all, side by side, in an equal confederation which admits neither tyrant nor ruling state, an union in which there is no need for Ephraim to envy Judah, nor for Judah to vex Ephraim. As the range of man's knowledge widens, new forms of study will always be arising. Let the old be ready to welcome the new; let the new be ready to respect the old. All men will never have the same tastes, the same kind of intellectual gifts; one will be always drawn to one pursuit, another to another. To each man's mind his own pursuit must seem in some way better—more attractive, more useful, more strengthening to the mind—in some way or other better, than any other. To him doubtless it is better; he will do better work by following the pursuit to which he is called than by attempting any other. But let him remember that it is only to himself that it is better; some other pursuit may, in the same sense, be as clearly better for some other man. Let us demand equality, but not assert superiority. We may be tempted to boast that our study is the study of man, while some other studies deal only with dead matter. But we shall remember that the study of man constantly needs the study of matter as an equal friend and companion. We, whose study is political history, the history of mankind as members of civil communities, feel no slight tie of brotherhood towards those who teach us the history of man's home the earth before man arose to take possession. We feel that tie towards those who teach us the history of those earlier forms of animal life which came before man, and against which man had often to struggle. We feel it towards those who teach us the history of the lower forms of man himself, and who put us in the way of tracing the steps by which, out of such rude beginnings, civil society could shape itself

into the democracy of Athens, the kingdom of England, the federal commonwealth of America. We will draw no public comparisons between ourselves and any others. We may cherish among ourselves the belief that in the study of man, in his highest form, as the citizen of a free commonwealth, there is something more bracing, more elevating, than in the study of the material universe itself. But we will say so only among ourselves; we will not blurt out the doctrine in any company where an astronomer might be pained by hearing us. And we must never forget that we have our thorn in the flesh, that we have certain difficulties to struggle against, which, as far as I can see, do not stand in the way of the votaries of other branches of knowledge. Of course I may mistake our position; I may think that we are persecuted when we are not. I remember some years back how a man eminent in one of the natural sciences described himself and his brethren as an afflicted race, suffering like the Jews in the middle ages. To me the description sounded a little amazing. I had always fancied every professor of any form of natural science as flourishing like a green bay-tree. I wondered where the persecution could lie, till I considered the real position of the Jew of the middle ages. He who compared the professors of natural science to the Jews of the middle ages had clearly risen above the popular view of the Jews of the middle ages. He had gone to original sources, not to romance-writers or romantic historians. He had read the annals of Saint Alban's abbey in the Latin text, and he knew that when Aaron the Jew went to the abbey gate, it was he who proudly threatened the abbot, not the abbot who proudly threatened him. The professor meant the mediæval Jew as the mediæval Jew is described in the writers of his own time, rich, proud, feared of all, dwelling in houses like the palaces of kings. To be sure these advantages had their drawbacks; a sudden caprice of the king, a sudden outbreak of the people, might break down their palaces, might empty their money-bags, might even drive them homeless out of the land. But all this is no more than the nations of south-eastern Europe have to put up with under that paternal government which British interests call upon us to maintain. One could not therefore decently speak of it as persecution. I was surely right in thinking that the likeness between the natural science professor and the Jew of the middle ages was to be found in the normal prosperity of the Jew, not in the occasional interferences with that prosperity. But the professors, rich and prosperous as mediæval Jews, still complained of being persecuted. They could hardly mean that they were in disfavour on theological grounds. For a persecution on theological grounds, if it does not go the full length of stake, bonds, or banishment, is surely what every man would wish for. Surely nothing makes a man so run after as to call him a heretic.

In our studies we have not that advantage. It can hardly be said that historical study, as such, is of any theological colour. This or that historian may, in his own person, be orthodox, or heretical, or anything else, and he may flourish or suffer accordingly. And the man whose convictions lead him to no extreme views in any direction, but who is constrained to jog on in a kind of moderate, passive, tolerant, orthodoxy, is the most unlucky of all, for he cannot persuade anybody on any side to make a victim of him. Natural science, on the other hand, as such, has sometimes drawn on itself theological censure and even theological persecution. Still I cannot think that it was of censure or persecution of that kind that the prosperous professor complained. For that in our times would doubtless have been matter not of complaint but of rejoicing. The persecution, as far as I could make out, consisted in the fact that a "vulgar public" insisted on forming its opinion of their doings, and of judging them by the laws by which it judged those who were not professors. Then, at last, I could not keep down a rising feeling of envy, envy perhaps unjust, but certainly natural. I too began to feel persecuted; I began to understand the feelings of a martyr, on behalf of myself and of my suffering brethren of my own studies. I began to think that, if the "vulgar public" was a Trajan to our natural science friends, he was a very Decius to us. I did not feel at all like the Jew of the middle ages, dwelling in palaces and threatening lordly prelates. It seemed to me as if, while our scientific brethren lived a life of alternate prosperity and persecution, it was our lot to share deeply with them in their persecutions, but to have no share in their prosperity.

Now certainly, if the public be vulgar, and if to be subjected to the judgement of a vulgar public be persecution, the votaries of historical knowledge are a sadly persecuted race. It was not I—it was not any historical scholar—who gave the public the epithet of "vulgar;" but, vulgar or not vulgar, the public certainly insists on judging us. And I, for my part, do not repine at our fate. I do not refuse the authority of the judge. I only ask him not to give judgement till he has fairly heard counsel on both sides. I only appeal, I do not say from Philip drunk to Philip sober, but, according to another story of the same king, from Philip in a hurry to Philip when he has really thought matters over. Whether we like it or not, we cannot get rid of the "vulgar public" as the final judge in all matters. We may repine under his judgements, we may do what we can to lead him to reverse them; but we cannot depose him from his judgement-seat. Whether we deem him a "strong court" or a weak one, we cannot hinder his sentences from being carried out. And this is far more true of us, students of history and of subjects closely connected with history, than it is of the students of



most other branches of knowledge. The inevitable judge has a higher sense of his own qualifications in this case than he has in the other. The vulgar public—remember again that the epithet is not of my giving—is ready to believe that the astronomer or the chemist knows more than he does himself about astronomy or chemistry; he is not so ready to believe that the historian or the philologist knows more than he does of history or philology. Now I will not say that this assumption on the part of the vulgar public is true; but I do say that it is really plausible. I believe that the truth lies the other way. I believe that, if we walk out into the road, the first man that we meet is far more likely to have some rudimentary notion, very rudimentary, very inadequate, but still right as far as it goes, of astronomy or some other branch of natural science, than he is to have the same kind of rudimentary knowledge of history or philology. If he has any rudimentary notion of history or philology, it is very likely indeed to be a wrong notion; the chances are, not only that he has much to learn, but that he has a good deal to unlearn. But this very fact helps to prove my position. The fact that so many people have some notions, but false notions, on historical and philological matters is itself a proof that the general public—I will drop the unpleasant epithet—does think itself qualified to form judgements in history and philology, somewhat more decidedly, perhaps somewhat more rashly, less perhaps under the guidance of competent teachers, than when it forms its judgement in natural science. We see this every day in the fact that, while any very wild notion in natural science is laughed to scorn, not only by men of special knowledge, but by the public at large, notions equally wild in historical and philological matters are treated quite gravely, and are called matters of controversy. Those who believe that the sun is only three miles from the earth are a class which may be counted on our fingers, and, when they put forth their doctrine, they are laughed at, not only by astronomers but by the general public. That is to say, the general public has learned astronomy enough to see the folly of the doctrine that the sun is only three miles from the earth. But there is a large body, which puts forth a large literature, whose members gravely believe the doctrine of Anglo-Israel, the doctrine that the English nation is of Hebrew descent. This doctrine stands exactly on the same scientific level as the doctrine that the sun is three miles from the earth; it is just as little entitled to a serious answer as the other doctrine is. But the doctrine of Anglo-Israel is treated quite gravely; it is looked on as a matter of controversy, a difference of opinion; an attempt to treat the ethnological folly as the astronomical folly is treated would by many be thought cruelly unfair. Has not the Anglo-Israelite as much “right to his own opinion” as a Kemble, a Stubbs, or a

Waitz? Thus the general public judges of our subjects, judges often, we think, wrongfully, but still judges, and judges with a fuller conviction of its own fitness to judge than it shows in the case of the natural sciences.

The truth is that he who gives himself to sound historical study, and who tries to make the results of his studies profitable to others, will most likely have to go through a good deal of something which it would be too strong a word to call persecution, but something which is never exactly agreeable, and which, till one gets used to it, is really annoying. To any one here present who is beginning to give himself to real historical work, I would say, as the first precept—dare to be accurate. You will be called a pedant for being so; but dare to be accurate all the same. Remember that what he who calls you a pedant really means is this. He feels that you know something which he does not know; he is ashamed of himself for not knowing it, and he relieves himself by giving you a hard name. To be pedantic in matters of historical research is like being sentimental in matters of politics; it means that you have really gone to the root of the matter, and have not merely skimmed its surface. You must look forward to be perhaps overlooked altogether, perhaps to be criticized, laughed at, made subjects of unfair comparison, by men who have no more claim to judge of your work than I have to judge of the work of the chemist or the astronomer. You will have to grapple with a state of things in which everybody thinks himself qualified to write history, to criticize history, and where there is no security that the competent scholar will win the public ear rather than the empty pretender. You will have to grapple with a state of things in which not a few will deem themselves wronged if you make a single statement which is new to them, or if you utter a word of which they do not in a moment grasp the meaning. You must be prepared for criticism in which your main subjects, your main discoveries, shall be wholly passed by, and in which some trifling peculiarity of which you are perhaps yourself unconscious, to which you are perhaps wholly indifferent, or to which perhaps you are not wholly indifferent, but for which you can give a perfectly good reason, is picked out as if it were your main characteristic, or even your main object. I am here among friends, and I may make confessions. I once saw it said of myself that all that I had ever done was to alter the spelling of the names of the Anglo-Saxon kings. I thought that I had done something else, and I did not think that I had done that. I had always fancied that, in so trifling a matter as spelling, I had taken the safe course of following the scholars who had gone before me. But from this piece of criticism I learnt the fact that it was possible that I—that it was possible, therefore, that any other man—might be criticized by one who had neither read the

writings which he sat in judgement upon, nor the writings of earlier scholars to whom their author looked up as his masters. Now I really think that in all this we have something to go through which our brethren in other branches of knowledge have not to go through. I have seen it openly said that accuracy in historical statements does not matter, provided only the story is prettily told. I do not think that any one would speak in this way of the truth of statements in geometry. I do not think that a chemist who is careful as to the nomenclature of his science is called a pedant for his pains. In other branches of knowledge it seems to me that the experts judge, and that the unlearned accept their judgement. In history, it seems to me that the unlearned insist on judging for themselves. And mind, I do not wholly blame them for so insisting. Personally I might wish that they would let it alone. But I fully admit that they have a plausible excuse for so doing in our case which they have not in the case of our scientific fellows.

Now here I have got on a subject which has been lately dealt with by an eminent historical professor. I read lately in one of our chief periodicals much the same complaint that I make. The professor complained that the general public will judge of historical matters without the knowledge which is needed to qualify it to judge. The general public, he said, has a way of accepting the pretty view rather than the true view. I fully accept his general complaint. Perhaps I might not accept all his particular instances; I certainly cannot accept what he seems to propose as the remedy. I hope I am not misrepresenting the professor; he used several words which I did not understand, and I have perhaps not fully taken in his meaning. But the general conclusion that I drew from his paper was that we ought to defend ourselves against the inroads of the general public in a way which would certainly be self-denying, but which, I could not help fearing, might also prove self-destructive. I took the professor's counsel to be, that, in order to make sure of being judged by competent judges only, we ought to make history so dull and unattractive that the general public will not wish to meddle with it. Now this counsel I cannot accept. Certainly, if accuracy and brilliancy are inconsistent, let us have the accuracy and not the brilliancy. Let us by all means be dull and accurate rather than brilliant and inaccurate. But surely no such hard necessity is laid upon us. Surely a tale may be vividly told, and at the same time accurately told. Surely the inferences drawn from the tale may be sound in point of argument, and may yet be set forth in language which is pure, clear, and vigorous. Now the general public will come and sit in judgement upon us, whether we wish for him or no. But, if we try to drive him away by designed dullness, he will judge us only from without, and not judge us

favourably. If we can lead him rather to judge us from within, and to judge us favourably, we shall surely have gained a double point. If we can combine brilliancy with accuracy, we can at once attract him by our brilliancy and instruct him by our accuracy. We shall thus have won over the mind of the judge to our cause, and that without in any way corruptly leading him to swerve at all from the straight course of justice.

We must then submit to be judged by the general public in a way in which the votary of natural science is not judged. The general public will not humbly take things at our hands, as he takes them at the hands of the votaries of natural science. He accepts, in the teeth of what seems to be the evidence of his senses, the teaching of the astronomer which teaches him that the earth goes round the sun. But he will not with the like humility accept the teaching of the historian, even when the evidence of his senses supports it. He is loath to accept the simple truth that Englishmen are Englishmen; every man has a right to his opinion, and he prefers the opinion that we are Romans, that we are Britons, that we are Jews. It is a craze, a whim, a fad, something to be pitied or laughed at, to maintain the plain and obvious doctrine that we are ourselves and not somebody else. It is not a craze, a whim, or a fad, it is an assertion of the gravest scientific truth, to maintain the certainly much less plain and obvious doctrine that the earth goes round the sun. Now the general public does right in listening to the astronomer; he does wrong in not listening to the historian. He is right in believing that astronomy is a science which a man cannot learn without study; and in which therefore those who have not studied must be satisfied to listen to those who have. He does wrong in his evident belief that history is not a science, and that one man has as much right to be listened to about it as another. But the wrong, though a wrong, is natural and, I think, pardonable. I think that things should be other than they are. I think that the fact that a man, after years of diligent study, has come to a certain conclusion, that he deems it to be an important conclusion, and tries to impress it upon others, should be thought to be at least a presumption in favour of that conclusion. I think it should not be taken for granted, as it often is, that the conclusion is a craze, and he who forms it a dreamer. But I do not ask for the same implicit acceptance of what we say which the astronomer may fairly ask for what he says. The nature of our subject forbids it. Our subject lies open to men in general in a way in which it seems to me that few of the natural sciences lie open. We cannot draw the same sharp line between the learned and the unlearned. Every man knows some history, even if he knows it all wrong; he cannot help, even without any formal study or teaching, knowing a little of something that passes for

history. And from such an one up to a Waitz or a Stubbs the degrees are endless; the shading off from ignorance to knowledge, from false knowledge to true knowledge, is gentle and imperceptible. Then the guides are so many and so divers; the seeming oracles speak with such different voices. It is so hard to tell the true voice from the false. The wolves put on their sheep's clothing so very skilfully that the sheep themselves are sometimes tempted to mistake an enemy for a brother. We can hardly blame the general public if, when those who profess to be experts say such different things, it thinks it can judge as well as the experts about a matter which is as much its own as theirs. For the study of history is in truth the study of ourselves; it is the study of man. And it is the study of the whole man; it is the study of man in his highest character, as an actor in the moral world. It surely appeals to sympathies more open to the world at large than any that can be awakened by the motions of the moon and the planets, or by the combination of such and such gases and fluids. I fight for a democratic equality among all the sciences; but I do say that our study is more directly human, more directly open to all mankind, than the other studies. Men cannot help wishing to know something, they cannot help knowing or fancying that they know something, about the land in which they live, about the nation to which they belong, about other lands and nations of whose affairs they are getting accustomed to hear more and more constantly every day. The last telegram from Dulcigno, the last telegram from Ireland, are alike parts of history. They are parts of present history, and, as such, they are parts of past history. For the phenomena of the present are the results of causes in the past, and, without understanding the causes, we cannot understand the results. Now about things like these men will think, they will judge; and, what is more, we wish them to think, we wish them to judge. We do not wish to shut ourselves up in any learned exclusiveness, and we cannot do so if we would. All that we can do is to ask a public that will think and will judge not to be hasty, not to be unfair, in its thinking and judging. We do not ask that public to accept any man as an infallible oracle, but we do ask that a conviction is not to be set down as a craze or a whim merely because it is the result of the devotion of a life to a subject; we do ask that it shall not be looked on as a deadly wrong if things are sometimes said or written on which a sound judgement cannot be passed off hand, if things are sometimes said which need to be turned over more than once in the mind, which may sometimes even involve the labour of opening more than one book, perhaps of turning to some book written in another land, in a strange tongue, and in a distant age.

That the general public will have some kind of history is shown,

if by nothing else, by the fact that the immediate servant of the general public, the special correspondent, always thinks it his duty to purvey some kind of history. That the history which he purveys is often of a very wonderful kind is another matter. The point is, that whenever he goes to any place, he must send home the history of the place, and not only that, that he must throw his history into a learned and confident shape, as if he had known it all his life. The historical student smiles grimly, and wonders why a man should go out of his way to proclaim his ignorance, when, if he had simply held his tongue, no one would have found it out. If a man sails down the Adriatic, he must write the history of every island he comes to; if he jumbles together Curzola and Corfu, it does not greatly matter; who will know the difference? So, if he goes to a Church Congress at Leicester, he must needs write the early history of Leicester; if, instead of this, he gives his readers the early history of Chester, what does it matter? Who will know the difference? Not many perhaps in either case; not so many as there should be, at all events in the second case. Now it is not wonderful if a man who is perhaps as qualified to write the history of either Curzola or Leicester as I am to write a treatise on the properties of nitrogen gives a very strange shape to the history either of the Illyrian island or of the English borough. The thing to be noticed is that he does it at all, that he seems to be expected to do it somehow. It is plain that the general public does expect to have some kind of history served up to it; but it is equally plain that it is not as yet very particular what kind of history it gets. The general public will have some taste in the matter: it will have some voice in the matter. Our business is to improve its taste, to guide its voice, and to teach it to speak the right way. In such a work a society like ours may do much; only we must be prepared to undergo a little persecution in the work. Something of course must be said about Curzola, something about Leicester. But if any man hints that it makes some little difference whether the long history of Korkyra went on at Curzola or at Corfu, whether the victory of Athelfrith and the slaughter of the Bangor monks took place at Leicester or at Chester, he must bear the penalty of his rashness. No man need fear to be called a pedant because he distinguishes hydrogen from oxygen, because he distinguishes Saturn's ring from Jupiter's belts. But he who shall venture to distinguish between two English boroughs, between two Adriatic islands, when the authorized caterer for the public information thinks good to confound them, must be content to bear the terrible name of pedant, even if no worse fate still is in store for him.

I said earlier in this discourse that history was the study of man; I said also that history was past politics and that politics were

present history. We thus claim for our pursuit that it is specially human, specially practical. We claim for it to be looked on as a study by which we learn what are the workings of man's nature as carried out in political society. We study the experience of past times in order to draw from them practical lessons for the present and for the future. We see that the course of human affairs goes on according to general laws — I must use the word *laws*, though the word is both vague and ambiguous, till somebody gives me a better. But we see that those general laws do not act with all the precision and certainty of physical laws. We see that men in certain circumstances have a tendency to act in certain ways; but we see that they do not act in those ways with quite the same regularity with which objects in the physical universe gravitate to their centre. We see that those general tendencies are sometimes thwarted, sometimes guided, sometimes turned aside. And we see that these exceptions to the general course come about in more than one way. Sometimes they are what we may call mere physical hindrances, like the coming of some other object in the way which hinders an object from gravitating to its centre. Thus we may set it down as an axiom that a young state, a liberated state, a people buoyant with all the energy of a new life, will seek to extend their borders and to find a wider field for the exercise of the strength which they feel within them. And happy we might deem the state of things in which a young and liberated state can carry out this irresistible tendency of growth without doing wrong to others. Happy we might deem it when such a state has on its border a new and untrodden, world within which each stage of the growth of the new power wins new realms for the higher life of man. Happy too we might deem it when, though the growth of the new state is driven to take a less peaceful form, yet every step of its advance carries with it the deliverance of brethren who still remain in bondage. The working of this rule stands forth in the history of states far removed from one another in time and place, but in all of which the same eternal law of human nature is obeyed. When the European Greek had driven back the Persian, he carried deliverance to the Greek of Asia. Liberated Achaia grew into liberated Peloponnesos. The Three Lands grew into the Eight Cantons; the Eight Cantons grew into the Thirteen. The Seven Provinces had not the same field for territorial extension as the earlier federations; but they too grew and waxed mighty in other ways, mighty perhaps beyond their strength, too mighty for a while to keep a lasting place as a great European power. So we may now see with our own eyes a people set free from bondage, eager to extend their boundaries in the best of ways, by receiving enslaved brethren within the area of freedom. But we now see them thwarted,

checked, stopped in their natural course, bidden to wait—to wait perhaps till the nature of man shall be other than it is. Here is the natural course of things checked artificially by an external power. A greater force stops for awhile the force of nature, like a mill-wheel or a dam in the natural world. It has often struck me that a great deal of our high diplomacy is very much in the nature of mill-wheels and dams; it is art working against nature. Now art may be stronger than nature; it may be wiser than nature; still it is not nature, but something different. And art will not be wise if it forgets that, though it may check nature, it cannot destroy nature, and that nature may some day prove itself the stronger. The course of human events, the feelings and the actions of nations, are not changed for ever because a dozen Excellencies round a table have set their names to a diplomatic paper.

Thus the natural tendencies of human events may sometimes be artificially thwarted from without. They may also be in some sort either thwarted or led, we might almost say naturally, from within. A sound view of history will keep us on the one hand from what is called hero-worship; it will keep us on the other hand from undervaluing the real effect which a single great man may have on the course of human events. The course of history is not a mere game played by a few great men; nor yet does it run in an inflexible groove which no single man can turn aside. The great man influences his age; but at the same time he is influenced by his age. Some of the greatest of men, as far as their natural gifts went, have been useless or mischievous, because they have been out of gear with their own age. Their own age could not receive them, and they could not make their age other than what it was. The most useful kind of great man is he who is just so far in advance of his age that his age can accept him as its leader and teacher. Men of this kind are themselves part of the course of events; they guide it; they make it go quicker or slower; but they do not thwart it. Can we, for instance, overrate the gain which came to the new-born federation of America by finding such a man as Washington ready made to its hand? Or take men of quite another stamp from the Virginian deliverer. The course of our history for the last eight hundred years has been largely affected by the fact, not only that we underwent a foreign conquest, but that we underwent a foreign conquest of a particular kind, such as could be wrought only by a man of a particular kind. The course of our history for the last three hundred years has been largely affected by the fact that, when English freedom was in the greatest danger, England fell into the hands of a tyrant whose special humour it was to carry on his tyranny under the forms of law. English history could not have been what it has been if William the Conqueror and Henry VIII. had been



men other than what they were. One blushes to put the two names together. William was great in himself, and must have been great in any time or place. Henry, a man not without great gifts but surely not a great man, was made important by circumstances in the time and place in which he lived. But each influenced the course of events by his personal character. But they influenced events only in the sense of guiding, strengthening, and quickening some tendencies, and keeping others back for awhile. Neither of them, nor Washington either, belong to that class of men who, for good or for evil, turn the world upside down, the great destroyers and the great creators of history.

Now when we look in this way on the influence of the man upon his age and of his age upon the man, we shall, I think, be led to be cautious, I might say, to be charitable, in our judgement of past men and past generations. There is no such sure sign of ignorance, or rather of something far worse than mere ignorance, of utter shallowness of thought, than that contemptuous sneering at past times which is sometimes thought clever. No rational man will wish to go back to any past time, and it is quite certain that, if he wishes to go back, he cannot do so. But we should remember that we have received the inheritance of past times and of the men of past times, that, if we have advanced beyond them, it is because they had already advanced somewhat; if we see further than they did, it is because we have the advantage of standing on their shoulders. So we hope that future generations may advance further than we have advanced, that they may see further than we see, and yet that they may look back upon us with a remembrance not altogether scornful. Blame any age, blame any man in any age, if it can be shown that such age or such man really and wilfully went backwards. But blame no age, no man, that really went forwards, merely because we are tempted to think that the forward course might have been speedier. Blame no age, no man, that really reformed something, merely because something was left for later ages and later men to reform. Such judgements are unfair to the age or the man so judged; for every age must be judged according to its own light and its own opportunities. And such judgements are also shallow in themselves; for the work which is done bit by bit, as each bit is specially needed to be done, will be really stronger and more lasting than the work which is turned out spick and span, according to some preconceived theory. A few anomalies here and there, a few signs that the work was done faster in one part and slower in another, will do no practical harm. The house will not thereby be the worse to live in, and it will better tell the tale of its own building. Here in England at least, we ought to believe that freedom, civilization, toleration, anything else that we prize, is really all the better and stronger because it has not been

cut out all at once, but has grown bit by bit by the struggles of generation after generation.

And, if our use of the two guides of our studies, reason and experience, leads us to gentler judgements of the past among our own and other old-standing nations, it may also lead us to gentler judgements of the fresh-born and still struggling nations of our own time. There are those who seem to think that slavery is the best school for freedom, who seem to think that a nation which is just set free may be reasonably expected to show itself, not behind but rather in advance of, those nations which have been working out their freedom for ages. Those who have studied the nature of man in his acts will perhaps judge less harshly, if a nation for which the gates of the house of bondage have just been opened does not at once spring to this lofty standard. Those who stop to think before they speak will perhaps see that, when a nation which was enslaved in the fourteenth century has been set free in the nineteenth—when a nation has for five hundred years had everything to send it backwards, while we have had everything to send us forwards—it is really to the credit of that nation if it comes forth on the level of England five hundred years back. We cannot fairly expect it to come forth on the level of the England of our own day. It is a homely and an obvious doctrine, but one which some minds seem to find it hard to take in, that no man can learn to swim without going into the water. In the like sort, a nation cannot learn the virtues of freedom while it remains in bondage. Set it free, and it may at least begin to try to practise them, and it is not to be harshly judged if it fails to practise them perfectly at first. And even in cases where bondage and slavery would be words far too harsh, our wider experience of mankind will perhaps teach us that men are often better pleased, and that it is often better for them, to manage their own affairs, even if they manage somewhat clumsily, rather than to have them managed for them by others in some far more clever way.

In all these ways we claim that history is a practical science—a science that teaches us lessons which are of constant practical application in the affairs of the present. It is curious to see how this doctrine is practically received. I have often noticed the different ways in which, according to different circumstances, men receive any argument, illustration, or allusion, drawn from past history. Such arguments, illustrations, or allusions, may be of widely different kinds. One may be of the class of which we have just been speaking; it may be a sound and grave argument from cause and effect. Under given circumstances a certain result has hitherto commonly happened; it is therefore likely, under like circumstances, to happen again. Another reference may be a mere sportive application of a word or a name, fairly enough brought in to raise a

passing smile, but which, on the face of it, proves nothing any way. Now the mere jest is sure to be received with delight by the side for which it tells; the gravest argument is scorned by the side against which it tells. The argument from experience is grandly tossed aside as "sentimentalism" or "antiquarian rubbish." It is not that any particular fault is found with the argument; it is enough that it is an argument from fact and experience, if fact and experience happen to tell the wrong way. But an argument of exactly the same kind is cried up to the skies if it happens to tell the right way. The practical argument from experience is, of all arguments, that which is most applauded when it tells on our own side, that which is most scorned when it tells on the other side. I think that this fact, on the whole, tells in favour of arguments from experience and analogy. But it also supplies some warnings. It may teach us not to be too hasty, either in catching at an example or at an analogy which seems at first sight to tell for us, or in rejecting one which seems to tell against us. Let us not trumpet forth the argument which seems to tell for us till we have weighed it to see whether it be sound or not. And let us not hastily cast aside as "antiquarian rubbish" every argument which seems to tell against us. Let us rather weigh them too, and see what they too are worth. I have sometimes been able to make good use on my own side of sayings which were hurled at me as arguments for the other side. There are true analogies and false ones, analogies which are of the highest practical value and analogies which may lead us utterly astray. There is often real likeness, instructive, practical likeness, amidst much seeming unlikeness; there is often a seeming likeness where the real state of the two cases is altogether different, and where no practical lesson can be drawn. One who has been deep in controversy for the last five years has seen a good many real analogies scorned, and a good many false analogies blazed abroad as practical arguments. And he may perhaps have been led to the conclusion that those who specially call themselves practical men—that is, those who refuse to hearken to reason and experience—those whose wisdom consists in living from hand to mouth, and refusing to look either behind or before—those who put names and formulæ in the place of facts—those who see in the world only courts and diplomatists, and who shut their eyes to the existence of nations—are exactly the men whose wisest forebodings have the strongest gift of remaining unfulfilled.

And now it may be asked, If we wish to give our studies this practical turn, if we wish our examination of the past to supply us with a real teaching of experience for the present and the future, over what range of time are our researches to be spread? I answer, over the whole range of the history of man as a political being. In

other words, we can acknowledge no limit which would shut out any period of the history of Aryan man on European soil. Let Birmingham set the example which is so deeply needed in older seats of historical study. Let there be one spot where history shall be studied, but where the delusive words "ancient" and "modern" shall never be heard. You are not far from Rugby; some echoes of the voice of Arnold may have reached you. You may have picked up some fragments of the teaching which that great master put forth with so clear a voice, but in which he has found so few disciples. To some he lives in his personal memory; to me he lives only in his writings. But it was from those writings that I first learned that history was one, that it could be rightly learned only by casting aside artificial and unnatural distinctions, and by grasping the great, though simple truth, that the history of European man is one unbroken tale. That history is one unbroken series of cause and effect, no part of which can be rightly understood if any other part is wholly shut out from the survey. Let there be one spot where the vain formulæ of "ancient" and "modern" history, of "dead" and "living" languages, shall be for ever unknown. Take in the simple fact that the so-called "ancients" were not beings of some other order—perhaps demi-gods surrounded by superhuman mystery, perhaps benighted savages who knew not the art of getting up good colliery accidents, perhaps mere names which seem to lie beyond the range of human interest of any kind—but that they were men, men of like passions with ourselves, capable of the same faults and the same virtues—men too of kindred speech, of kindred blood—kinsmen simply further removed in time and place than some other kinsmen, but whose deeds and sayings and writings are as full of practical teaching for us as the deeds and sayings and writings of the men who trod our own soil. Before the great discoveries of modern science—before that greatest of all its discoveries which has revealed to us the unity of Aryan speech, Aryan religion, and Aryan political life—the worn-out superstitions about "ancient" and "modern" ought to pass by like the spectres of darkness. Does any of you specially give his mind to so-called "ancient" studies, to the study of old Greece or of old Italy? Does any man reproach such an one with wasting his time on studies which are unpractical, because they are "ancient"? Let him answer, in the spirit of Arnold, that his studies are pre-eminently practical, because they are pre-eminently modern. Does any man give his mind specially to the tongues of old Greece and of old Italy? Does any man reproach him with devoting himself to the study of tongues which are dead? Let him answer, in the same spirit, but with a depth of life and knowledge on which men in Arnold's day had hardly entered, that he gives his mind to those tongues, because they are of all tongues the most truly living. Grasp

well the truth that the history of old Greece, of old Italy, is simply an earlier part of the same tale as the history of our own island. Grasp well the truth that the worthies of those older times, the men who strove for freedom at Athens, in Achaia, and at Rome, were forerunners and fellow-workers of the men who have fought, and who are still fighting, the same battle among ourselves. The *Acta Sanctorum* of political progress is imperfect if we leave out its earliest chapters. We must remember Periklês and Titmoleôn, Aratos and Philopoimên, Caius Licinius and Tiberius Gracchus, alongside of our Godwines and our Simons, our Hampdens and our Chathams, our Washingtons and our Hamiltons, and their compeers of our own day whom I will not name. But some one will say, What can great kingdoms, great confederations, under a northern sky, learn from small city commonwealths under a southern sky? Much every way; if only this, that we may learn how many different shapes that which is essentially the same may take under varying circumstances of time and place. No fact, no period, in history can exactly reproduce any earlier fact or period, if only because that fact or period has already gone before it. Between a great kingdom under a northern sky and a small commonwealth under a southern sky there are many and important differences. But there may be none the less much essential likeness, and it is the business of historical science at once to note the differences, and to dig through to the likeness that underlies them. The range of our political vision becomes wider when the application of the comparative method sets before us the *ekklesia* of Athens, the *comitia* of Rome, as institutions, not merely analogous, but absolutely the same thing, parts of the same common Aryan heritage, as the ancient assemblies of our own land. We carry on the tale as we see that it is out of those assemblies that our modern parliaments, our modern courts of justice, our modern public gatherings of every kind, have grown. And we feel yet more the unbroken tie when we mark that they have all grown by constant and endless changes of detail, but with no break in the long succession, no moment when, as in some other lands, one kind of assembly was consciously set aside and another kind of assembly consciously established in its place. Our very local nomenclature puts on a new life, if, here in Birmingham, the home of the *Beormingas*, a spot of conquered British soil bearing the name of the Teutonic *gens* which won it, we remember that we brought with us from our old homes a system of political and family life essentially the same as that of Athens and of Rome. We had our *gentes*, our *curie*, our tribes; and they have, like those of the elder nations, left their names on the soil which we made our own. As a portion of old Roman soil took the name of the great *gens* of the Claudii, so a portion of Anglian, of Mercian, soil took the name of the *gens* of the Beormingas. Only, while the Claudian

*gens*, as a *gens*, remained far more famous than the local division which bore the Claudian name, the home of the Beormingas has certainly become far more famous than the Beormingas themselves.

But some will say, Can a man learn all history, from the first glimmerings of political history in old Greece to the last political question of our own day? I trow not, if by learning is meant mastering thoroughly in detail from original sources. Life is too short for any such universal mastery, even if a man gives his whole life to studying history and nothing else. Still less can those do so who have many other things to do besides studying history. But, on the other hand, when I speak of learning, I do not mean the getting up a mere smattering of the whole story and knowing no part thoroughly in detail. I say this, Let each historical student choose for minute study some period or periods, according as his taste or his objects may lead him. Let those periods be late, let them be early; let them be the very earliest or the very latest; best of all, perhaps, let there be one early and one late. Let him master such period or periods, thoroughly, minutely, from original sources. But let him, besides this special knowledge of a part, know well the general outline of the whole. Let him learn enough of those parts of history which lie outside his own special subject to put periods and events in their true relation to one another. By learning some periods of history, thoroughly, minutely, from original sources, he will gain a power which will stand him in good stead, even in those periods which he is driven to learn more slightly from secondary sources. He will gain a kind of tact which will enable him to judge which secondary sources may be trusted and which may not.

Let us for a moment apply these doctrines to the great question of the day, the question of the fate of South-eastern Europe, the question whether the New Rome shall be European or Asiatic, whether the church of Justinian shall be a temple of Christendom or of Islam. It is not my business here to decide for either side. Those are questions on which it would be unbecoming in the President of your Historical Society to do more than point out facts, and to leave others to draw inferences. I say only that, in order to form an opinion either way, a man must have some general notion of the facts of the case, and that the facts of the case go back a good many centuries. I do not set much store by the opinion of the man who asked whether there were any Christians in South-eastern Europe, besides "a few nomad tribes." I do not set much store by the opinion of the man who wrote in a book that in the ninth century the Russians attacked Constantinople, but found *the Turks* too strong for them. Nor do I greatly value his judgement who held it for certain that every British ship that sailed to India must pass under the walls of Constantinople. To understand these matters, we must

go a little further than this. Nor will it do to go back to times two thousand years ago, and then to leap from two thousand years ago to our own time. The nations of South-eastern Europe are, for good and for evil, what the long intermediate time has made them. The greatest of all witnesses to the unity of history is the long-abiding drama of the Eastern power of Rome. I counselled you just now not to neglect the study of the early commonwealths of Greece; but from the early commonwealths of Greece we must go on. The great work of Greece, in the general history of the world, was to make the Eastern half of the Roman world practically Greek. The throne of the old Rome was moved to a Greek city, and the New Rome, the city of Constantine, became the centre at once of Roman dominion and of Greek intellectual life. Bear in mind how, for age after age, Constantinople stood as the bulwark of Europe and of Christendom, bearing up on one side against the Persian, the Saracen, and the Turk, on the other side against the Slave, the Avar, and the Bulgarian. Her Asiatic rivals could only remain as abiding enemies, to be driven back from her walls and her empire, till in the end one of them was to force in his way as a conqueror from without. The Persian and the Saracen strove in vain for the prize; the Ottoman won it at last, to rule as an Asiatic in Europe, to remain, five hundred years after his landing, as much a stranger as on the day when he first came in. But the European rivals could be more or less thoroughly changed into disciples; they could accept the faith, they could imitate the models, they could in some cases adopt the language, of the power which, even in attacking, they revered. In the long and stirring tale of the battle which Constantinople waged for Europe, we see the Roman power become Greek; as it becomes more definitely Greek, we see the other older nations of the peninsula, the Albanians and Roumans, long merged with the Greeks in the general mass of subjects of the Empire, stand forth again as distinct nations, playing their part among the nations from the eleventh century to the nineteenth. Long before this we have seen the Slavonic invaders of the Empire, half its conquerors, half its disciples, spread themselves over the inland regions of the Balkan peninsula, while the Greek keeps the coasts and the islands. Presently, in the other great peninsula of Asia, the Turk, wholly a conqueror, in no sense a disciple, spreads himself over the inland regions, while the Greek there too keeps the coasts and islands. At last, step by step, the Empire and its European neighbours come under the power of the Asiatic invader. The European invader came to conquer, to settle, but, at the same time, to learn and to imitate. The Asiatic invader came simply to destroy. He came, neither to merge himself in the nationality of the conquered, nor to win over the conquered to his nationality, but to abide for ages as a stranger,

holding the nations of the land in bondage in their own land. At last, a time comes when the enslaved nations feel a new strength, a new call to freedom. This and that part of those nations, here and there, throw off the foreign yoke; they set up free and national governments on their own soil, and they seek to extend the freedom which they themselves have won to their brethren who remain in bondage. Here are the facts, facts which cannot be grasped, except by taking a somewhat wider view of history than is implied in the well-worn course of old Greece, old Rome, modern England, modern France. But I state the facts only this evening. I leave others to draw the inferences. Some deem that it is for the general good of mankind, for the special interest of this island, that the Mussulman Asiatic should reign over the Christian European, that nations struggling to be free should be kept down as bondmen on their own soil. Many deem that it is a specially honourable and patriotic course, specially agreeable to the feelings and duties of a free people, to help to keep them in their bondage. Some think otherwise. They think, as the old Greek thought, that freedom is a brave thing; they are led to sympathize with nations striving for freedom rather than with the foreign oppressor who holds them under his yoke. They think that to give help to the cause of those struggling nations is in itself a worthy work, that it is a work specially becoming a free people, that it is a work, above all, becoming a free people who, as they hold, have promised to do it. Here are two ways of looking at a great question, neither of which ways is of much value unless it is grounded on knowledge of the facts. It is not for me to say here which inference is the right one. I can say only, study the facts, and judge for yourselves.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.



## LIGHTS AND SHADES OF AMERICAN POLITICS.

AMERICA during the crisis of a Presidential election must always be an interesting field of observation even to the most hasty passer-by. Universal suffrage coupled with almost universal education may there be seen in full work, and the result, especially when the vast absorption of ignorant immigrants of other nationalities is taken account of, is interesting enough. There is no doubt much fault to be found with the details of political business. That people are too much taken up with their own affairs to attend to politics in ordinary times, and therefore find themselves at a period of national danger handed over to the tender mercies of corrupt professional politicians who are always at their post, is one of the commonplaces of European criticism on American affairs. And yet this view was shown to be erroneous by the election of President Hayes, and has been, as many will think, falsified again by the election of Mr. Garfield. Americans, awakened to the defects of Republican administration of Federal affairs, determined to remedy them, and during the last four years the central administration would compare favourably in point of ability and honesty with that of any community. Reforms have begun at the top, and there is reason to hope that they will work their way down.

The late election, like that of 1876, has been really carried out by the people themselves. Mr. Garfield would not have been the chosen candidate of the leading politicians of the Republican party. This was clearly shown at Chicago, and not all the energy of the Republican stump orators, though they included among them General Grant himself, will account for the unprecedentedly heavy vote cast on the 2nd of November last. Men had quietly surveyed the action of the two great parties since the disputed election of 1876, and they saw that the best interests of the nation as a whole had been maintained by that party which had not a majority either in the Assembly or in the Senate. The Republicans had shown themselves capable of steering through the heaviest period of commercial depression which has yet come upon the United States, and might therefore well be trusted to carry out the national policy through four years of almost assured prosperity. Thus, in spite of the unassailable public character of General Hancock, the Democratic nominee, the Democrats were routed in a fashion which the heavy vote cast for Mr. Tilden induced them to think impossible; this, too, though after the loss of the State elections in Indiana and Ohio in October they had practically adopted the main features of

the Republican programme. A party victory on one side or the other may matter little to us here in England. On the whole, we may expect that those who have been successful would be the more anxious to keep on good terms with Great Britain than their opponents, and as the Democrats have abandoned Free Trade there is little to be hoped in the way of a reformed tariff from either party. Protection has won all along the line.

But when we look at the measures which have been adopted by the successful side alike in adversity and in prosperity, when the quiet, the order, and the good feeling which was maintained is considered, all must surely recognise that notwithstanding the many and grave difficulties which the United States have yet to encounter, an organised democracy educated by books and by public discussion, each and all having a deep interest in the political welfare of the whole nation, is not in important affairs quite the irrational, corrupt, self-seeking body which some are disposed to represent it. None, I am confident, could pass through the great northern cities during such a contest as that which was decided at the close of last year without being struck by the general courtesy, the invincible fair-play allowed to political opponents, and the regulated enthusiasm of the mass of the people. Does a great Democratic procession pass through a Republican city the people turn out to see it, but no opposition of any kind is offered. The same with the Republicans in a Democratic city. New York is, as even this last vote shows, overwhelmingly Democratic, and numbers among its population a greater proportion of Irish and Germans than perhaps any other American city. Yet the very day before the test elections in Ohio and Indiana 52,000 Republicans paraded in a torch-light procession through the most frequented thoroughfares, and not a single disturbance of any kind took place. This too at a time when business was checked by the political contest, and when in every hotel or railway-car people talked of nothing else. In the same way political orators were safe of a fair hearing, no matter which side they belonged to. I myself heard a most trenchant oration delivered by one of the Cabinet in the very heat of the struggle, and yet, though the doors were all open, and anyone could come in, not one single interruption did I note. So it was all over the Union. What trifling disturbances did occur seemed only to make the general peacefulness more noticeable. Surely political discussions and demonstrations conducted in such a spirit are in themselves the best political education, and develop among the mass of the people an admirable power of self-restraint.

What, however, is perhaps more instructive is that the enormous vote was cast—and taking the northern and middle States alone the majority is something overwhelming—in favour of a policy

which involves continuous self-sacrifice. Thus the contention of the Free Traders justly is that by imposing such a heavy tariff the bulk of the community is unfairly mulcted of its hard earnings for the benefit of the home manufacturer. But the majority prefer to make the sacrifice in the interest of patriotism, and, mi-guided as they may be, this is very different from the ordinary imputations made upon the tendencies of democracy. The same with the reduction of the debt. If any country was ever justified in casting some portion of the burden upon succeeding generations, America is that country. Ten, twenty years hence the debt will be literally a flea-bite as compared with what it is to-day, in comparison with the vastly-increased wealth of the whole community. Yet what does the American democracy decide?—deliberately to strengthen the hands of those who never shrank from reducing the debt month by month even at the time of the greatest depression. Nay, common men will speak to you of the moral effect of thus paying their way and showing to the world how the government of the people by the people will never hesitate to take upon its own shoulders the cost of being great. And thus we see that year after year the United States far surpass any old country in their persistent efforts to cut down their liabilities at the expense of the present generation. Nor has this decision been come to without the opposite course having been championed with vigour and ability. The people have been counselled over and over again to change the policy, and on sound grounds enough, but they have on the fullest information finally decided not to do so. As to the greenback advocates—the men who stood up for inflation, repudiation, and the rest of it—where are they? Literally crushed out by the common sense and public spirit of the great mass of the voters.

Leaving all minor issues aside, then there is much to admire in the recent vote of 50,000,000 of people. They have risen in the free bluff air of universal publicity to a just conception of what constitutes the true greatness of a nation. Both sides felt they were on safe ground when they appealed to the patriotic Unionist sentiment which dominated all classes. Whatever advantages may be claimed for *Homo Rule*, America, just at present, is not the best place to begin a propaganda in that sense. The great democracy which owes its speech and the basis of its political training to England is as little inclined as the mother country to give up any portion of its inheritance. Nothing has been shown more clearly; and when we see this coupled with a resolution to maintain the national credit, to push aside all dangerous counsels, and to keep in power those men who are the most likely to enforce the principles of justice and honesty, we may feel sure that the national tendency of such a people is to work itself clear of difficulties in other directions.

That there are questions arising which will need all the capacity of rulers and ruled to handle satisfactorily, that also corruption in its widest sense needs correction far more in the lower phases of political life than in the upper, are facts only too certain. But the very same methods which have sufficed to purify in part at least the great central offices will in time act in the like manner elsewhere. The proportion of native-born Americans with high national feeling is every year increasing steadily, and to the younger men we may fairly look to face with success those problems which are growing with their growth, and which can only be dealt with when their difficulty is recognised.

None who now land in America can fail to be struck with the fact that the country is exceptionally prosperous. The contrast between what is seen now and what was to be noticed four or five years ago is indeed amazing. The immense advance which has taken place since 1870, the commercial depression notwithstanding, seems to have been realised all at once. Whilst the mercantile classes have been grumbling, the producing classes have been working. Iowa and Wisconsin, Texas and Colorado, have been making way with giant strides, whilst the progress of Minnesota has perhaps been greater still. The population has increased fully 10,000,000 in the ten years, and vast tracts of country, which at the commencement of the period were little more than rough waste, are now covered with prosperous farms. The farmer has become wealthy. the labourer has become a farmer, and emigrants are now pouring in faster than ever to swell the giant wave of produce which is rolling in from the West. These ten years have been to America what twenty-five years might be to an older country. The financial collapse of 1873 has, as it were, until lately hidden from the world what has taken place. But now that the farmers have fairly realised the profits on their good harvests, and the country feels the ever-increasing benefit of a sound financial system and the rapid transfer of its securities from foreign into American hands, the change is marvellous. Wealth is rolling up so rapidly, and men who but now were apparently poor have become so rich, that trade of every description is more and more active.

It is amusing to watch the gradual influx into the cities of families who have for the last few years been living economically as if never sure of what might come. All at once they feel that the savings they have accumulated will not turn to dust and ashes, and are preparing to have a "good time" accordingly. And these worthy people are not economical in their luxuries.<sup>1</sup> The Western men and their wives who are now coming

(1) The spread of luxury in the United States is amazing at the present time. In every direction, in the decoration of houses, in the dress, in all departments of life, the amount

on to the Eastern cities, and perhaps afterwards to Europe, to such an extent as to crowd the hotels, and bring about an amount of trade never before known, have made up their minds to see the world in good earnest. Last year saw the first commencement of this so-called "boom," in the sudden and in many respects unreasoning rush of speculation, especially in mines. A reaction of course set in, but nothing can check the flood of prosperity which has again begun, arising as it does from the astounding extent of agricultural work done. A Chicago man, for instance, boasting of the recovery of his city from disaster, will tell you that she must be the London of America. "She'll do it, sir. No sea-board city was ever the real centre of a great country. Now York has no show against us in the long run. What does the world depend upon—the food supply. Well, we receive and ship more grain than any city in the world; we have the greatest cattle market in the world; we kill and put up more hogs than any city in the world. Then we are the greatest lumber city, and the centre of the whole railroad system of the United States." There is a mean and a ludicrous side, as Professor Huxley and others have pointed out, to this glorification of vast wealth and vast transactions; but the contrast on any line of railroad leading out of Chicago between what was in 1870 and what is in 1881, is enough to turn the heads of men of higher intelligence than those who are for the most part usefully engaged in supplying the first wants of others.

For, as matters stand, all classes of the community share this improvement. There are grave drawbacks to the furious—there is no other word for it—industrial development of the United States, but they are not felt at such times as these. Men who are making money hand over fist are not men to reduce wages to their

of wealth which can be thrown away without being felt seems endless. In particular the display of diamonds is astonishing. Ladies go about at mid-day with them in their ears of the size of small filberts, and it is not uncommon to see a man of some refinement with one of equal dimensions in his shirt-front. It might have been thought that they would have gone out of fashion long since, if only on account of the class of people who likewise affect them. The New York rowdies glory in diamonds. Ten years ago I was in New York when one of these worthies, either Phil Haggerty or Philadelphia Bill, slew the other of the pair. Which shot which I am not quite clear, but one unquestionably died. The survivor was duly brought up for having caused his comrade's death. This sort of thing being then rather new to me I went to the court where the proceedings were held. There I found myself surrounded by the best dressed lot of men I ever saw in a police-court or any other court in my life. Not one but was attired in the height of fashion and had a filbert-sized diamond in his shirt-front. I felt quite mean amid so distinguished a throng. The murderer, I remember, got off scot free, and looking through the report of the case the following morning in the papers I found words to this effect:—"The court was crowded from an early hour with nearly all the most notorious thieves and desperadoes in the city, who watched the case with the deepest interest." These were my broad-cloth-begirt diamond-bespangled friends of high degree who so abashed me. But diamonds are still the rage none the less. Rowdyism, however, has been somewhat checked since then.

lowest point, and in some respects the American system is deliberately based on the maintenance of a high scale. Few consumers think of complaining that luxuries should be dear, or that those who furnish them should be well paid. Besides, so far it has been easy in most States for a saving man to take himself out of the labouring into the independent class if he has any knowledge whatever of farming or business. With wages varying from one-and-a-half to two or three dollars a day, with food exceedingly cheap, and clothing by no means so dear for the ordinary working dress as it used to be, a man may easily find himself in a short time in possession of sufficient means to remove himself from the wage-earning class. This process is going on to such an extent that if it were not for immigration there would soon be a shortness of labour for any chance employment. There are many capitalists, of course, who regret the high wages they are obliged to pay, and look upon the independent tone of the working-class as little short of an outrage upon society. But this is not the sounder opinion. Thinking Americans wish above all other matters to keep up the standard of comfort among the bulk of the people, knowing right well that not only is this to the advantage of the whole community, but that in this way alone can the gravest dangers be avoided on the next occurrence of a bad period in industrial concerns. But for the time being there is such prosperity that the certainty of future reaction is entirely overlooked by the majority. The one idea of those who have money and those who have not is to make hay while the sun shines, and there can be little doubt that within a short time we shall see a renewal of that great speculative fever which led to the excessive railway building prior to 1873, and which this time may take some other turn.

Meanwhile immigrants are coming in, many of them with capital of their own, at the rate of over 50,000 a month; American exports seem likely to fetch good prices; a steady Republican Government will come again into power this month; and it is tolerably safe to prophecy smooth things for the next eight or ten years. Although the supply of waste land is far from being inexhaustible, and each successive wheat centre is worked down to comparative infertility quicker than its predecessor,<sup>1</sup> there is more than sufficient to last any probable increase of population for a generation. Western America (in which the newly-developed regions of the Dominion of Canada must be included for all purposes of calculation) will long

(1) This will prove a serious matter in the future. These great wheat fields are being exhausted without any regard to the interests of the coming generation; and we who consume the food sweep the fertilising agents into the sea whilst our land goes out of cultivation in consequence of the competition. How far are we removed from the Patagonians after all?

be the best country in the world for emigrants, and the effect of the competition in breaking down the land system in this country is not perhaps even yet fully appreciated. Every emigrant who goes thither not only removes a surplus hand from this side, but as he soon produces enough and more than enough for himself and his family, the remainder must come over here to still further bring down prices.

Nothing brings home to an Englishman the inevitable effect of this competition so completely as the actual sight of the endless lines of freight trains, bearing food one way on all the Western roads, met by almost equally numerous emigrant trains bound in the opposite direction with their load of fresh producers. The very immensity of the production is resulting in a cheapening of the cost of transport, and the water-communication of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence is being brought into direct connection with the great grain fields of the West. Passing through the Eastern States the result of this Western development is at once manifest. Wheat is scarcely to be seen. Cattle do not increase in proportion to the pasture land. The Eastern farmer, like his brother in England, has to exercise the keenest judgment in order to make a profit. Of course all this is to be found set out in the blue-books, and has been commented on over and over again. But it is the result of less than ten years of development, and the change in the appearance of New England gives but cold encouragement to those who think that a similar change can be averted here at home. Never perhaps in history has a great economical cause worked so rapidly. For some time, too, it will produce a cumulative effect. Old Horace Greeley's advice of "Go West, young man, go West," has been literally taken by whole cohorts of young men; and whether in the vast factory farms of Minnesota and the Sacramento plains, or in the smaller holdings which are found in every Western State, the agricultural production is being forced on at a rate both with respect to grain and cattle hitherto unprecedented. In no country in the world is so much hard, steady work being done or so much genuine comfort obtained by the mass of the people as in these new regions of the West.

No doubt difficulties are met with, as, for instance, not long since the farmers of Kansas would have been reduced to destitution but for the fact that they were able to obtain work at a fair rate of wages on a new railroad. Again, the facilities offered by the mortgage companies and other financial institutions misled many of the Western farmers into borrowing largely. They therefore took up more land than they could conveniently handle in bad times. This, of course, was not observed when everything was prosperous, but when the pinch came the interest began to force them to the

wall. This is true of large portions of the Western States, and, in fact, accounts for the comparatively slow recovery, in some instances, after two or three good harvests.

What, however, is in its way very remarkable, is that these very farmers, though not in all cases well disposed towards the capitalists who lend their money, are distinctly in favour of a Protectionist policy at the present time. No doubt the feeling of pride in the Union, and dread of any State-right doctrines gaining the ascendancy, had much to do with the heavy Republican vote; but it is surely surprising that in a State like Iowa, for instance, or Wisconsin, where the farming interest may be said to be supreme, Free Trade doctrines should have made so little headway. This cannot be attributed to ignorance, for the population is very fairly educated, and men read what comes in their way. But the truth is, as Mr. Thomas Hughes puts it, that they do prefer, deliberately prefer, to pay a bonus to their own countrymen, rather than to buy cheap from the foreigner. In this way they contend not only that they build up their own manufactures, but that they keep the wealth in the country. "If your artisans aren't doing well in the old country, let them come over here as your farmers do, they'll soon find plenty of work." All the argument in the world will not affect such a statement.

The plain object of the great majority of the American people, at the present time, is to make their country absolutely independent, as far as possible, of every external source of supply. Their food and raw material find a ready market everywhere, and if they insist upon having a less price for it in gold or their own bonds than they could obtain in manufactures, that, of course, is their own affair. The annoyance to which they are subjected by the strict custom-house regulations, the administrative drawbacks which are so obvious to the bystander, affect but a very small portion of the population; the rest are satisfied that it is better to pay twice as much wheat—in practice it is not nearly so much quality for quality—to an American for an axe, than it would be to pay the less price to an Englishman. Americans are not in the least cosmopolitan in practice, whatever they may be in theory. Patriotism means with them a strong desire to push ahead their own country, and there is no pretence that they wish to do so with any regard for the interests of other people. A nation which commenced its struggle for independence by a resolute determination not to import goods, however much they might want them, in order to avoid paying what they considered unfair duties, may be thought to have an hereditary taint of Protectionism in the blood. Whether that will convey much consolation to our own manufacturers may be doubted. Sooner or later a change will probably come, but the time is not yet.



Protection, too, is not confined to merchandise. Of late, as is well known, both parties have likewise decided that protection of labour against competition is essential, and that the Chinese must be kept out. Few would have thought a year or two ago that the most telling attack which could be made upon a candidate for the Presidency would be that he favoured Chinese immigration. But so it has come about. Just as the workman thinks he must be completely crushed by the importation of English iron and cotton in the Eastern States, so he now looks with dread to the influx of direct competitors from Asia. There are 350,000,000 people ready to farm out their surplus labour, and who knows what may be the result of the overflow. It is a grave question, however it is looked at. Possibly while the conflict of nationalities is slowly coming to an end, the conflict of civilisations and the social struggle have barely commenced.

The American resolution has, at any rate, been positively forced upon the country by the determined attitude of the working classes. The working men of the Pacific Slope of course began the agitation; but it has now thoroughly permeated their brethren in the Eastern States. There, in the first instance, no great objection was felt to the influx of Chinamen. On the contrary, the press almost unanimously supported the plain reading of the Constitution. Chinamen had as much right to come to the United States as any other nationality. Even if there were no Constitution proclaiming the equality of men, the existing treaties with China clearly forbid Americans to take any steps to stop the immigration, and according to political economy capital has the right to employ the cheapest labour to be had. But all such arguments as these were swept aside by mere brute force. Infamous crimes were committed upon the industrious Asiatics, because they worked at a cheap rate in the land which they had been led to believe was open to all.<sup>1</sup> As, however, our Australian Colonies, as well as British Columbia, have also determined to prevent the Chinese from landing, or at any rate from competing, it is clear that the objections to them have a tolerably wide range. That they are quiet, saving, and industrious, does not help them in the least. As to their dirt and immorality that is really mere pretence. No

(1) The shameful outbreak against the Chinese at Denver serves to show that the feeling is ready to burst out at a moment's notice. It is one of the best features in our colonial history that we have never allowed the pistol to get the upper hand as it has in the west of America. Yet rough fellows enough were collected in the Australian and New Zealand gold-fields, who would have been ready to use the revolver freely had the same indifference to murder been shown there as in America. Of late the feeling against the Chinese has been exceedingly bitter in Melbourne, but the authorities very soon showed that no such outrages would be permitted to pass without any punishment as in San Francisco. The different tone adopted in the north with reference to the Chinese from that toward the negroes is worth observing. Judge Tourgee's books exposing the Ku-Klux terrorism of the white population in the Southern States had in all probability an effect upon the late elections. The wrongs of the Chinese might be written about till Domesday without producing the slightest effect.

doubt China town in San Francisco is rather a queer place; but it is not half so bad as the Irish quarter in some of the Eastern cities, nor are the vices of the Chinaman paraded in any way. If sanitary arrangements are infringed there is the law to be enforced, if the immorality is a public scandal it can be put down by the police.

The real objection to the Chinese may be learned from any intelligent working man. What he sees is that the Chinaman comes and begins to compete in his trade. He is very hard-working, very steady, and exceedingly sharp in the matter of wages. He eats little, drinks less, and stows away anywhere—there is no vertebrate animal living of equal size who will thrive on so little air as a Chinaman; besides, as he is utterly indifferent to amusement, and is specially anxious to work out his dues on first arrival to the company which imported him, he works double tides. As a result of this industry, ere long he starts a little shop—I am speaking now of work in the cities—and takes unto him two or three other Chinamen as industrious, as sober, as easily housed and fed as himself. Thereupon begins a process of underselling, which the working man finds yet more objectionable than the original direct competition. Presently this particular trade is completely blocked. For there come more and yet more Chinamen, and there are no one knows how many millions more of them across the Pacific ready to step in to fill up the places below, as each of the original immigrants takes his place, on a rung higher up the social ladder. But that isn't the worst of it either. "Each of these abominable Mongolians is a sort of economical vampire. He will eat nothing American that he can get the like of from China. He buys Chinese clothes, eats Chinese food, does business with Chinese merchants, smokes—confound him he don't even drink—Chinese opium, there is not a red cent to be squeezed out of him anywhere. And then, when he has made his pile, off he goes with it to China to live, and another Chinaman, for all the world exactly like the one that went, only more thrifty, if possible, comes in to take his place. They don't stop in America, they don't mix with us, not a man in the whole country understands their language—look there, there's one of them now reading a post-card, that not a human being but himself can make head or tail of—they take advantage of all our civilisation, and I'll tell you what," with strong Western affirmations, "they'll clear us all out of here if we don't clear them out." In the mining regions, where the Chinamen do not work underground, and are exceedingly useful as cooks and laundrymen, the feeling is not so bitter. Still Americans hate to see these people gathering up money and going away with it. The whole process is to them objectionable in the highest degree; to Irishmen, the Chinese, like the negroes, are specially hateful, because they are direct rivals in every department of work. Thus all talk here, too, about political economy,

the rights of man, and so forth, sounds to them altogether "too thin." There is not room for the white Protectionist and the yellow on that continent.

It was this animosity against the Chinese which formed the basis of agitation in California. Without that to go upon in all probability no great change could have been made. The working-men would not have voted on any issue which less directly concerned themselves. But a deeper set of causes underlay the general dissatisfaction with the arrangements then in existence. These extend throughout the United States, and must be regarded as one of the gravest dangers to the future of the country. Of the differences between capital and labour we have enough on this side of the Atlantic, but were it not that there is still such an enormous territory open to all we should hear much more of these differences in America. The influence of money is far too great for the well-being of the whole country. Of the almighty dollar and its irresistible power in some respects, much has from time to time been said. Even during the last elections, when the gravest issues were supposed to be involved, the amount of bribery which went on was a scandal to all really patriotic Americans. Both parties spent money to an extent previously unprecedented. This corruption, which will be increasingly dangerous in Federal matters, is already a positive curse in relation to purely State business. There the influence of capitalists becomes directly injurious to the interests of the community.

Nowhere in the world do great corporations and even individual capitalists possess greater power than in the United States. And it is used in a manner which at times renders them specially obnoxious. We have only to look at such enterprises as the elevated railroads in New York to see how in one direction a ring of capitalists are enabled to ride rough-shod over all private interests without compensation either to the people injured or to the municipality itself. These railroads running down the main arteries of the city are no doubt an enormous advantage to the business part of the population, but they render the lower districts of New York still more dark and miserable than they were before, they shake whole blocks of buildings to such an extent as to be almost unendurable, and the passing of trains in front of the first-floor windows has greatly injured the value of property. But there is no remedy whatever either for the poor or for the well-to-do. The promoters put matters right with the proper people, and all the rest had to suffer and manage as best they might. This is one instance out of many. The Pittsburg riots, which occasioned such a "scare" throughout America, were by no means without cause. Here a great corporation treated its men without the slightest consideration. At first the

sympathy of many, perhaps of the majority, of the well-to-do people in Pittsburg, was with the strikers. Afterwards, when the rowdy part of the population took advantage of the original dispute to burn and pillage not only in Pittsburg but in Baltimore and elsewhere, matters took a different turn. Yet even as it was, an official report of the whole affair contains the observation that railway directors would learn from these circumstances not to treat their servants as if they were mere locomotives. The arbitrariness of the proceedings of some of the companies towards their own servants is indeed only equalled by the shameful way in which, whenever they can safely do so, they treat the public. As a result there is a bitterness of feeling which may yet show itself in a still more awkward shape.

In the same way the housing of the working classes in the great eastern cities is infamously bad. New York is worse in this respect than London or Glasgow. Yet nothing whatever is done to remedy this evil, and the rents are excessively high. Wherever, too, there is no combination among the working class every effort is made to decrease wages and increase the hours of work. The miserable condition of the seamstresses and shirt-makers of New York was exposed not long since in *Harper's Magazine*. Nothing that has ever been told of the state of a similar class in London has been more distressing. In New York, as in London, no attempt is made to relieve these poor people, and the operations of the "sweater" continue unchecked. During a period of depression these and other drawbacks to the social system in large towns force themselves into prominence, and the socialist organisations in Pittsburg and Philadelphia, as well as in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, gained ground rapidly between 1875 and 1878. At the same time the increase of tramps was so extraordinary—there were no fewer than 3,000,000 such wayfarers at the worst period—that all the most stringent, I had almost said ferocious, enactments against vagrants to be found in our statute book were revived and put in force. In some States they are the law to-day. Thus below the surface of American politics are grave difficulties, and such a party as that which sprang up in favour of the rights of labour would have something to say for itself if organized aright and on sound principles. Now, however, that a general rebound of prosperity has come these troubles are forgotten, the working-men earning good wages are contented, the question of their dwellings is left to a more convenient season, and all that is to be thought of is the universal "boom." When the reaction comes again, it may come it is to be feared with redoubled force, and America of the east is by no means safe from far more formidable agitations than that which Kearney's name is associated with in California. As to any moral restraint upon the money-getting class, that unfortunately is practically non-existent in the larger circle of operations. Nowhere is

more honest hard work done than in America, nowhere is more business transacted among ordinary men on mere verbal contract, but nowhere assuredly is a man who has made a large sum of money by nefarious means so quickly forgiven.

Now it so happened that in California, quite apart from the Chinese grievance, nearly all the dictatorial and corrupt features of the worst capitalism of the Eastern States appeared in their worst shape. Moreover, the people were less inclined to submit to them. Here, too, I may say, by way of parenthesis, that it is impossible to pass through any of the Western mining States without being utterly shocked at the complete indifference of greed for gain not only to the welfare of future but even of present inhabitants. Forests are swept away for railway sleepers, timbers for mines and fuel, as if the trees were so much valueless brushwood. Mountain side after mountain side is swept completely bare. It is miserable to see one vast array of stumps where but now stood magnificent timber. Nothing is planted in place of what is destroyed, and the whole landscape is spoilt. As a result the climate is too often changed, streams, instead of flowing with tolerable evenness, alternate between a rivulet and a flood. It is nobody's business, and even now the people are beginning to feel the effects of such recklessness, which still goes on unchecked. What has been done is almost incredible. The action of the hydraulic mining companies in particular is most baneful. You see a magnificent mountain valley completely flooded with water, here and there perhaps the tops of some trees of exceptional height showing above the surface. A vast dam has been built just below, and the water thus accumulated is used merely to wash down masses of sand which contain a few cents' worth of free gold to the cubic yard. So far only a fine valley has been spoiled and a splendid forest ruined, but now far more mischief is done. The stuff thus washed down goes into the streams and chokes them up, flooding the country below and even blocking up part of San Francisco harbour with the debris. A greater curse to a country than this hydraulic gold washing could scarcely be. The farmers complain, San Francisco complains, and yet such is the influence of the capitalists who control these gold properties that even yet nothing has been done to check them. Such instances of the supreme selfishness of the money-getting class, who seem to settle down upon a country and ruin it in their haste to be rich, with as little regard for the future as a flight of locusts descending upon the farmer's land, give one a feeling of disgust at the idea of a whole community falling into the grip of men who care for nothing in the world but the rights of capital to increase itself no matter at what cost to others.

And this is precisely what befell the Californians, and they have served as a sort of illustration of how far it can go. Isolated in some

degree from other States, the whole process can be more easily traced. Formerly, California was the best place possible for a man who wanted to make his way in the world no matter what he set to work at. A miner would see Paris, the American paradise, at the top of the shaft even when he was, in their parlance, "flat broke." There was a sort of general rough equality which went through all business; for the man who was down to-day might be up to-morrow, and depression was unknown. Within the last few years, however, has been witnessed a growth of wealth and a concentration of capital which is probably unequalled in any other portion of America. The story of the four Irishmen, Mackay, Flood, O'Brien, and Fair, reads like a romance. In effect they achieved their enormous fortune because they acted in concert and played a game with the Comstock mines against the rest of the community. From the time when, by artful manipulation, they secured the control of the Hale and Norcross mine, until they became the possessors of enormous wealth in mines, money, and land, their one idea was to pile up money. Of poor education and little refinement, there was nothing to gild the dirty transactions of which they or others might be guilty. We here at home are at least accustomed for the most part to be mulcted by men of some culture. The class which controls the whole of one branch of the Legislature and seats so many members in the other has at any rate acquired or inherited some dexterity in its methods of living upon the fruits of other men's labour. But Californian aristocracy is aristocracy in the rough, and its way of managing legislatures is, to say the least of it, primitive or Walpolian. They buy them outright. The whole State may be said to be in the hands of eight men, who buy the representatives to do what they want. From the Central Pacific Railroad downwards the people are crushed by a gang of unscrupulous monopolists, who laugh outright at the idea that universal suffrage can send up legislators whom they cannot control.

An illustration of how these railway operations are managed may be taken from a little further east. Jay Gould practically owns and controls the whole of the Union Pacific Railroad. This line was built to a very great extent with public money and out of the proceeds of enormous land grants. But the very last point which is considered is the public interest. Rates are put up to the very highest point which the farmers and miners along the road can possibly stand; special calculations are made in particular cases so that goods cannot be shipped to a profit from San Francisco; but as that is the only competition to be found, and the Central Pacific is a monopoly too, the whole country from Omaha to San Francisco may be said to be really under the thumb of this railway magnate. For he has contrived in one way or another to obtain control of all

or nearly all the trunk roads; and in some instances the tyranny exercised is beyond belief. Thus a railroad was planned and laid out by one company, and the stations being "located," the people who intended to settle on the line of the road made their townships at the stopping points, paying extra prices for the town lots. The other portion of the road, however, after a fight for the possession of a certain cañon, fell into the hands of the Union Pacific Railroad, who straightway changed every allotment and station, forcing the poor people to abandon their houses and pay over again. Similar tricks have been played elsewhere.

Nor must it be forgotten that enormous tracts of land were taken up by local speculators, who, to use an expressive Australian phrase, "picked out the eyes of the country," and held on for a high price, refusing to let or lease or to sell at a reasonable figure. These lands thus taken were let off at a low taxation by friends of the purchasers in the legislature.

This being the state of affairs, there arose in California that Kearney agitation which in one shape or another will be renewed throughout the Union if in the next period of distress capitalists attempt as they did last time to throw the entire loss upon the labourer. Undoubtedly Kearneyism had its origin in the Pittsburg riotings, but it has in its turn spread to the East. Kearney was put down as a mere rough brutal self-seeker. This he was not altogether, and among his supporters were numbered many who had a great deal to lose. He could not possibly have carried the charges he did otherwise. There was never any real danger of mob violence winning the day. It was not even a socialistic movement. But it was a vehement and in many respects an injudicious protest against the unscrupulous action of suddenly raised men as well as against the Chinese who were coming in at the time.

The wealthy are more ready to use harsh measures against the poor than the latter are to strike and combine against the wealthy. Consequently, to quote an American writer who has specially studied this movement<sup>1</sup>—

"The danger to social order is not a direct one. The force that would rally at any open assault upon it have with us overwhelming strength. The real danger comes through forms of legality and methods of government. Tweed and his little band would have been lodged in jail in a trice had they directly attempted their robberies; yet Tweed and his handful for years levied at their will upon the wealth of New York, and flaunted their spoils in all men's eyes."

And again—

"Government with us grows in weight and importance; but this is not a Conservative force when its increasing powers and emoluments are to be grasped by whoever can best organize corruption or rouse passion. We have great and increasing accumulations of wealth; capital is becoming organized in greater

(1) Mr. Henry George.

and greater masses, and the railroad company dwarfs the State. But these are not forces of stability. Perhaps these great combinations are forced into politics in self-defence. But however they get there, their effort is but to demoralise and corrupt—to reward and bring to political leadership the unscrupulous. And then great corporations themselves are but the prize and prey of adventurers, the fattening-places of unscrupulous rings. Given universal suffrage; a vague bitter feeling of discontent on the one side and of insecurity on the other; unscrupulous politicians who may ride into force by exciting hopes and fears; class jealousies and class antipathies; great moneyed interests working through all classes with utter selfishness; a general disgust with political methods and feeling of practical political impotence, producing indifference and recklessness on the part of the great mass of voters—and any accident may start a series of the most dangerous actions and reactions."

I do not think any careful observer can doubt that these sentences set forth only too correctly the dangers which lie before the American nation. The utter unspeakable selfishness of corporations and rings is proverbial; and the danger of treating men like locomotives really does not occur to their managers until too late. Who can summon up one iota of admiration or liking for the great handlers of capital? Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, Mackay, and the rest of them, have but one faculty, and that not of a very high order. In the great and increasing influence of such people is to be seen the worst side of American life. Political equality is valuable enough, but when this is counterbalanced by inordinate wealth and an extraordinary extension of corruption, by no means confined to the Western States, the rights of the many are apt to be sacrificed altogether by their own representatives.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile it is worthy of note that although America has not the slightest reason to fear invasion from any quarter whatever, the inclination for drill is greatly on the increase. No doubt the regular army is absurdly small even taking account of the fact that there are only Indians to fight or Mexicans to keep in order. But the amount of military training that goes on in one way or another is astonishing for a purely industrial community. For this is by no means confined to those who take part in processions or for other purposes of political display. From one end of the country to the other a large proportion of all classes are devoting themselves to regular drill, and rifle-shooting at a target is becoming a popular pastime. In England the militia and the volunteers are valuable, because invasion is or might be possible, but neither they nor the regular army possess such a magnificent building as the armoury of the 7th Regiment of New York, for which the land and a large sum of money were voted by the city. It is sometimes said that all this

(1) This little paper of course makes no pretence to give more than a very superficial view of such a question. The real source of all the mischief must be sought in our present system of unregulated capitalist production. Our dangers in England on that account are almost infinitely greater than those in the United States. In any case, California is cited merely as an illustration of a general tendency.



military spirit is due to the war; but that came to an end fifteen years ago and still this ardour for military exercise is on the increase. The poor citizens share it no less than the well-to-do. The thousands of working men who met on the Sand Lots at San Francisco were well armed and most of them more or less drilled, and the organizations in other cities are not behindhand. Whether it is fear of success of the mob which leads one side to drill so resolutely, and on the other hand a desperate hope on the part of the poorer classes that by preparing themselves beforehand they may be able to act better in concert at the next period of distress, it is impossible to say. But this voluntary militarisation in a country where to all appearance the people may calculate upon perpetual peace, and have quite enough in the industrial development of their enormous resources to occupy all their energies, is certainly singular enough. With such complete liberty as all possess, and the universal right to a fair hearing, it would indeed lead one almost to despair of human improvement if violence were resorted to to solve any political or social difficulty.

Of political difficulty there is at present little sign. But there was a general feeling that a narrow majority on either side at the late elections might have led to grave results. The old party lines, however, have now been broken up, and it remains to be seen how they will be reformed. State rights and Federal rights may conflict and do conflict a good deal; and the strenuous efforts made to nominate Grant at Chicago gave some sort of colour to the idea that an attempt at Imperialism was being made by the wirepullers of the Republican party. But the fear of the South as a disruptive agency has quite died out among the people, and it is quite possible that during the next few years the two principles of centralisation and decentralisation—the control of the Federal Government being exercised over what are manifestly general concerns, and the State being still allowed adequate freedom to give play to individual resource—may be satisfactorily harmonised. That more control is needed over the vagaries of State Legislatures few will be found to question. The reform of the Civil Service and the judicial bench, though quite as important as any political question, will probably be undertaken later. Though all Americans outside of the political rings freely acknowledge that the more democratic a community the greater the necessity for keeping the framework of administration clear of political and party warfare, and the judicial bench from popular influence or private chicane, the difficulty is which side shall begin the change of system. Neither wishes to incur the temporary unpopularity which a plain outspoken policy would, it is thought, entail. The tendency to "let things slide" is only too manifest in such matters.

But when all drawbacks are made the most of and all dangers discounted, the good most clearly over-balances the bad. There is no fair comparison between the condition of the mass of the people, either as regards food or education, in America and in England during ordinary times. The working class across the Atlantic is far better off. The mischiefs below the surface are common to our civilisation; the compensating advantages are, happily for America, peculiar to her. It is always possible in such circumstances that the growth of public spirit may counteract dangers before they come to a head, that the selfishness of the capitalists and the middle class may be controlled by the State in the interest of the bulk of the people<sup>1</sup>. Corruption in any case must gradually work its own cure. Education and the instinctive faculty for organization will do the rest. After every deduction the great central fact stands out clear, that a nation of 50,000,000 can pass through periods of extraordinary political excitement time after time with little or no disturbance, that they deliberately choose to follow the party which calls for universal sacrifice and general equality; that they absorb with little danger a less intelligent population, and are able to educate the bulk of the community up to a standard of patriotism which is nowise inferior to that which obtains in any old historic country. No privileged class is needed to keep up a traditional policy, no social subservience is thought necessary. There is no reason why Englishmen, with their glorious record of progress, should long envy the Americans any of their political advantages. That, however, notwithstanding caucuses and wirepullers, unscrupulous rings and corrupt legislators, we have a good deal to learn from them in the direction of political organization and general political knowledge can scarcely be questioned.

H. M. HYNDMAN.

(1) Full individual freedom leads in present economical conditions to monopoly, that monopoly speedily develops into oppression and tyranny, and then the common sense of society as a whole has to step in to correct the mischief which has been allowed to spring up. We have evidence enough of this close at home to refute the prettiest theories of individualism without going further afield.

## FOLGORE DA SAN GEMIGNANO.

STUDENTS of Mr. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's translations from the early Italian poets (*Dante and his Circle*. Ellis and White, 1874) will not fail to have noticed the striking figure made among those jejune imitators of Provençal mannerism by two rhymesters, Cecco Angiolieri and Folgore da San Gemignano. Both belong to the school of Siena, and both detach themselves from the metaphysical fashion of their epoch by clearness of intention and directness of style. The sonnets of both are remarkable for what in the critical jargon of to-day might be termed realism. Cecco is even savage and brutal. He anticipates Villon from afar, and is happily described by Mr. Rossetti as the prodigal or "scamp" of the Dantesque circle. The case is different with Folgore. There is no poet who breathes a fresher air of gentleness. He writes in images, dealing but little with ideas. Every line presents a picture, and each picture has the charm of a miniature fancifully drawn and brightly coloured on a missal-margin. Cecco and Folgore alike have abandoned the medieval mysticism which sounds so foolish upon all Italian lips but Dante's. True Italians, they are content to live for life's sake, and to take the world as it presents itself to natural senses. But Cecco is perverse and impious. His love has nothing delicate; his hatred is a morbid passion. At his worst or best (for his best writing is his worst feeling) we find him all but rabid. If Caligula, for instance, had written poetry, he might have piqued himself upon the following sonnet:—

An I were fire, I would burn up the world;  
An I were wind, with tempest I'd it break;  
An I were sea, I'd drown it in a lake;  
An I were God, to hell I'd have it hurled;  
An I were Pope, I'd see disaster whirled  
O'er Christendom, deep joy thereof to take;  
An I were Emperor, I'd quickly make  
All heads of all folk from their necks be twirled;  
An I were death, I'd to my father go;  
An I were life, forthwith from him I'd fly;  
And with my mother I'd deal even so;  
An I were Cecco, as I am but I,  
Young girls and pretty for myself I'd hold,  
But let my neighbours take the plain and old.

Of all this there is no trace in Folgore. The worst a moralist could say of him is that he preferred a life of pure enjoyment. The famous Sonnets on the Months give particular directions for pastime in a round of pleasure suited to each season. The Sonnets on the

Days are conceived with a like hedonistic bias. But these series are specially addressed to members of the Glad Brigades and Spending Companies, which were common in the great mercantile cities of medieval Italy. Their tone is doubtless due to the occasion of their composition, as compliments to Messer Nicholò di Nisi and Messer Guerra Caviocchioli.

The mention of these names reminds me that a word need be said about the date of Folgore. Mr. Rossetti does not dispute the commonly assigned date of 1260, and takes for granted that the Messer Nicolò of the Sonnets on the Months was the Sienese gentleman referred to by Dante in a certain passage of the *Inferno* —<sup>1</sup>

And to the Poet said I: 'Now was ever  
 So vain a people as the Sienese'  
 Not for a certainty the French by far.'  
 Whereat the other leper, who had heard me,  
 Replied unto my speech: 'Taking out Stricca,  
 Who know the art of moderate expenses,  
 And Nicolo, who the luxurious use  
 Of cloves discovered earliest of all  
 Within that garden where such seed takes root.  
 And taking out the band, among whom squandered  
 Uaccia d' Ascan his vineyards and vast woods,  
 And where his wit the Abbagliato proffered.'

Now Folgore refers in his political sonnets to events of the years 1314 and 1315; and the correct reading of a line in his last sonnet on the Months gives the name of Nicholò di Nisi to the leader of Folgore's "blithe and lordly Fellowship." The first of these facts leads us to the conclusion that Folgore flourished in the first quarter of the fourteenth, instead of in the third quarter of the thirteenth, century. The second prevents our identifying Nicholò di Nisi with the Niccolò de' Salimbeni, who is thought to have been the founder of the Fellowship of the Carnation. Furthermore, documents have recently been brought to light which mention at San Gemignano, in the years 1305 and 1306, a certain Folgore. There is no sufficient reason to identify this Folgore with the poet; but the name, to say the least, is so peculiar that its occurrence in the records of so small a town as San Gemignano gives some confirmation to the hypothesis of the poet's later date. Taking these several considerations together, I think we must abandon the old view that Folgore was one of the earliest Tuscan poets, a view which is, moreover, contradicted by his style. Those critics, at any rate, who still believe him to have been a predecessor of Dante's, are forced to reject as spurious the political sonnets referring to Monte Catini and the plunder of Lucca by Ugucione della Faggiuola. Yet these sonnets rest on the same MS.

(1) *Inferno*, xxix. 121.—*Longfellow*.

authority as the Months and Days, and are distinguished by the same qualities.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever may be the date of Folgore, whether we assign his period to the middle of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, there is no doubt but that he presents us with a very lively picture of Italian manners, drawn from the point of view of the high bourgeoisie. It is on this account that I have thought it worth while to translate five of his Sonnets on Knighthood, which form the fragment that remains to us from a series of seventeen. Few poems better illustrate the temper of Italian aristocracy when the civil wars of two centuries had forced the nobles to enroll themselves among the burghers, and when what little chivalry had taken root in Italy was fast decaying in a gorgeous overbloom of luxury. The institutions of feudal knighthood had lost their meaning for our poet. He uses them for the suggestion of delicate allegories fancifully painted. Their mysterious significance is turned to gaiety, their piety to amorous delight, their grimness to refined enjoyment. Still these changes are effected with perfect good taste and in perfect good faith. Something of the perfume of true chivalry still lingered in a society which was fast becoming mercantile and diplomatic. And this perfume is exhaled by the petals of Folgore's song-blossom. He has no conception that to readers of *Mort Arthur*, or to Founders of the Garter, to Sir Miles Stapleton, Sir Richard Fitz-Simon, or Sir James Audley, his ideal knight would have seemed no better than a scented civet-cat. Such knights as his were all that Italy possessed, and the poet-painter was justly proud of them, since they served for finished pictures of the beautiful in life.

The Italians were not a feudal race. During the successive reigns of Lombard, Frankish, and German masters, they had passively accepted, stubbornly resisted feudalism, remaining true to the conviction that they themselves were Roman. In Roman memories they sought the traditions which give consistency to national consciousness. And when the communes triumphed finally over the Empire, the counts, the bishops, and the rural aristocracy, Roman law was speedily substituted for the 'asinine code' of the barbarians, and Roman civility gave its tone to social customs in the place of Teutonic chivalry. Yet just as the Italians borrowed, modified, and misconceived Gothic architecture, so they took a feudal tincture from the nations of the North with whom they came in contact. Their noble families, those especially who followed the Imperial party, sought the honour of knighthood; and even the free cities arrogated to themselves the right of conferring this distinction by diploma on

(1) The above points are fully discussed by Signor Giulio Navone, in his recent edition of *Le Rime di Folgore da San Gemignano e di Cino da la Chitarra d'Arezzo*. Bologna, Romagnoli, 1880. I may further mention that in the sonnet on the Pisans, translated below, which belongs to the political series, Folgore uses his own name.

their burghers. The chivalry thus formed in Italy was a decorative institution. It might be compared to the ornamental frontispiece which masks the structural poverty of such Gothic buildings as the Cathedral of Orvieto.

On the descent of the German Emperor into Lombardy, the great vassals who acknowledged him made knighthood, among titles of more solid import, the price of their allegiance.<sup>1</sup> Thus the chronicle of the Cortusi for the year 1354 tells us that when Charles IV. "was advancing through the March, and had crossed the Oglio, and was at the borders of Cremona, in his camp upon the snow, he, sitting upon his horse, did knight the doughty and noble man, Francesco da Carrara, who had constantly attended him with a great train, and smiting him upon the neck with his palm, said: 'Be thou a good knight, and loyal to the Empire.' Thereupon the noble German peers dismounted, and forthwith buckled on Francesco's spurs. To them the Lord Francesco gave chargers and other horses of the best he had." Immediately afterwards Francesco dubbed several of his own retainers knights. And this was the fashion of these Lombard lords. For we read how in the year 1328 Can Grande della Scala, after the capture of Padua, "returned to Verona, and for the further celebration of his victory upon the last day of October held a court, and made thirty-eight knights with his own hand of the divers districts of Lombardy." And in 1294 Azzo d'Este "was knighted by Gerardo da Camino, who then was Lord of Treviso, upon the piazza of Ferrara before the gate of the Bishop's palace. And on the same day at the same hour the said Lord Marquis Azzo made fifty-two knights with his own hand, namely, the Lord Francesco, his brother, and others of Ferrara, Modena, Bologna, Florence, Padua, and Lombardy; and on this occasion was a great court held in Ferrara." Another chronicle, referring to the same event, says that the whole expenses of the ceremony, including the rich dresses of the new knights, were at the charge of the Marchese. It was customary, when a noble house had risen to great wealth and had abundance of fighting men, to increase its prestige and spread abroad its glory by a wholesale creation of knights. Thus the Chronicle of Rimini records a high court held by Pandolfo Malatesta in the May of 1324, when he and his two sons, with two of his near relatives and certain strangers from Florence, Bologna, and Perugia, received this honour. At Siena, in like manner, in the year 1284, "thirteen of the house of Salimbeni were knighted with great pomp."

It was not on the battle-field that the Italians sought this honour. They regarded knighthood as a part of their signorial parade. And thus Republics, in whom, according to strict feudal notions, there

(1) The passages used in the text are chiefly drawn from Muratori's fifty-third Dissertation.

was no fount of honour, presumed to appoint procurators for the special purpose of making knights. Florence, Siena, and Arezzo after this fashion gave the golden spurs to men who were enrolled in the arts of trade or commerce. The usage was severely criticised by Germans who visited Italy in the Imperial train. Otto Frisingensis, writing the deeds of Frederick Barbarossa, speaks with bitterness thereof: "To the end that they may not lack means of subduing their neighbours, they think it no shame to gird as knights young men of low birth, or even handicraftsmen in despised mechanic arts, the which folk other nations banish like the plague from honourable and liberal pursuits." Such knights, amid the chivalry of Europe, were not held in much esteem; nor is it easy to see what the cities, who had formally excluded nobles from their government, thought to gain by aping institutions which had their true value only in a feudal society. We must suppose that the Italians were not strong enough in their own type to resist an enthusiasm which inflamed all Christendom. At the same time they were too Italian to comprehend the spirit of the thing they borrowed. The knights thus made already contained within themselves the germ of those Condottieri, who reduced the service of arms to a commercial speculation. But they lent splendour to the commonwealth, as may be seen in the grave line of mounted warriors, steel-clad, with open visors, who guard the commune of Siena in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco. Giovanni Villani, in a passage of his Chronicle which deals with the fair state of Florence just before the outbreak of the Black and White parties, says the city at that epoch numbered "three hundred Cavalieri di Corredo, with many clubs of knights and squires, who morning and evening went to meat with many men of the court, and gave away on high festivals many robes of vair." It is clear that these citizen knights were leaders of society, and did their duty to the commonwealth by adding to its joyous cheer. Upon the battle-fields of the civil wars, moreover, they sustained at their expense the charges of the cavalry.

Siena was a city much given to parade and devoted to the Imperial cause, in which the institution of chivalry flourished. Not only did the burghers take knighthood from their procurators, but the more influential sought it by a special dispensation from the Emperor. Thus we hear how Nino Tolomei obtained a Cæsarean diploma of knighthood for his son Giovanni, and published it with great pomp to the people in his palace. This Giovanni, when he afterwards entered religion, took the name of Bernard, and founded the Order of Monte Oliveto.

Owing to the special conditions of Italian chivalry, it followed that the new knight, having won his spurs by no feat of arms upon the battle-field, was bounden to display peculiar magnificence in the

ceremonies of his investiture. His honour was held to be less the reward of courage than of liberality. And this feeling is strongly expressed in a curious passage of Matteo Villani's Chronicle. "When the Emperor Charles had received the crown in Rome, as we have said, he turned towards Siena, and on the 19th day of April arrived at that city; and before he entered the same, there met him people of the commonwealth with great festivity upon the hour of vespers; in the which reception eight burghers, given to display but miserly, to the end they might avoid the charges due to knight-hood, did cause themselves then and there to be made knights by him. And no sooner had he passed the gates than many ran to meet him without order in their going or provision for the ceremony, and he, being aware of the vain and light impulse of that folk, enjoined upon the Patriarch to knight them in his name. The Patriarch could not withstay from knighting as many as offered themselves; and seeing the thing so cheap, very many took the honour, who before that hour had never thought of being knighted, nor had made provision of what is required from him who seeketh knight-hood, but with light impulse did cause themselves to be borne upon the arms of those who were around the Patriarch; and when they were in the path before him, these raised such an one on high, and took his customary cap off, and after he had had the cheek-blow which is used in knighting, put a gold-fringed cap upon his head, and drew him from the press, and so he was a knight. And after this wise were made four-and-thirty on that evening, of the noble and lesser folk. And when the Emperor had been attended to his lodging, night fell, and all returned home; and the new knights without preparation or expense celebrated their reception into chivalry with their families forthwith. He who reflects with a mind not subject to base avarice upon the coming of a new-crowned Emperor into so famous a city, and bethinks him how so many noble and rich burghers were promoted to the honour of knight-hood in their native land, men too by nature fond of pomp, without having made any solemn festival in common or in private to the fame of chivalry, may judge this people little worthy of the distinction they received."

This passage is interesting partly as an instance of Florentine spite against Siena, partly as showing that in Italy great munificence was expected from the carpet-knights who had not won their spurs with toil, and partly as proving how the German Emperors, on their parade expeditions through Italy, debased the institutions they were bound to hold in respect. Enfeebled by the extirpation of the last great German house which really reigned in Italy, the Empire was now no better than a cause of corruption and demoralisation to Italian society. The conduct of men like Charles dis-



gusted even the most fervent Ghibellines; and we find Fazio degli Uberti flinging scorn upon his avarice and baseness in such lines as these:—

“Sappi oh’ i’ son Italia che ti parlo,  
 Di Lusimburgo *ignominioso* Carlo . . .  
 Veggondo to aver teso tue arti  
*A tor danuri e gir con essi a casa . . .*  
 Tu dunque, Giove, percho’ l’ Santo uccollo  
 Da questo Carlo quarto  
 Imperador non toglì e dalle mani  
*Degli altri, lurchi moderni Germani*  
*Chi d’ aquila un allocco n’ hanno fatto ?”*

From a passage in a Sienese chronicle we learn what ceremonies of bravery were usual in that city when the new knights understood their duty. It was the year 1326. Messer Francesco Bandinelli was about to be knighted on the morning of Christmas-day. The friends of his house sent peacocks and pheasants by the dozen, and huge pies of marchpane, and game in quantities. Wine, meat, and bread were distributed to the Franciscan and other convents, and a fair and noble court was opened to all comers. Messer Sozzo, father of the novice, went, attended by his guests, to hear high mass in the cathedral; and there upon the marble pulpit, which the Pisans carved, the ceremony was completed. Tommaso di Nello bore his sword and cap and spurs before him upon horseback. Messer Sozzo girded the sword upon the loins of Messer Francesco, his son aforesaid. Messer Pietro Ridolfi, of Rome, who was the first vicar that came to Siena, and the Duke of Calabria buckled on his right spur. The Captain of the People buckled on his left. The Count Simone da Battifollo then undid his sword and placed it in the hands of Messer Giovanni di Messer Bartolo de’ Fibenzi da Rodi, who handed it to Messer Sozzo, the which sword had previously been girded by the father on his son. After this follows a list of the illustrious guests, and an inventory of the presents made to them by Messer Francesco. We find among these “a robe of silken cloth and gold, skirt, and fur, and cap lined with vair, with a silken cord.” The description of the many costly dresses is minute; but I find no mention of armour. The singers received golden florins, and the players upon instruments “good store of money.” A certain Salamone was presented with the clothes which the novice doffed before he took the ceremonial bath. The whole catalogue concludes with Messer Francesco’s furniture and outfit. This, besides a large wardrobe of rich clothes and furs, contains armour and the trappings for charger and palfrey. The *Corte Bandita*, or open house held upon this occasion, lasted for eight days, and the charges on the Bandinelli estates must have been considerable.

Knights so made were called in Italy *Cavalieri Addobbati*, or *di Corredo*, probably because the expense of costly furniture was borne by them—*addobbo* being an old name for decoration, and *Corredo* for equipment. The latter is still in use for a bride's trousseau. But the Italians recognised three other kinds of knights, the *Cavalieri Bagnati*, *Cavalieri di Scudo*, and *Cavalieri d'Arme*. Of the four sorts Sacchetti writes in one of his novels:—"Knights of the Bath are made with the greatest ceremonies, and it behoves them to be bathed and washed of all impurity. Knights of Equipment are those who take the order with a mantle of dark green and the gilded garland. Knights of the Shield are such as are made knights by commonwealths or princes, or go to investiture armed, and with the casque upon their head. Knights of Arms are those who in the opening of a battle, or upon a foughten field, are dubbed knights." These distinctions, however, though concordant with feudal chivalry, were not scrupulously maintained in Italy. Messer Francesco Bandinelli, for example, was certainly a *Cavalere di Corredo*. Yet he took the bath, as we have seen. Of a truth, the Italians selected those picturesque elements of chivalry which lent themselves to pageant and parade. The sterner intonation of the institution, and the symbolic meaning of its various ceremonies, were neglected by them.

In the foregoing passages, which serve as a lengthy preamble to Folgore's five sonnets, I have endeavoured to draw illustrations from the history of Siena, because Folgore represents Sienese society at the height of medieval culture. In the first of the series he describes the preparation made by the aspirant after knighthood. The noble youth is so bent on doing honour to the order of chivalry that he raises money by mortgage to furnish forth the banquets and the presents due upon the occasion of his institution. He has made provision also of equipment for himself and all his train. It will be noticed that Folgore dwells only on the fair and joyous aspect of the ceremony. The religious enthusiasm of knighthood has disappeared, and already, in the first decade of the fourteenth century, we find the spirit of Jehan de Saintrè prevalent in Italy. The word *donzello*, derived from the Latin *domicellus*, I have translated *squire*, because the donzel was a youth of gentle birth awaiting knighthood.

This morn a young squire shall be made a knight,  
Whereof he fain would be right worthy found,  
And therefore pledgeth lands and castles round  
To furnish all that fits a man of might.  
Meat, bread, and wine he gives to many a wight,  
Capons and pheasants on his board abound,  
Where serving men and pages march around,  
Choico chambers, torches, and wax candle light.  
Barbed steeds, a multitude, are in his thought,  
Mailed men at arms and noble company,

Spears, pennants, housing cloths, bells richly wrought.  
Musicians following with great barony  
And jestors through the land his state have brought,  
With dames and damsels whereso rideth he.

The subject having thus been introduced, Folgore treats the ceremonies of investiture by an allegorical method, which is quite consistent with his own preference of images to ideas. Each of the four following sonnets presents a picture to the mind, admirably fitted for artistic handling. We may imagine them to ourselves wrought in arras for a sumptuous chamber. The first treats of the bath, in which as we have seen already from Sacchetti's note, the aspirant after knighthood puts aside all vice, and consecrates himself anew. Prodezza, or Prowess, must behold him nude from head to foot, in order to assure herself that the neophyte bears no blemish; and this inspection is an allegory of internal wholeness.

To Prowess, who despoiloth him straightway,  
And saith: 'Friend, now besooms it thee to strip;  
For I will see men naked, thigh and hip,  
And thou my will must know and eke obey;  
And leave what was thy wont until this day,  
• And for now toil, new sweat, thy strength equip;  
This do, and thou shalt join my fellowship,  
If of fair deeds thou tire not nor cry nay.'  
And when she sees his comely body bare,  
Forthwith within her arms she him doth take,  
And saith: 'These limbs thou yielddest to my prayer;  
I do accept thee, and this gift thee make,  
So that thy deeds may shine for ever fair,  
My lips shall never more thy praise forsake.'

After courage, the next virtue of the knightly character is gentleness or modesty, called by the Italians humility. It is this quality which makes a strong man pleasing to the world, and wins him favour. Folgore's sonnet enables us to understand the motto of the great borromeo family, *Humilitas*, in Gothic letters underneath the coronet upon their princely palace fronts.

Humility to him doth gently go,  
And saith: 'I would in no wise weary thee;  
Yet must I cleanse and wash thee thoroughly,  
And I will make thee whiter than the snow.  
Hear what I tell thee in few words, for so  
Fain am I of thy heart to hold the key;  
Now must thou sail henceforward after me;  
And I will guide thee as myself do go.  
But one thing would I have thee straightway leave;  
Well knowest thou mine enemy is pride;  
Let her no more unto thy spirit cleave:  
So leal a friend with thee will I abide  
That favour from all folk thou shalt receive;  
This grace hath he who keepeth on my side.'

The novice has now bathed, approved himself to the searching eyes of Prowess, and been accepted by Humility. After the bath, it was customary for him to spend a night in vigil; and this among the Teutons should have taken place in church, alone before the altar. But the Italian poet, after his custom, gives a suave turn to the severe discipline. His donzel passes the night in bed, attended by Discretion, or the virtue of reflection. She provides fair entertainment for the hours of vigil, and leaves him at the morning with good counsel. It is not for nothing that he seeks knighthood, and it behoves him to be careful of his goings. The three last lines of the sonnet are the gravest of the series, showing that something of true chivalrous feeling survived even among the Cavalieri di Corredo of Tuscany

Then did Discretion to the squire draw near,  
 And droth him with a fan cloth and clean,  
 And straightway putteth him the sheets between,  
 Silk, linen, counticpane, and minevero  
 Think now of this ' Until the day was clew,  
 With songs and music and delight the quene,  
 And with new knights, fair fellows well-beseen,  
 To make him perfect, gave him goodly cheer  
 Then saith she ' Rise forthwith, for now 'tis due,  
 Thou shouldst be born into the world again,  
 Keep well the order thou dost take in view '  
 Unfathomable thoughts with him remain  
 Of that great bond he may no more eschew,  
 Nor can he say, I'll hide me from this chain '

The vigil is over. The mind of the novice is prepared for his new duties. The morning of his reception into chivalry has arrived. It is, therefore, fitting that grave thoughts should be abandoned, and seeing that not only prowess, humility, and discretion are the virtues of a knight, but that he should also be blithe and debonnair, Gladness comes to raise him from his bed and equip him for the ceremony of institution

Comes blithesomeness with mirth and merriment,  
 All deck'd in flowers she seemeth a rose-tree,  
 Of linen, silk, cloth, furs, now beareth she  
 To the new knight a rich habiliment,  
 Head-gear and cap and garland flower-besprent,  
 So brave they were May-bloom he seemed to be,  
 With such a rout, so many and such glce,  
 That the floor shook. Then to her work she went,  
 And stood him on his feet in hose and shoon,  
 And purse and gilded girdle neath the fur  
 That drapes his goodly limbs, she buckles on,  
 Then bids the singers and sweet music stir,  
 And sheweth him to ladies for a boon  
 And all who in that following went with her

At this point the poem is abruptly broken. The MS. from

which these sonnets are taken states they are a fragment. Had the remaining twelve been preserved to us, we should probably have possessed a series of pictures in which the procession to church would have been portrayed, the investiture with the sword, the accolade, the buckling on of the spurs, and the concluding sports and banquets. It is very much to be regretted that so interesting, so beautiful, and so unique a monument of Italian chivalry survives thus mutilated. But students of art have to arm themselves continually with patience, repressing the sad thoughts engendered in them by the spectacle of time's unconscious injuries.

It is certain that Folgore would have written at least one sonnet on the quality of courtesy, which in that age, as we have learned from Matteo Villani, identified itself in the Italian mind with liberality. This identification marks a certain degradation of the chivalrous ideal, which is characteristic of Italian manners. One of Folgore's miscellaneous sonnets shows how sorely he felt the disappearance of this quality from the midst of a society bent daily more and more upon material aims. It reminds us of the lamentable outcries uttered by the later poets of the fourteenth century, Sacchetti, Boccaccio, Uberti, and others of less fame, over the decline of their age.

'Courtesy' Courtesy! 'Courtesy' I call:  
 But from no quarter comes there a reply.  
 They who should show her, hide her; wherefore I  
 And whoso needs her, ill must us befall.  
 Greed with his hook hath ta'en men one and all,  
 And murdered every grace that dumb doth lie:  
 Whence, if I grieve, I know the reason why;  
 From you, great men, to God I make my call:  
 For you my mother Courtesy have cast  
 So low beneath your feet she there must bleed;  
 Your gold remains, but you're not made to last:  
 Of Eve and Adam we are all the seed:  
 Able to give and spend, you hold wealth fast:  
 Ill is the nature that rears such a breed!

Folgore was not only a poet of occasion and compliment, but a political writer, who fully entertained the bitter feeling of the Guelphs against their Ghibelline opponents.

Two of his sonnets addressed to the Guelphs have been translated by Mr. Rossetti. In order to complete the list I have made free versions of two in which he criticised the weakness of his own friends. The first is addressed, in the insolent impiety of rage, to God:—

I praise thee not, O God, nor give thee glory,  
 Nor yield thee any thanks, nor bow the knee,  
 Nor pay thee service; for this irketh me  
 More than the souls to stand in purgatory;

Since thou hast made us Guelphs a jest and story  
 Unto the Ghibellines for all to see :  
 And if Uguccion claimed tax of thee,  
 Thou'dst pay it without interrogatory.  
 Ah, well I wot they know thee ! and have stolen  
 St. Martin from thee, Altopascio,  
 St. Michael, and the treasure thou hast lost ;  
 And thou that rotten rabble so hast swollen  
 That pride now counts for tribute ; even so  
 Thou'st made their heart stone-hard to thine own cost.

About the meaning of some lines in this sonnet I am not clear. But the feeling and the general drift of it are manifest. The second is a satire on the feebleness and effeminacy of the Pisans.

Ye are more silky-sleek than ermines are,  
 Ye Pisan counts, knights, damozels, and squires,  
 Who think by combing out your hair like wires  
 To drive the men of Florence from their ear.  
 Ye make the Ghibellines free near and far,  
 Here, there, in cities, castles, butts, and byres,  
 Seeing how gallant in your brave attires,  
 How bold you look, true paladins of war.  
 Stout-hearted are ye as a hare in chase,  
 To meet the sails of Genoa on the sea ;  
 And men of Lucca never saw your face.  
 Dogs with a bone for courtesy are ye :  
 Could Folgore but gain a special grace,  
 He'd have you banded 'gainst all men that be.

Among the sonnets not translated by Mr. Rossetti two by Folgore remain, which may be classified with the not least considerable contributions to Italian gnomie poetry in an age when literature easily assumed a didactic tone. The first has for its subject the importance of discernment and discrimination. It is written on the wisdom of what the ancient Greeks called *Kairos* in all human conduct.

Dear friend, not every herb puts forth a flower ;  
 Nor every flower that blossoms fruit doth bear ;  
 Nor hath each spoken word a virtue rare ;  
 Nor every stone in earth its healing power :  
 This thing is good when mellow, that when sour ;  
 One seems to grieve, within doth rest from care ;  
 Not every torch is brave that flaunts in air ;  
 There is what dead doth seem, yet flame doth shower.  
 Wherefore it ill behoveth a wise man  
 His truss of every grass that grows to bind,  
 Or pile his back with every stone he can,  
 Or counsel from each word to seek to find,  
 Or take his walks abroad with Dick and Dan :  
 Not without cause I'm moved to speak my mind.

The second condemns those men of light impulse who, as Dante

put it, discoursing on the same theme, "subject reason to inclination."<sup>1</sup>

What time desire hath o'er the soul such sway  
 That reason finds nor place nor puissance here,  
 Men oft do laugh at what should claim a tear,  
 And over grievous dole are seeming gay.  
 He sure would travel far from sense astray  
 Who should take frigid ice for fire; and near  
 Unto this plight are those who make glad cheer  
 For what should rather cause their soul dismay.  
 But more at heart might he feel heavy pain  
 Who made his reason subject to mere will,  
 And followed wandering impulse without rein;  
 Seeing no lordship is so rich as still  
 One's upright self unswerving to sustain,  
 To follow worth, to flee things vain and ill.

The sonnets translated by me in this article, taken together with those already published by Mr. Rossetti, put the English reader in possession of all that passes for the work of Folgore da San Gemignano.

J. A. SYMONDS.

(1) The line in Dante runs:

"Che la ragion sommottono al talento."

In Folgore's sonnet we read.

"Ch'li sommette rason a volentado."

On the supposition that Folgore wrote in the second decade of the fourteenth century, it is not impossible that he may have had knowledge of this line from the fifth canto of the *Inferno*.

## THE ANTI-JEWISH AGITATION IN GERMANY.

THE real character of the anti-Jewish agitation which is at present occupying the attention of the inhabitants of Germany is little known in this country. The daily press has described some of its incidents, and the weekly papers have moralised over them. In the pages of the *Contemporary Review* and of the *Nineteenth Century* strongly-worded statements and arguments on both sides have proved how difficult it is to treat a matter like the one under discussion *sine ira et studio*. It has not, however, been attempted to give a systematic answer to the following questions:—

1. Against whom is the movement directed, and what classes and parties are taking part in it?
2. What faults are the Jews accused of?
3. In what manner is their influence alleged to have been detrimental to the political, economical, and social life of Germany?
4. What are the practical measures proposed by the agitators?
5. In what spirit is the agitation met by the Jews, and what are the answers they give to the accusations directed against them?

I have endeavoured to examine these questions by a careful perusal of a great part of the numerous pamphlets which have appeared on the subject, and I venture to put the result before the readers of this Review, because I trust that the material thus gained will help them to form a correct judgment. I shall confine myself to the literary part of the agitation, because its voice has a more articulate sound from the pages of printed books than from the hustings.

I. The first question introduces us at once to one of the great difficulties of the subject. The word "Jew" has two different meanings. In one sense, it is applied to those who belong to the Jewish religious community; and, in another sense, it designates all members of the Jewish race. The present agitation is mainly directed against the Jewish *race*, but this fact is often forgotten in the heat of debate, sometimes for the sake of employing arguments which would otherwise not be applicable, sometimes because it is difficult to free the word "Jew" from the religious associations which one is in the habit of connecting with it. There are large numbers of Jews who have either joined Christian churches or ceased to belong to any religious sect; and amongst those who are still nominally members of the synagogue a great many abstain altogether from taking any part in its services. To any one who has only cast a superficial



glance at the anti-Jewish pamphlets, it must be evident that these classes are undoubtedly included in the indictment. The society which has been formed to foster the agitation calls itself the Anti-Semitic League, partly because there is a sound of learning in the word, and partly to make it clear that the race, and not merely the religion, has aroused its animosity. To designate the Jews and their enemies respectively by the words "Semites" and "anti-Semites" is inaccurate, and objectionable for many reasons. I shall, therefore, speak of "Jews" and "anti-Jews" (I do not see why this word is not as good as the word "anti-Semite") and shall always apply the word "Jew" in its wider sense.

The classes which have joined the movement differ widely in their political and religious opinions, and it is not uninteresting to notice the conciliatory tone in which those who were formerly regarded as implacable antagonists speak of each other. An ultra-Conservative writer, Marr (whose pen has been very prolific on the anti-Jewish side), devotes a whole pamphlet to the demonstration of the fact that the social democrats, whom he calls "red mice," are in every way to be preferred to the Jewish "golden rats." Dr. Duhring, whose bitter hatred against all established forms of religion is well known, speaks in a tone of patronising kindness of Christianity. Even Von Treitschke forgets that the most zealous advocates of the cause which he defends are the representatives of anti-national tendencies—Particularists and Ultramontanians.

II. However divided these classes are—however contradictory in their arguments and their objects—there is one proposition on which they are all agreed: "Things in Germany are unsatisfactory, and the Jews are the cause of it." To those who reply that there are Jews in all European countries, the answer is given, that the proportion of Jewish inhabitants is much greater in Germany than elsewhere; that the political and social influence of the obnoxious race is much more extended in Germany; and, finally, with reference to France and England, that the German Jews are more disagreeable than the Jewish inhabitants of these countries. With regard to the first point, the figures given by Professor von Treitschke are the following:—Jews in Germany, 512,000; in France, 45,000; in Great Britain, 45,000; in Italy, 40,000; in Spain, 6,000. (These figures naturally only include the members of Jewish religious communities.) To justify the third point, he maintains that the Jews living in the western parts of Europe are the descendants of the Spanish branch of the Hebrew race, who can look back on antecedents comparatively proud, while the German-Polish Jews are "marked with the scars of a thousand years of Christian tyranny." This fact has been disputed, and, indeed, it is highly improbable that, with the migratory habits which characterize all Jews, there

can be special localities assigned to one or the other branch. There must also have been a great many intermarriages, and pure Spanish Jews are, therefore, no doubt, comparatively rare.

The Jews, it is alleged, are notoriously conceited and vain. "A dangerous spirit of self-glorification has recently come over Jewish circles," says Von Treitschke. Stocker complains that both orthodox and reformed Jews boast that they are the propagators of the highest religious and moral ideas, and after quoting some passages bearing out his assertions, concludes with the appeal: "A little more modesty."

The second count in the indictment against the Jews is their irreligion. Von Treitschke speaks of "the frivolous and unbelieving circles of Judaism." According to Stocker they have eradicated the Christian faith of the Germans as much as their national feeling. "Their creed stands on the empty page between the Old and the New Testament." Dühring, who is himself the apostle of a purely negative creed, cannot consistently chime in here. He, on the contrary, finds fault with "the tenacity with which the inherited religious manner of viewing things is rooted in the Jewish mind," and states on another page of his pamphlet, "Even to-day the Jew does not care for real philosophy. His religion is sufficient for him, even when he fancies himself a free and enlightened thinker."

A third grievance, which runs through most of the pamphlets, is the feeling of opposition against other nations and against Christianity, which is alleged to be a characteristic feature of the Jewish mind. Treitschke refers to Tacitus, who ascribes to the race the *odium generis humani*, and, when an opponent reminds him that the passage quoted speaks of the Christians, he replies that the Christians to whom Tacitus alludes were all members of the Jewish race. Stocker pretends to be too impartial to make much of the intolerance of the Talmud (though the workmen whom he addresses knew probably nothing of it until he told them). "The official hatred," these are his words, "has ceased, but in the Jewish press there breathes a spirit of hatred against everything that is Christian which deserves our deepest abhorrence." The orthodox Court chaplain desires the Jews to be "a little more tolerant." Dühring speaks much in the same strain. "The Jews have evidently been the most intolerant race on the face of the earth, and the most intolerant race they are still, though they cover themselves with ever so thick a varnish implying the contrary. This is true not only with reference to their religion, but in everything. When they talk of tolerance they only want to be tolerated themselves. Such tolerance means essentially their own dominion, and it contains the germ of oppression and hostility against others."

About these three points most anti-Jewish writers are agreed, but Dühring gives a most exhaustive catalogue of other sins;

servility, self-seeking, sensuality, abhorrence of honest work, are prominent amongst them. "Their innermost disposition, connected with the essence of their being, their exquisite selfishness, has ever led them and will ever lead them to modes of earning their livelihood, for which greed is a more desirable faculty than conscience."

III. "In the art of human sociability and co-operation," says Dühring, "the Jews have always been dunces and destroyers. In Palestine they had no other means of getting on with each other than the adoption of the theocratic form of Government, which of all forms of Government is the silliest and worst." Their nomad habits are a permanent characteristic and show how with them the tendency to disruption is ever stronger than the cohesive force. That faith between man and man which amongst Germanic nations has found expressions in the feudal tie, is non-existent amongst Jews. The treason of Judas against Christ is not an accident merely attributable to the depravation of an individual. The Jews have been treacherous not only to other nations but also amongst themselves. What keeps them together is the meanest selfishness, and where the silver coins bid treason, there treason appears. "They are the representatives, *par excellence*, of anarchy and social incapacity. The hatred of the human race has made them preach the war of class against class. Already the Jew Ricardo has said that one class earns its gains at the cost of another, and Lassalle and Marx have preached the same doctrine in more violent forms."

As some instances of the tendency of the Jews to make the legislation of the countries which they inhabit secure their own ends, Dühring mentions the following:—During the time when the legal career was still forbidden to Jews, the only liberal profession open to them was the medical one. The Jewish doctors, always eager for their private gain, introduced compulsory vaccination, in order to create an artificial demand for medical aid. Again, in the recent legislation which introduced a uniform system of judicature throughout Germany, the Jews knew how to bring about changes beneficial to themselves. As at the present moment a great many Jews are members of the bar, the intervention of counsel was made compulsory in all proceedings before the higher courts, the object being, according to Dühring, to bring money into Jewish pockets. Dühring cannot deny that the Jews mostly belong to the Liberal parties, but this again is due to mere selfishness. "Liberal ideas to the Jew are only business tricks." Even parties sound in themselves are corrupted as soon as the Jews influence them. The Fortschritts-partei and the party of the Social Democrats have been ruined by the Jews, and the National Liberal party is a conspicuous example of the fact that Jewish influence and decay are convertible terms.

The views of Dühring have been given apart from those of other

writers because he occupies a standpoint of his own. Most other pamphlets are agreed on the subject of the political influence of the Jews, and their statements on this point deserve attention because they give to a great extent a clue to the chief causes of the agitation. In order to bring about the unity of Germany and afterwards to consolidate the institutions of the new empire, it was necessary to overcome the particularistic tendencies of the single States, Prussia included. Bismarck saw very well that this could only be accomplished with the aid of the Liberal parties. On the other hand, a great many Liberals who had witnessed the success of Bismarck's foreign policy were anxious to be reconciled to him. Thus the so-called National Liberal party was formed. Its numbers helped to establish the supremacy of the empire and they lent their assistance in the war against the Ultramontanes. Their position was, however, a false one, as their support of Bismarck and their Liberal tendencies could not be reconciled for a long time. As soon as they were not wanted any more by the Chancellor their whole *raison d'être* disappeared. A great many measures in the direction of progress are, however, due to their efforts. The judicature acts referred to above, the introduction of a uniform currency throughout Germany, the establishment of an Imperial Bank, the preparations for a German civil code (which is not as yet completed), the infusion of a more liberal spirit into the administration of primary schools, &c. It is natural that so many changes gave offence to several classes of the population, and the fact that one of the leaders of the National Liberal party, Lasker, and a great many of its numbers were Jews, was a brilliant opportunity for the reactionary parties. For many reasons there is now a deep discontent prevailing in Germany; the Jews were represented to have caused the evils which have produced this discontent, for as the Jews had taken an active part in introducing the obnoxious changes, the Conservative plan was to discredit these changes by discrediting the Jews.

All parties which during the semi-Liberal interregnum have suffered receive most considerate treatment in the anti-Jewish pamphlets. The Ultramontanes are in special favour, but even the Social Democrats, as I have mentioned before, get some coaxing. One pamphlet called *Neu-Palastina oder das verjudete Deutschland von einem Konservativen*, contains the following passage:—"The just demands of the Social Democrats will be considered much sooner by a strong Christian Germanic Conservative Government than by a modern Liberal one," and similar statements are abundant.

If the Jews have managed to govern the German people for so long, this is greatly due to their influence in the press. Treitschke is very eloquent on this subject:—"For ten years public opinion in a great many German towns was *made* chiefly by the Jews. . . . The

present inanity of the press is the necessary reaction against this unnatural state of things ; the ordinary householder will not be dissuaded from the belief that the Jews write all newspapers, and for this reason he will not believe any of them." The above-quoted Marr in another pamphlet, bearing the title *Oeffnet die Augen, Ihr deutschen Zeitungsleser*, confines his attention to the same point. The love of petty scandal and gossip, the attention given to sensational police reports, demoralising the readers and hurting the feelings of prisoners, the alacrity with which ambiguous advertisements are inserted—all these failings of the German press are ascribed to Jewish influence.

It is also said that the numerous Jews who are admitted to public offices threaten to destroy the honourable traditions of the Prussian civil service. It is alleged, not only by irresponsible pamphleteers but also by thoughtful and unprejudiced persons, that the Jewish judges and Government officials are incapable of the self-denying devotion to the State, which has for generations been the pride of the Prussian bureaucracy.

To understand the accusations which are made against the Jews with respect to their influence on the economical life of the German nation, a few preliminary explanations are necessary. Germany, like most European countries, has for some time passed through a period of commercial and industrial depression, which has brought on much misery and discontent. Immediately after the payment of the French war indemnity enormous sums of money were deposited with German bankers, and a superabundance of capital seeking employment resulted from this state of things. All sorts of new enterprises were entered upon, the nation was seized with a fever of speculation. Government officials, university professors, members of the learned professions—everybody embarked in commercial ventures. After a very few years the day of reckoning, the "Krach" as the Germans call it, came, and its effects are felt up to the present day. A succession of bad harvests, coupled with the enormous increase in the production of American grain, added to the general depression by impoverishing the agricultural classes. At the same time a great many of the promoters of the bubble enterprises referred to, who had "unloaded" at the proper moment, have acquired great wealth, and it is not surprising that a discontented people noticing large fortunes by the side of the universal wreck should imagine that the few have robbed the many, or, as they put it, because a great portion of the successful few were Jews, that the Jews have robbed the Christians. As it happened, the legislative changes referred to above and aiming at reforms as to banking and commerce were introduced at the same time, and the *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* argument was successfully used by those whose interests or likings were assailed by the

new measures; to represent them as merely serving the interests of the Jews was in this instance still easier than in the case of purely political enactments. The law on joint-stock companies which made their formation independent of the sanction of the Government is said to have been passed for the purpose of promoting swindling concerns with greater ease. The introduction of a gold currency (which is a great grievance among German Conservatives) is alleged to have been due to the influence of those who wanted to gain by the sale of the disused silver. Even the foundation of the German Imperial Bank, according to the anti-Jewish agitators, had no other object than to give Jewish shareholders privileges at the cost of the German public. A pamphlet, *Die sogenannte Deutsche "Reichsbank," eine privilegierte Actien-Gesellschaft von und für Juden*, which appeared already in 1877, devotes 116 pages to the demonstration of the last-named proposition.

A more serious accusation against the Jews is made when their doings in the agricultural districts are complained of. It is stated on good authority that the rural population in a great many districts of Prussia is entirely in the hands of the village Jews; who force their credit on the peasants in order to get mortgages on their land and ultimately to drive them from it.

It is said that the social influence of wealth has within the last twenty years become much greater, and that this fact has helped to give the Jews an undue prominence. They can outbid their poorer neighbours and obtain the best of everything. They possess the golden key which opens all doors, and flourish it in the presence of those who are less fortunate. They have introduced habits of luxury and display, where frugal simplicity was the rule. Complaints like these are numerous, and may be heard everywhere, but other facts are also found fault with which hardly seem to deserve censure; for instance, the constant presence of large numbers of Jews in theatres and in concert-rooms, and the excessive proportion of Jewish pupils in the higher schools; this part of the subject, however, is hardly important enough to dwell upon it.

There is one pamphlet which I have not as yet mentioned, which in its malignity and want of good faith even surpasses Dühring's production. It is written by a Professor Lazar, and professes to give an account of the doings of the Jews from the days of their captivity in Egypt up to the present time. He believes that the evil influence of the Jews arises from a conscious design to inflict harm on the Gentiles, and describes their depravity with most revolting details. One of the facts which he asserts, though he does not attempt to substantiate the accusation, may be mentioned here as a proof how far anti-Jewish writers dare to go. He says that nine-tenths of the prostitutes in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and Budapest are Jewesses.

IV. I have now to speak of the practical measures which are proposed by the various writers who have taken part in the movement; it must not, however, be supposed, that the agitators would be satisfied if their demands were granted, nor is it possible to assume that their object in writing was only to produce a reform of Jewish habits or to promote one or two legislative enactments to check Jewish influence. They wanted to give vent to their feelings and to stir up the German mind, and they knew only too well that when passions are once aroused they do not calm down when this or that concession is granted. I make this remark especially with regard to Von Treitschke, who has given the weight of his well-earned reputation to the anti-Jewish cause. His candour may well be suspected when after the sneering allusion to trouser-selling youths, after the sympathetic repetition of the pathetic cry, "Die Juden sind unser Unglück," he quietly winds up with expressing "the wish that the Jews may become true Germans." If he meant this and nothing else, it would have been his duty to protest against the character which the movement has at present assumed. As he has not done so, he must be content to be judged from his deeds (for omissions in some cases are also deeds) as well as from his words.

Stocker goes certainly a good deal further in his demands. I will give them in extenso, because they afford an excellent proof of my assertion, that one of the chief aims of the movement is the furtherance of anti-Liberal political objects. At first sight it would seem rather strange to see the following measures proposed after a diatribe against the Jews. The abolition of mortgages, the introduction of guilds, an alteration in the system of credit in order to deliver traders from the arbitrary power of capital, altered regulations with regard to Stock Exchange transactions and joint-stock companies, the reintroduction of a religious census, the limitation of the appointment of Jewish judges to the number proportionate to the Jewish population, the removal of Jewish teachers from primary schools, "above all, the strengthening of the Christian Germanic spirit."

Duhring's list of proposals is more elaborate and more systematic. Starting from the principle that toleration must not be extended to dangerous religions, he proposes as a first measure to strike out of the Jewish religious service anything that is anti-national (*Volkerwidrig*). If the Jews do not submit to this, their religion must be made to disappear. The number of public appointments held by Jews is to be proportionate to the total number of the population, and until the proper proportion is established, nobody is to be admitted to a public office who cannot prove that for three generations his blood has been free from Jewish admixture. Any German is to have the right to refuse to have his case tried before a Jewish

judge ; on the other hand judges are to be allowed to reject Jewish evidence. This is only intended as a "provisional minimum.

To reduce the preponderating influence of Jewish capital strong measures must be resorted to, as large principalities have been "mediatised," the fortunes of wealthy Jews ought to be "mediatised." To begin with, all fortunes possessed by Jews and exceeding a certain limit are to be administered under official inspection ; but this is only to be a step towards their complete "mediatisation." The word has rather an ambiguous sound, but it does not shock men's scruples as much as the more familiar expression "confiscation." Duhring wishes enactments like these to apply exclusively to the Jews, "for if the general national legislation were to be arranged to meet the special requirements of Jewish nature, one would stamp upon it the character of a legislation for a nation of criminals."

No owner, mortgagee, editor, or contributor of a public journal is to be a Jew. No Jew is to be capable of holding real property or of exercising any rights on real property. Local authorities are to be at liberty to prevent Jews from settling within the limits of their jurisdiction. Jewish immigration into Germany is to be prohibited. The Jews are to pay taxes on a higher scale than other citizens. Except in Jewish schools, no Jew is to be allowed to teach in any educational establishment. Marriages between Jews and Germans are not to be prohibited by law ; the natural feeling of disgust against such unions and the sense of national honour will, according to Duhring, suffice to prevent an increase in the number of matrimonial alliances of this nature.

The measures I have named seem strong and numerous enough but they do not exhaust the list, for the opportunity to bring all sorts of schemes before the public, attention being once roused, has been amply made use of, and one is strongly reminded of those picture-dealers, who, when some well-known collection is sold, manage to put in some of their own unsold stock. To give one instance of a proposal, which no amount of ingenuity can connect with the Jewish question, I will mention the pet scheme of the author of "Neu Palastina," who devotes several pages of his pamphlet to the recommendation of a Government scale for the prices of meat and bread.

An objection may be raised against the manner in which I have reproduced the "statement of claim" against the Jews, on the plea of my not having taken care to discriminate between the various classes of anti-Jewish writers. A great many Germans, while fully agreeing with the view that Jewish influence has been prejudicial to the national life of their country, feel an uncompromising repugnance against the coarse invective, the libellous statements and the absurd proposals of their unwelcome allies, and they may think it unfair that I have made the anti-Jewish cause responsible for the



excesses of its low-bred adherents. Their objection would be just if I had attempted to write an article on the merits of the case. My aim is, however, a more modest one. I wish to describe the agitation as it exists, and to show the effect which pamphlets like those from which I have quoted must produce on the great body of readers who cannot check their statements, or discover their fallacies. The masses will receive everything indiscriminately, as I have summarised it indiscriminately, and the question how they will be affected is after all the most important one. The success of Marr and others is a sufficient proof of the fact, that the λόγος ἡττων has taken the lead in this agitation. The first edition of Duhring's pamphlet appeared in November, 1880, the second in December, and as its author has been frequently inconvenienced by requests for his autograph, he has signed every copy of the second edition with his own hand.

V. The accusations against the Jews have not been met by all of them in the same manner. Some wish to claim the distinctiveness of their race as a right, ascribing to it a special mission and superior powers. The article of Mr. Lucien Wolf in the *Nineteenth Century* is written in the spirit of this point of view, which in Germany seems to be shared by only one known writer, Professor Graetz. The majority of German Jews, however, think differently, and amongst those who explicitly repudiate the opinions expressed in this respect by Graetz, eminent members of the Jewish religious community like Dr. Joël, the Breslau rabbi, are to be found. M. Lazarus (who as joint-editor with G. Stointhal of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie* is well known in this country) in a pamphlet "Was heisst national" enters into elaborate explanations on the various elements which constitute the idea of nationality, in which he maintains that the German Jews are as much an integral part of the German nation as any members of the various races which inhabit the German soil and speak the German language.

Amongst the pamphlets against the agitation which have come under my notice, one written by Professor Harry Bresslau, in the form of a letter to Von Treitschke, is the most exhaustive, and I propose to give a short summary of it, so that English readers may have an idea of the manner in which cultivated Jews in Germany look upon the movement.

Dr. Bresslau begins with expressing his regret that a man like Treitschke should have joined allies so unworthy of him. After some preliminary remarks he explains that the movement is not a sudden instinctive rising of the German nation against foreign intrusion, but has for some time been carefully fostered for political purposes. These attempts date from the year 1875, and their authors, up to the end of that year, belonged exclusively to the parties the members of which were commonly known under the

name of "Reichsfeinde." Some explanations follow about the position of the Jews in other countries, and the division of the Jewish race into the Spanish and Polish branches, to which I have alluded before. Dr. Bresslau then proceeds to criticize the following sentence of Treitschke. "We do not wish after twenty centuries of German habits to see a period of German-Jewish mixed culture." The purity of Germanic habits of thought and practice according to Dr. Bresslau is a pure fiction. "Three influences have moulded the life of the German nation: Germanenthum, Christianity, and classical antiquity; and the close relation of the second and most powerful of these elements to Judaism should be as little forgotten by the proud rejector of a German-Jewish mixed culture, as the fact that nothing has had a more potent influence on the mental habits of the German people than the Old and the New Testament, which beyond all doubt are a product of Judaism."

As regards the wish addressed to the Jews that they are to become Germans and feel as Germans, Dr. Bresslau thoroughly shares it. If Von Treitschke wishes to assert that numerous and powerful circles amongst the German Jews consciously endeavour *not* to become Germans, he can only say that the statement is false. If it cannot be disputed that in the eastern parts of Prussia there are a number of Jews who have not as yet succeeded in becoming thorough Germans, the reason is obvious. "Only a century ago everything prevented the Jews from becoming Germans. The difference in religion, the intolerance of Christian and Jewish priests, above all the legislation which made them Pariahs, prevented every ray of German culture from penetrating into the dirty and despised localities in which the grace of territorial sovereigns allowed them a miserable and debased existence." Is it to be wondered at that, under these circumstances, the process of amalgamation is slow? But "while the number of Jews, who in their manner and in their education are as yet untouched by the influence of German culture, is daily diminishing, while I and my Jewish friends strive without ceasing by our example, by our influence, by our teaching, and by our practice to accelerate that process, you make yourself an associate of those who hamper our work and intensify the contrast which we have made it our life-task to remove."

Complaints against Jewish usurers and promoters are only too much justified, but the regulations which confined the energies of the race for centuries to trading have greatly contributed to this state of things, and usury and reckless financial manœuvres have not been the exclusive domain of the Jews. Professor Bresslau mentions the operations of Law in France, the South-Sea Bubble in England, and the tulip speculations in Holland. Above all, what have Jews who are not usurers and promoters to do with it?

The alleged preponderance of the Jews in the press—or rather in the Liberal press—is more or less a myth. A number of Liberal and Liberal-Conservative papers have hardly any Jews on their staff, among them the *National Zeitung*, the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Schwabische Mercur*, the *Weser Zeitung*, and several other leading journals. That some newspapers which are managed by Jews are wanting in tact and fine feeling must be admitted, but are the Jews the only sinners in that respect?

Dr. Bresslau denies the assertion that the leaders of German thought are unanimous in a feeling of antipathy against the Jews. Some classes of the population have certainly found in them the scapegoats who are made responsible for the feeling of dissatisfaction which for various causes prevails in Germany. The Conservatives consider them the authors of the Liberal measures which they dislike, the Ultramontanes believe them to be the originators of the "Culturkampf." Every misfortune and every evil is laid at their door: the corruption of the press, the economical crisis, the decay of musical art; even the want of success which spiritualism meets with in Germany is attributed to Jewish intrigues. It is only the consummation of all this when Von Treitschke summarises the cries of so many voices in the pregnant sentence: "The Jews are our misfortune."

There are numerous members of the Hebrew race who neither dwell in the palaces of successful speculators nor in the dingy habitations of old clothes dealers. They are little known to the rest of the population, because, on account of the prejudice of race, they are excluded from social intercourse. They lead a quiet, laborious, and simple life. "If," concludes Dr. Bresslau, "it were possible to define the term 'Jew' from the attributes of this middle class, without being influenced by the exceptions above and below, the so-called Jewish question would, according to my opinion, be brought considerably nearer to a solution."

In the other pamphlets directed against the anti-Jewish agitation there is little requiring special attention. One of them has been written by the famous Kantian philosopher, H. Cohen, but, unfortunately, I have not been able to get it. Eminent Germans, who are not Jews, have also made their voices heard on the side of the attacked race, and the honoured names of Virchow and Mommsen are to be found amongst them.

I cannot conclude without referring to a few points which require some further explanation. There is a good deal said of the religious conceit of the Jews, and on the other hand they are accused of anti-religious tendencies. This is one of the many uses to which the ambiguity of the word "Jew" has been put. The numerous Jews

who have joined other religious communities, or at least have not retained their inherited faith, cannot be made responsible for the belief in the superiority of the Jewish religion expressed by orthodox Jews. Again, the latter have a right to repudiate the charge of irreligion. Moreover, the adherents of dogmatic religion in any shape must be patient, if members of other sects are as satisfied of their own superiority as they are of theirs. Irreligion is a word which has a good many different meanings, but if it be taken in the sense in which most of the anti-Jewish writers use it, I admit that a good many Jews must plead guilty, though it would not be difficult to show that the writers who in Germany have done most to shake the established religious dogmas cannot be included amongst the members of the Jewish race. I will mention Schopenhauer, Eduard von Hartmann, Strauss, Buchner, and Carl Vogt. On the other hand Christianised Jews, like Neander and Ewald, have been pillars of orthodoxy. This discussion is, however, a fruitless one, for it can be shown that Jews as such have no particular tendency in either direction, and the desirability of orthodox views is in itself a point on which opinions differ.

It is generally overlooked in this controversy that inherited tendencies are only one element in the formation of a character. Granted that certain oriental peculiarities retain their hold on the descendants of the Jewish race, have they received nothing from the nations amongst which they lived? The German Jew of the present day is surrounded by German influences. German thought, German art, and German scenery are the chief elements which form his mind. The substance of his being must, under these circumstances, be German, and it is false to speak of Jewish tendencies either in art, or in philosophy, or in politics. The Jews are found in all schools and in all parties, because the fact of their being Jews has no decisive influence. If the German Jews are mostly Liberals in politics, this is due to merely outward causes, and chiefly to the fact that amongst the classes which in Germany preponderate in the ranks of the Conservative parties, the agricultural, the military, and the official classes, the number of Jews is as yet a very small one. It is said that the Hebrew race is devoid of practical sense in politics and too much inclined to *a priori* methods and Utopian schemes. Marx and Lassalle are quoted as examples, but the Jews of the National Liberal party, which was essentially an opportunist party, are instances on the other side.

I have tried to show that it is misleading to speak of Jewish intellectual tendencies; if, however, the Hebrew influence on the social and economical life of Germany is considered, it must be remembered that in consequence of artificial legal arrangements some occupations have naturally become the province of the Jews.

They became dealers in money and precious metals, and in the villages they were the only representatives of commerce. As long as they were kept apart from the rest of the nations amongst which they lived no strong ties bound them to a particular country, and nomad habits resulted from it. The intercommunication with foreign lands, which was thus much easier for them, gave them commercial advantages not possessed by others in the same degree. As they were shut out from political life and from social intercourse with their neighbours, they had no ambition beyond success in their own particular line. The powers for accumulating wealth became stronger, as no other scope for their energies was left. It is false to say that they took to commerce because they abhor work. Those who have any experience of commercial life know that it requires as much honest hard work as any other pursuit. Most of the Jewish wealth was not acquired by gambling and reckless speculation, but by an energetic and ever wakeful watching of opportunities, and by an untiring use of them, coupled with habits of thrift and self-denial. That the nations amongst which the Jews lived have lost as much as they gained is an opinion too absurd to admit of discussion.

Fuch ihr Gotton, gehort der Kaufmann, *Guter* zu suchen,  
Geht er, doch an sein Schiff knupfet das *Gute* sich an

said the loftiest-minded of German poets.

Monopolies are, however, apt to be abused, and the monopoly of wealth more than any other. The village usurers are a pest to the country, and every effort ought to be made to check their doings. The power of large capitalists has found an effective counterpoise in the formation of joint-stock companies, and the philippics of the anti-Jews against joint-stock enterprise are another proof of their wilful ignorance. The market rate of interest, which is the best measure for the power of capital, has decreased considerably within the last ten years. If Jews have taken part in the promotion of bubble schemes, a Jew, Lasker, was the first to expose them in the Prussian Chamber.

The anti-Jewish writers are very loud in proclaiming themselves the guardians of the *national* cause. So far they have only created strife and discontent, and tried to separate from the nation large bodies of men who, whatever their merits or demerits may be, cannot help being Germans. Isocrates, in his panegyric, when speaking of the beneficial effects of Athenian culture says, "Καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα πεποίηκε μηκέτι τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας ἵσχυὴν εἶναι καὶ μάλλον Ἑλλήνας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδείας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας." To those who will teach the German nation that mind and feeling are better criteria of good citizenship than race, similar thanks will be due.

ERNEST SCHUSTER.

## THE LAND LAWS.

I adopt the term Land Laws, since it has got into popular use, as signifying the laws affecting the holding and transfer of real property.

"Reform of the Land Laws" has become a leading political question, and the advocacy of it a test of advanced Liberalism. I do not propose to inquire so much whether the Land Laws are susceptible of improvement, as whether the improvements of which they are susceptible are of such a nature as to justify the adoption of the cry "Reform of the Land Laws" as one of the leading political tenets of any party.

For the purpose of justifying the adoption of Reform of the Land Laws as a party cry or a leading political question, it is not sufficient to show that those laws are susceptible of improvement in some matters, but that such improvements would remove important evils and be productive of great social benefit. Unquestionably the assumption that grave evils to society result from the present Land Laws, and that those evils might be removed by alteration of such laws, lies at the bottom of the popular agitation on the subject; and if it can be shown that any improvement of which the Land Laws are susceptible, short of measures equivalent to confiscation, will not have the effect of materially altering the distribution of land, it will probably be generally acknowledged that a general agitation for Reform of the Land Laws, of such a nature as to make it one of the leading questions of the day, is not merely mistaken but mischievous.

The advocates of Reform of the Land Laws do not give much assistance towards an examination of the subject by any careful or accurate analysis of the evils that are seen in the working of the present laws, the particular laws from which those evils spring, or the laws which they would seek to substitute for those they would alter or repeal. It may, however, be taken that the evils complained of are substantially—1st, the unequal division of land; that is, that one man has a great deal of land, and others not only have no land, but cannot acquire any, though willing and able to pay for it; and, 2nd, that land is entailed, or settled, so as to prevent or impede its being sold, leased, or improved, and that thereby it is withdrawn from the free operation of the natural laws of supply and demand.

In the first place, land is no doubt very unequally divided; but a very similar inequality of distribution exists as to other descriptions

of property, and it cannot be contended that the Land Laws are the cause of the inequality of the distribution of land, either directly or indirectly, by increasing the difficulty of acquiring it, unless it can be shown that they artificially cause such inequality or create such difficulty. I say nothing on the question whether the inequality of distribution of land is, or is not, an evil, but confine myself entirely to the inquiry whether it arises from the Land Laws or from some other causes. The propositions I propose to examine, therefore, are, that the Land Laws artificially cause an inequality in the distribution of land, and artificially create difficulties in the acquisition of it or in the dealing with it.

The branches of law that are popularly assigned as the subjects of complaint are those affecting inheritance, entail, settlement, and the transfer of land, and I propose to examine these in succession.

I assume throughout, for the purposes of this paper, that it is conceded that private ownership of land is expedient, and that it is not to be interfered with. The expediency of land being held in common by larger or smaller bodies of men, or being acquired or distributed by the State, are fair subjects of discussion, but I do not propose in any way to deal with them here. I also assume that it is not proposed to enact the compulsory division of property, landed or otherwise, by a parent amongst his children, such as prevails in France. I should state also that I do not propose to deal with the Land Laws of Scotland or Ireland, but only with those of England.

The law of inheritance, or, as it is commonly called, the law of primogeniture, coupled with the laws of entail, is generally supposed to be chargeable with most of the evil of the unequal distribution of land. When a great nobleman is the ostensible owner of a vast tract of country, it is assumed that this is due to the laws of primogeniture and entail; and if it should be discovered, as it probably would be, that the nobleman's estates are entailed upon his eldest son, the proposition would probably be regarded as clearly proved. It is necessary, however, in examining the subject, to deal with the law of inheritance and that of entail separately.

The law of primogeniture is simply, that in case a man dies who is the absolute owner—or, as lawyers say, the owner in fee simple—of real property, that is, land and all that is erected upon land, it would, in the absence of any will, go to his eldest son, subject, however, to the right of his widow, if any, to dower—that is, to a third of the land for her life.

This rule of law no doubt, *pro tanto*, works injustice; but all practising lawyers will, I think, concur in the statement that the cases of intestacy of land are very rare, and in the case of large estates may be said to be all but unknown, for large landed estates are mostly settled, and when an estate is settled the course of devo-

tion is prescribed by the settlement, and does not depend upon the will or the absence of a will of the last holder. That the number of persons affected by an injustice is small, is, however, no reason whatever why the injustice should continue to be done; and no reasonable objection can be raised to an enactment that freeholds capable of being devised shall, in case of intestacy, devolve upon the personal representative—that is, the executor or administrator—and be administered as if they were personal estate, which is precisely what would happen under the present state of the law if the land in question were held for any specified term of years whatever, even 999 years, instead of for ever. If a man, through accident or neglect, dies without a will, and the State has to make a will for him, let that will be a just will. But the operation of this alteration in the law, though it might prevent injustice and heart-burning in a few cases, occurring almost exclusively in middle-class families, where the parent is unexpectedly removed by death, could not by possibility affect the general distribution of landed property in any appreciable degree, and its effect in causing a greater subdivision of the ownership of agricultural land would be absolutely nothing. Let the law of primogeniture go by all means, but do not let us delude ourselves into believing that its absence would effect any great social and economic reform.

In discussing this subject with an American lawyer, and pointing out to him what I have above stated, he replied to me that it might be true that the cases of intestacy of real estate were few, but that the fact of the law giving freehold land in the absence of a will to the eldest son, gave rise to a state of opinion that leads men in England to prefer their eldest sons as inheritors of their lands; whereas in America, the law being different, the habits and feelings of men follow the law, and a testator who excluded all his children but one from benefiting by his landed property, would feel that he was as much outraging the public sense of right and justice as an English testator would do who left all his money to one of his children to the exclusion of the others. It is fair to state this argument for what it is worth, but it is impossible to suppose that an alteration of the law of primogeniture would induce our landed aristocracy voluntarily to break up their estates by subdividing them amongst their children, and as to land and houses held by the middle class, the custom of preferring the eldest son to the other children does not, in fact, prevail, except to an exceedingly limited extent, and then mainly with a view of keeping in one hand what cannot be advantageously divided. A sum of money, however invested, generally admits of easy division into shares of precisely equal value, but land or houses do not, and if devised in shares must be either held and managed jointly by all those interested, or divided by valuation and allotment into shares as nearly equal as practicable,



rectifying inequalities by compensations, or else the whole must be sold and the proceeds divided. The first and second alternatives are found so inconvenient in practice that the third is usually adopted, so that in all well-drawn wills of real estate not intended to devolve in strict settlement, it is usual to commence by creating a trust for sale of all the real property, and then to deal with the proceeds.

The principal indictment against the Land Laws, however, will probably be levelled against the "law of entail" and the "law of settlement," and the idea most commonly entertained by the public is, that if these laws were abolished and land was left what is called "free," that it would necessarily, and by the operation of natural laws, become more widely distributed, more readily leased, and more easily improved, and would ultimately become as marketable a commodity as any other description of property, and that the result would be a considerable addition to the agricultural products of the country.

It is popularly supposed that this process would be one not of creating restrictions upon freedom of disposition, but of removing restrictions which the present law imposes. Nothing can be further from the truth.

First, as to entails. An entail is a provision in a will or settlement that an estate given to A B shall descend, not to what are called his heirs general, which would create a fee simple, over which he would have an absolute power of disposition, but to some more restricted class of heirs, as the heirs of his body, or the heirs male of his body. If an entail was uninterfered with, the estate, if limited to the heirs of the body, which is called tail general, would go to the eldest son and to the eldest son's eldest son, and, failing any children of an eldest son, to the next eldest son and his eldest son, and his eldest son's eldest son in the same way; and, failing any sons, to the daughters, and so on for ever. An estate limited to the heirs male of the body, which is called tail male, would go in a similar way, only that females and their progeny would be excluded. The popular notion is probably that an estate once impressed with an entail must devolve for ever in the prescribed course; but that is not so. Lawyers long ago invented a practical remedy for this theoretical tying up of the land, and prior to 1833, by the contrivance of proceedings in fictitious actions called fines and recoveries, a tenant in tail in possession could break the entail and convey his land absolutely to a purchaser, or could, if he pleased, vest it in himself, so that it would pass by his will to whomsoever he chose to devise it; and where an estate was held by a father for life, and would go to his son after his death as tenant in tail, the same effect might be produced by the father and son acting together. Since 1833, when fines and recoveries were abolished, the same result can be attained by an ordinary conveyance enrolled in Chancery.

The law of entail has, as I have pointed out, a definite meaning; but we also hear of the law of settlement. The only meaning that can be assigned to this expression is that it refers to that freedom which every man in England enjoys of disposing of his own property as he pleases; and amongst other things, if he so pleases, of giving different interests in it to different persons successively, which is called settling it.

Whatever positive law does as to settlements is, however, done in the direction of restraining this freedom, and that is at present done in two very important particulars. Therefore, when it is proposed to abolish the law of settlement, an entirely incorrect and misleading expression is used; what ought to be said is, that it is proposed further to restrict the freedom of settlement. A well-known statesman, in one of his recent speeches, selected what may be taken as a typical instance of the mode of settling land usual in the families of large English landed proprietors, namely, the case where the estate stands settled upon the ostensible proprietor for life, and after his death would devolve upon his eldest son as tenant in tail, and the son, being about to get married, joins his father in disentailing the estate in consideration of getting an immediate income for his life, and the estate is then resettled upon the father for life, subject to the agreed-upon allowance to the son, and after the father's death, upon the son for life, and after his death upon his eldest son and other sons successively in tail male or tail general—that is to say, that the estate would go to the eldest grandson and the heirs of his body, or the heirs male of his body, as the case may be, and failing such heirs to the second grandson and the heir or heirs male of his body, and so on. This case was put as a case of a man making a settlement upon his grandchildren. It might be more correctly looked upon as a settlement made by the son upon his own children, as the estate of the grandchildren is carved out of that of their father, not out of the life estate of their grandfather.

The following points will at once be obvious in considering this case.

In the first place, the law of entail does not preserve land from alienation for more than one generation, for what the father and son can do, the son and grandson can likewise do after the father's death. Secondly, the power of the father would be just as great if his estate were his own in fee simple, in which case he might either make a similar settlement in his lifetime, or give his son an allowance during his own life and settle the estate by his will. Therefore the power of resettling the estate upon his son and his son's children is no consequence of the estate being in settlement, but is an ordinary incident of ownership.

The differences in law between the power of settling land and the power of settling money or other personal property are, that personal

property is supposed to be incapable of being held by one person for life and by another after him; and at the death of any absolute owner it devolves upon his personal representative—that is, his executor or administrator, and not upon his heir; it is, therefore, necessarily incapable of being limited to one set of heirs rather than another, and is consequently incapable of being impressed with an entail.

Both these difficulties, however, are practically got over by contrivances of lawyers; the first by vesting the property in a trustee upon trust for such persons as it is desired should enjoy it successively; and the second by directing the money or other personal property to be invested in land, and the land so purchased to be entailed. The money, whether, in fact, invested in land or not, is supposed to represent the land, and the beneficial interest passes to the heirs. Money in the funds or invested in shares or in any other investment may therefore be settled by a man upon his grandchildren as effectually as land, and not only may be, but constantly is, so settled; not usually, however, to the extent of creating an entail by the fiction above described, but to the extent of limiting the beneficial ownership to one or more persons for life, and the absolute ownership to his or her children after his or her death.

It is quite true that a merchant or tradesman or professional man, with the bulk of his property consisting of personal estate, usually divides his estate equally amongst his children, and gives the shares that his sons take by his will to them absolutely; but as to his daughters' shares, he just as frequently gives them only life interests, and settles them upon their children after their deaths—the object of course being to prevent the daughters' fortune being spent by her husband, and to secure it as a provision for herself and for her children.

There are, however, certain restrictions upon the power of settlement which apply as well to money as to land. These are two in number—namely, the law called the Rule against Perpetuities, and the Act of 39 and 40 Geo. III. c. 98, called the Thelusson Act, which last has no practical bearing on the present question.

The rule against perpetuities provides that the absolute vesting of an estate in money or land shall not be suspended for more than a life or lives in being and twenty-one years afterwards; so that, though a man can settle an estate or a sum of money by deed or will upon his son for life, and upon his son's unborn son after him, he cannot create a succession of life estates in his successive descendants other than persons living at his own death. The next taker must take either an absolute estate if money, or, if land, an estate in fee simple or in fee tail. If land is settled in this way upon a man for life and upon his son as his heir in tail, the father and son can break the entail at any time after the son comes of age, and after the

father's death the son has ordinarily the same power in his own hands.

If, therefore, the law of entail were abolished, and the ownership of land were assimilated in every respect to the ownership of money, very nearly the same effects as are now produced by a family settlement of landed estate could be still brought about. The estate could by the introduction of trustees be limited to the father for life, and after him to such of his sons as he should appoint by deed or will, and, failing any appointment, to his eldest son surviving him and attaining twenty-one, or leaving issue living at his death. Other modifications might be suggested which would have the same practical effect as the present form of settlement, namely, the effect of vesting the estate in the father for life and in his eldest son after him, but so that after the eldest son came of age the father and eldest son could dispose of the fee simple of the estate, but so that the eldest son could not whilst his father lived make any effectual disposition of it without the father's concurrence.

It may, perhaps, be argued that if the tenure of land were absolutely assimilated to that of personal property, so that successive estates could only be created by vesting the property in trustees, the desired result of freeing the land from restrictions and making it marketable would be attained; but that is obviously not so, for, to say nothing of the inconvenience that would result, the freedom would be merely nominal. Trustees must act according to the terms of their trust, and though shares or money in the funds may be vested in trustees, if the trustees sold them without the consent of the parties whose consent was required by the terms of the trust, they would be liable. To vest property in trustees who have no personal interest in its development would probably be the most effectual mode of checking, not of promoting, its improvement.

Nothing, therefore, would destroy the power of settling land but placing upon it restrictions that do not practically exist in the case of money or other personal property.

To place restrictions on land that do not exist as to other property would make land an ineligible investment, and to create such restrictions at all, whether as to land or money, would be to inflict grievous injustice and hardship by depriving those who had acquired property of the power of benefiting any one by it without giving the person benefited absolute ownership; for it would be necessary, if the restrictions were to be effectual, to go to the full extent of prohibiting the creation of successive estates, or, in other words, of life interests.

Moderate politicians will scarcely go to the extent of advocating that land or house property should cease to be an investment, as available for all the purposes of providing for a family, as railway shares; nor will they consent to any new restrictions on the owner-

ship or power of disposition of shares, money, or other personal property.

It will no doubt be argued that land stands in a peculiar position—that it forms the corpus of the country itself, that the livelihood of the whole people is derived from it, and that it is just and right to place such restrictions on the right of modifying the ownership as will prevent the land from being utilised for agricultural and other purposes. The substantial soundness of this argument, if applicable, must no doubt be conceded; but it is directed rather against what entails and settlements are supposed to be, than against what they in reality are. In this matter the interests not only of the immediate tenant for life but of his successors are substantially the same as those of the public. Provisions already exist for the object of securing that settled land may be utilised for various purposes and improved; and if those provisions were somewhat extended, they would probably answer all the practical objects in view, and no landed proprietors would object to their being so extended.

In the first place, landed proprietors are not so blind to their own interests or the interests of their children, or so devoid of common sense, as to settle land so that it cannot be leased or even on occasion sold. In fact every well-drawn modern settlement or will contains very ample powers for sale and exchange of lands where desirable, and for granting farming, building, and mining leases. The usual powers of leasing are, to grant farming leases for twenty-one years, building leases for sixty, and mining leases for various terms; and these are inserted in every case where the property is of such a nature, or so situated, that building, farming, or mining leases are likely to be required.

Even should this by inadvertence not have been done, recent statutes step in and to some extent remedy the defects. By the Act for the Abolition of Fines and Recoveries<sup>1</sup> a tenant in tail in possession may grant leases for twenty-one years at rack-rent; and by the Act to Facilitate Leases and Sales of Settled Estates<sup>2</sup> a settled estate may under certain circumstances be sold by leave of the Court of Chancery, if a sale is consistent with a due regard for the interests of all parties, and the money produced may amongst other things be applied to the redemption of the land-tax or other incumbrances, and the estate may with certain immaterial exceptions be leased by any tenant for life in possession for twenty-one years. By a still more recent Act called the Settled Estates Act, 1877,<sup>3</sup> settled land may be leased for agricultural purposes for twenty-one years, for mining for forty years, for a repairing lease for sixty years, and for a building lease for ninety-nine years; but the exercise of these powers requires the authority of the Chancery Division of the High Court.

(1) 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 74.

(2) 19 & 20 Vict. c. 120, sec. 11, amended by 37 & 38 Vict. c. 33.

(3) 40 & 41 Vict. c. 18.

The powers given by these statutes might no doubt be advantageously extended, and such extensions were proposed to be made by a Bill introduced by Lord Cairns in the late Parliament, called the Settled Land Bill. By this Bill absolute power of sale is given to a tenant for life of settled land—the proceeds to be applied in discharge of incumbrances, or making improvements on the settled land, or in the purchase of other land to be settled in like manner, and in the meantime to be invested.

In addition to this the Bill proposed to give the tenant for life powers to grant building leases for ninety-nine years, mining leases for sixty years, and other leases for twenty-one years, without the necessity for an application to the Court.

Practically this Bill if passed into law, as it no doubt will substantially be by the present Parliament, will remove all practical difficulties in so dealing with settled land as to enable its full mercantile value to be realised, whilst at the same time preserving the beneficial enjoyment of its rents or proceeds for those who are entitled to them.

The amount and nature of the difficulties in dealing with settled land are, as I have attempted to show, less than they are popularly supposed to be; but there is no valid reason why the facilities for overriding injudicious settlements, which would be for the benefit of the beneficial owners as well as of the general public, should not be further extended as proposed by Lord Cairns's Bill, only it is desirable to guard against expecting from the alteration any very large economic or social change.

There is still another remedy popularly proposed for the assumed defects of the Land Laws, namely, "increased facilities for the transfer of land." What is pointed at by this expression is, converting the present system of transferring land into a system similar to that under which shares in a company or money in the funds are transferred, namely, by the title to land being registered, and the transfer made by an entry in the Register. This proposal has frequently been made and much discussed, and it would much exceed the limits of the present article to go into all the arguments on the question, and it would be outside of my present purpose to do so.

In advocating this proposal, it is always assumed that there is a difficulty at present in transferring land to an extent which prevents it from being freely bought and sold. If that were so, however, the result would show itself in the price, and land would, owing to the expense of dealing with it, command a lower price in proportion than other investments offering an equally certain return. But in fact the very opposite is the truth. The income of landed property is more or less uncertain, and is subject to deductions for repairs, rates, &c., from which other investments—say railway debenture stock—are free; but agricultural land, notwithstanding, commands

a higher proportionate price than any of them. In what respect could any amount of increased facilities of transfer improve this condition? Again, when land is bought and sold, the transaction is most frequently carried on through an agent, and the brokerage or commission payable to such agent is not considered as any impediment on the freedom of transfer, though in fact it frequently exceeds the whole of the legal expenses.

The effect that "increased facilities in the transfer of land" are supposed to be likely to produce is, however, not merely that land would be more cheaply bought, but that in consequence it would be more extensively bought, and ultimately more widely distributed. The more extensive subdivision of land which it is supposed would result would, it is assumed, facilitate and increase the application of an increased amount of labour, or capital, or both, to the cultivation of the land, and thereby increase the gross produce of the land. But all these suppositions depend upon the initial assumption that a decrease in the expense of purchasing and selling land would lead to its more extensive distribution—that is to say, that if it were easier and cheaper to buy and sell land, persons who now hold much land would sell their land, or part of it, and persons who now hold no land would buy land—and that the result would be, amongst other things, the creation of a peasant proprietary.

But what are the facts as to the land market under the present system? and what reason is there for supposing that these would be changed by the suggested alteration of the law? Is it the fact that large landed proprietors desire to sell their land, and farmers, peasants, or small capitalists desire to buy land, and that the carrying into effect of such transactions is prevented or hindered by any legal impediment? The fact is that the tendency of the land market is in precisely the opposite direction. The large landed proprietors desire not to sell the land they have got, but to buy more; and so far from owners of small sums of money desiring to lay it out in agricultural land, the owner of a small farm or a few fields desires to sell it to some neighbouring proprietor who will give him considerably more for it than would produce the same income if otherwise invested. The tendency of the land market has been, and is, for land to be purchased by large owners and sold by small owners; and it would be as impracticable to get buyers to desire to sell, and sellers to desire to buy, by merely increasing the facilities for buying and selling, as it would be to induce water to flow up-hill by increasing the size of the pipes. In fact there has been in former times a peasant proprietary in England; the old English yeomanry and the Cumberland statesmen were holders of small farms, and they have been to a very large extent bought out, obviously for the reason that the money price of a small holding of land was worth more to the owner than the land itself. It is commonly assumed that most

large estates in land have arisen from the feudal times, and have been kept together by the remnants of the feudal laws; but if the title-deeds were investigated, it would be found that such estates were for the most part got together by a multitude of small purchases, and that the nucleus was perhaps formed by some successful country solicitor, or banker, who had special facilities for knowing what land was for sale, or by some city capitalist who wanted to convert his money into land. A large landed proprietor bearing an old historic name, writing to the *Times* under date of 4th December last, says: "I possess upwards of a hundred conveyances of land which has been sold to me, or my predecessors, in quantities of from half an acre to ten acres, because the owners could not cultivate to a profit."

It may be pointed out that if there is any advantage in the transfer of land, by entry in a register over the ordinary system, the system has existed since 1862, when a land registry was established under the Act brought in by Lord Westbury, and it now exists under the Land Transfer Act, 1875.

The alleged defect in the system established by these Acts is that the real practical cheapness and utility of the system of transfer of land upon a register, in comparison with the system otherwise prevailing, has been left by the legislature to be tested in the natural way, namely, by the inclination of buyers and sellers of land to avail themselves of it. That they do not so avail themselves to any material extent is not considered to condemn the system, but to afford a reason for making its use compulsory. A more characteristic specimen of the tendency of modern thought on legal and economic questions to rely upon the accuracy of theoretic reasoning, and to reject the teachings of experience, could scarcely be given.

There is another alteration in the Land Laws that is sometimes suggested as a beneficial reform, which is, the abolition of the power of distress for rent. It is argued that to give a special remedy for recovery of the rent of land which is not given for other debts is to give an undue preference to owners of land, and that such undue preference tends to prevent tenant cultivators from getting as much credit from tradespeople as they would otherwise obtain, and so practically restricts the amount of capital available for the cultivation of the land.

It is, however, no valid reason against the power of distress for rent that no equally good remedy exists for the recovery of other debts. The law ought to give the best and most effectual remedy for the recovery of all debts that can be given under the circumstances without risking the perpetration of some injustice, and practice has shown that the summary remedy of distress may safely be given for a debt for rent; and it is obvious that such a remedy could not be given for the recovery of any ordinary debt without producing great mischief. That a better remedy exists for the



recovery of rent than of other debts is a good reason for improving the remedies for other debts if it can be safely done, but is in itself no reason whatever for diminishing the efficacy of the remedies for recovery of rent.

The possession of the remedy of distress no doubt renders a debt for rent of more value than a debt for goods sold, and a smaller proportion of debts for rent is lost as irrecoverable than is the case as to goods sold. But the effect of bad debts upon a tradesman's business is, that he has to increase the price of his goods, so that the extra profits arising from the transactions in which he gets paid will compensate him for his losses on the goods for which he is not paid. The same must be the case as to rent; and if the power of distress were withheld rents must of necessity rise; and this effect would be produced not merely as to agricultural land, but as to all houses, shops, and other buildings held at a rent. The evil of such a result would probably far exceed any benefit that could possibly result from farmers getting increased credit.

I have endeavoured in the foregoing remarks, not to discourage the removal of real evils in the Land Laws or the adoption of real improvements, but to reduce the question of Land Law Reform to its proper dimensions.

The balance of political power in this country was for so long in the possession of the landed interest, that legislation was greatly influenced by that circumstance; but too great an effect may easily be attributed to that cause. There are many laws, most of which are, however, repealed, such as the Corn Law, the Game Laws, and the preference given to land over personal property in the incidence of taxation, that may be traced to that source; but the interest of landed proprietors does not in fact lie in creating or preserving artificial restrictions in dealing with land, which would be to diminish the value of their own property.

To throw taxation off land on to personalty, or to give preference to the productions of English land by taxing foreign corn, is to increase the value of English land, but to restrict its salability or letting is to diminish its value, and the landed interest cannot be so blind as not to see that distinction.

I have as far as possible avoided entering into the purely economic part of the question as to the distribution or ownership of land, but have confined myself to trying to remove one source of error out of the way, by showing that no material alteration in the distribution or marketable character of land can be effected by the removal of any existing laws.

WILLIAM A. JEVONS.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

WE have passed through a month that will always remain memorable in the history of English parliamentary government; and once more after an interval of fifty years the country has felt the shock of the revolutionary spirit. The strain of Irish obstruction had become absolutely intolerable in the House of Commons, and the country was looking on with angry perplexity. Parliament had been assembled for seven-and-twenty days, and yet the Bill to which precedence had been given, and which was the one piece of business that the House had to deal with, had not after all advanced through its first and rudimentary stage. At length the crisis arrived, the fixed order of procedure was peremptorily set aside by the authority of the Speaker, and between nine o'clock on Wednesday morning (February 2), when this peremptory action was taken, and one o'clock on the following Friday morning, in forty hours or so, when Mr. Gladstone's resolution for dealing with urgent business was carried, a complete revolution had been effected in the whole spirit and system of the House of Commons. It happened in this wise. The House met at the usual hour on Monday, January 31, and in due course settled down to the business of the sitting. That business was Mr. Forster's Coercion Bill. The Irish group at once resorted to devices that had become only too familiar to them and to the rest of the world for delaying the conclusion of this stage of the Bill until the furthest possible moment. Two or three of them in the course of the proceedings made speeches that were serious attempts to state the Irish case against the Bill in its strongest and weightiest form; but it is impossible to deny, and it was not denied, that the aim of the whole proceeding was not discussion but delay. On the other hand, it is impossible to deny that the Irish members had a right to assume that they were not infringing the regulations of the House. They had not been ruled out of order by the Speaker, and not one of them had been subjected to the penalty duly made and provided for obstruction. The House sat through Monday night, through the whole of Tuesday, and the whole of Tuesday night. Towards midnight on Tuesday the Speaker's attention was called to the fact that if he found evidence that there was a combination to obstruction, then it was competent for him to name one by one any members who were parties to the combination, and afterwards the House could suspend them. The Speaker said that he did perceive evidence of a combination to obstruction, but after saying this he took no action, and shortly afterwards left the performance of the duties of the Chair to his deputy. At nine on the following

morning (February 2) the Speaker returned, directed a member who was in possession of the House to resume his seat, and then read from a written paper a statement of the circumstance which now called for his interposition, and of the decision at which he had arrived in consequence :—

“The dignity, the credit, and the authority of this House are seriously threatened, and it is necessary they should be vindicated. Under the operation of the accustomed rules and methods of procedure, the legislative powers of the House are paralyzed and a new and exceptional course is imperatively demanded, and I am satisfied I shall best carry out the will of the House, and may rely upon its support, if I decline to call upon any more members to speak, and at once proceed to put the several questions to the House. I feel assured that the House will be prepared to exercise all its powers in giving effect to these proceedings. Further measures for ensuring orderly debate I must leave to the judgment of the House; but I may add that it would be necessary either for the House itself to assume more effectual control over the debate or invest greater authority in the Chair ”

The pent-up feelings of the House burst forth in tumultuous approval from every quarter, except from the group of the Irish Irreconcilables, who sat stunned and bewildered. The Speaker at once followed up the declaration of his resolution that he would decline to call upon any more members to speak, by proceeding to put the questions in their order. The question first put was that the words proposed to be left out by Dr. Lyons's amendment from the original motion for leave to introduce the Bill stand part of the question. A division followed, giving 164 for the motion and 19 against it. The Irish members now perceived that by taking part in this division they had inadvertently acquiesced in the Speaker's assumption of a right to stop the debate. The next question was then put, that leave be given to introduce the Bill, and the Irish members, recovering from their bewilderment, rose from their seats and with outstretched arms and dramatic gestures shouted “Order” and “Privilege,” while the Speaker remained standing. They then left the House in a body; leave was given to introduce the Bill without a division, and in a few moments it was duly read a first time.

Before proceeding to the second episode in this painful history it will be as well definitely to mark the character of the first. Whether we praise or blame the Speaker's act, it is proper that we should recognise it for what it was, and it was beyond all question a supersession of all the orders and regulations of the House. It was, as the Speaker said, a new and exceptional course. There was a rule which would have enabled the House to arrest obstruction. The Speaker for good reasons or bad chose not to employ this, but instead of it assumed a power for which there was no precedent. This may or may not have been justifiable or prudent under the extraordinary circumstances in which the shortsighted perversity of Mr. Parnell's section had placed the House. For the moment it was

certainly the most convenient course, and that is a very important consideration so far as it goes. But it is right to note that the stoppage of the debate by the Speaker was unprecedented and irregular.

The next step was taken on the following evening (February 3rd). In the interval Michael Davitt, the most able, resourceful, and intrepid of the chiefs of the Land League, had been arrested on a warrant issued by the Home Secretary at the instance of Mr. Forster. Little more than a fortnight before Mr. Forster had stated that it would be unjust to re-arrest Davitt, save for a violation of the conditions on which his ticket-of-leave had been granted. At that date (January 13th) these conditions were supposed to have been sufficiently complied with. What change took place in Davitt's conduct in the fortnight following this statement is not known and cannot well be conjectured. The re-arrest has been taken as a matter of course in England, but it is one of those unfortunate incidents of such incessant recurrence which add new fuel to the flame of national antipathy in Ireland. On the Thursday afternoon Mr. Dillon asked the Home Secretary a question on this subject. Dissatisfied with Sir William Harcourt's answer, Mr. Dillon rose presumably to move the adjournment of the House, as according to a much abused but well-understood rule he had a perfect right to do. The Speaker refused to hear him, and ruled that he was out of order. Here again it must be noted that, strictly speaking, the Irish protesters seem to have been within the letter of their rights. Mr. Dillon persisted; the Prime Minister then moved that he should be suspended for the remainder of the sitting; the question was put and carried by 395 against 38; and, as Mr. Dillon refused to leave the House in conformity with this resolution, he was removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms. Mr. Gladstone then rose to move his resolution. Mr. Parnell interrupted him, apparently intending to press the point of order whether Mr. Gladstone could be in possession of the House if Mr. Dillon had been irregularly ruled out of order. The usual scene followed. Mr. Parnell was named as disobeying the Chair; Mr. Gladstone moved his suspension, which was voted by 405 votes against 7; and Mr. Parnell was removed by the Sergeant. The same course was followed in the case of Mr. Finigan. Here a new incident occurred. During the last two discussions the Home Rule members, as a protest against the irregularity of the whole of the proceedings since the suspension of Mr. Dillon, declined to leave their seats. This was disobedience to the order of the Chair, and Mr. Gladstone moved accordingly that the 28 members who had been guilty of it should be suspended during the remainder of the sitting. After this resolution had been carried, the suspended members were called upon to withdraw; and as each of them refused, he was conducted in turn

out of the House by the Sergeant-at-Arms and his attendants. These scenes of the second and third of February were the first taste for two centuries that the English have had of Fruetidors, Prairials, and Brumaires. We should be glad to think that they will have no more for two centuries to come.

Before going further, let us characterize the policy of the Irish section, which led to these violent scenes. We are not of those who think that any English Parliament or Ministry will voluntarily set itself to repair the scandalous misgovernment of Ireland, unless the Irish constituencies send men who will make it more uncomfortable to neglect Ireland than to attend to it. An English Minister has so many burdens upon him, so many tasks pressing on his time and capacity, that we may be quite sure he will not take Irish grievances in hand unless the Irish members cry out pretty loudly and make themselves more than a little troublesome. That is perfectly clear; and it is very irrational either to deny it as a general statement, or to deny that Mr. Parnell had up to the beginning of this session done good service to his country exactly by making Ireland so troublesome to the English Government that it could not be safely left alone. Some people will regard this as a cynical way of putting things, but whether cynical or not, it is the positive and practical state of the case. The English nation is honestly anxious to do for Ireland whatever those leaders in whom the English nation has confidence declare to be necessary and right for Ireland. But in order to kindle this willingness to do justice it is necessary to make a considerable stir, and that stir Mr. Parnell and the Land League made in the autumn with a vengeance. They cannot but know, however, that it is impossible to deliver Ireland without the help and goodwill of England and Scotland, and that to alienate this help and good-will will be fatal to their own cause. Mr. Parnell himself admitted this clearly enough in his letter from Paris, in which he promised an agitation that should rouse the democratic classes in Great Britain against the landlords and the "shopocracy," on behalf of the people of Ireland. That being so, there could be no blunder greater than to follow the course which has led to the present collapse. Here let us quote the words of one of the most thoroughly able, well-informed, and sagacious members of the Irish party. Mr. Shaw's account of things seems to us to be exactly and unanswerably true.

"The gentlemen who shaped the policy of the Irish party this session, by the unwise and mistimed use of the weapon, have led the party to helpless defeat, unable to fight or retreat with dignity or credit. For half a century there has not been such an opportunity as the present for placing the case of Ireland before Parliament and the country in a way to command attention and to secure reform. The extreme poverty of our people and the manifold evils, direct and indirect, of our land system were admitted. We have a Government pledged, every member of it, to the redress of our grievances—its chief, a man

of generous sympathy, large views, and commanding influence; the people of England ready and anxious to settle the Irish question. It needed only a course of procedure guided by ordinary common sense to command influential support inside Parliament in resisting coercion, and, what is of more importance, enthusiastic popular support. Under such opposition Government would have been compelled to largely modify the Coercion Bill and to have brought in their Land Bill; but the policy adopted has broken down helplessly and hopelessly. Irish reform and Irish representation are discredited, and English feeling and opinion outraged."

This is the view which a sensible and patriotic Irishman takes of the action of the Extreme Left of his own party. It ought to be equally interesting to us to know what view the same sensible and patriotic Irishman takes of the policy of the Government. He has "no hesitation in expressing his disappointment" with this policy. "Had they announced their intention of not allowing lawlessness to rule the country, and firmly enforced the ordinary law, and on the meeting of Parliament announced the Land Bill, there would have been no pretence of necessity for what I must call the worst Coercion Bill ever introduced." People will, of course, take this for what it is worth, but Liberals with a belief in the principles of national self-government will be slow to reject the opinion of an Irishman of the type of Mr. Shaw about Irish affairs. But as we know the influence of the landlord class both of Ireland and England have prevented their counsels from being listened to. Mr. Forster has brought in not only a Coercion Bill, but an extremely severe Coercion Bill. His whole demeanour and attitude has exposed him to the charge of holding the truly absurd position that if a bad thing is necessary, then the more of the badness of the thing that you have the better. If extraordinary means of repression were absolutely necessary, we might have expected Mr. Forster to take some trouble to secure the desired ends by the machinery that would be least obnoxious, least exposed to abuse, and least fit to be used as a precedent by authorities less benevolent than he assumes himself and his colleagues at the Castle to be. What is the advantage of having an Irish Secretary with the professions of a Wilberforce, if he brings in a Bill on the maxims of a Castlereagh? Why could not every means have been exhausted of making the Bill as little odious as possible to Ireland, and to those Irish members especially who represent the more sober and, if you please to call it so, the more loyal portion of the opinion of the country?

The list of the amendments that have been proposed, and even of those that have been accepted, is enough to show how much more stringent the Bill was than is now seen to have been either just or wise. Here are one or two of the suggested modifications by way of example. (a) The Bill empowers the arrest of persons "reasonably" suspected. Then, said a member (from Wales, by the way,

not from Ireland), let us put some sort of measure on the "reasonableness," by saying that the suspicion must be supported by the sworn evidence of two witnesses. Rejected. (b) Another member, English, not Irish, moved that the power of arrest should be limited to persons "believed" to have committed an offence, instead of persons merely "suspected." As Mr. Forster said that the Government only wished for power to arrest the people whom they "knew" to have perpetrated outrages, there would seem to have been no good ground for objecting to this modification. Rejected. (c) The Bill is retrospective—a quality which has always been counted particularly detestable in this kind of legislation, and which is singularly out of place in a measure of which we have been told again and again that it is not vindictive or punitive, but preventive. Another Welsh member proposed that at the very least the retrospect might be limited to the date of the introduction of the Bill. Mr. Forster made a compromise, and was content not to arrest a man on the suspicion of things said or done before October 1, 1880. (d) It was moved that nobody should be arrested under the powers in the Bill who should have been taken to Ireland from England on the warrant of an English magistrate; that is to say, the man arrested in Ireland should be there of his own free-will. Rejected. (e) It was moved that the charge against a suspected person should be investigated in the presence of the Lord Lieutenant or Chief Secretary, and so should have an opportunity of explaining what was charged against him. Rejected. (f) An important amendment was moved by Mr. Stansfeld, namely, that warrants against persons reasonably suspected of crime other than high treason, and the like, should specify the crime with particulars of time and place. That is to say, where a man is arrested for acts so loosely described as tending to violence and intimidation, the where, when, and what should be set forth. Nearly fifty English and Scotch members and five-and-forty Irish members supported this reasonable mitigation; but it was rejected. (g) There were amendments of great importance concerning the treatment of prisoners under this Act. It was shown conclusively that on previous occasions prisoners arrested on warrants of this kind, who had not been tried, and whom it was never intended to try, had suffered great hardships and even grave and permanent injuries. Everybody with any sense of justice or the virtue of legality in him will feel that though it may be expedient to lock people up without trial in order to prevent them from doing mischief, yet it cannot be expedient to treat them as harshly as if they had actually done the mischief, had been tried for it, and had been lawfully convicted and sentenced. If we are going to have political prisoners, let us have political prisoners. After prolonged discussion which was denounced as obstruction by many people who might have known better, Mr.

Forster promised that the Prison Rules should be supervised by the Lord Lieutenant with a special view to prisoners of this class.

To return to the story of the parliamentary revolution. Mr. Gladstone moved a resolution, which was afterwards amended and accepted by the House, empowering a majority of two-thirds in a House of not less than three hundred to resolve that a given piece of public business is urgent; and when urgency has been thus voted, it further empowers the Speaker to take into his own hands all the powers of the House for the regulation of the several stages of the given business. In accordance with this resolution the Speaker announced a little code of new rules, to which he afterwards added others. We need not discuss them at the present moment. It suffices to say that they result in a particularly drastic kind of *clôture*, more stringent than exists in any other legislative assembly in the world. It will be time enough to examine them fully when the House has had better opportunity of trying them.

The principal objections to this great change have been—first, the rapidity and even precipitancy with which it was made; second, that it takes away from the office of Speaker its most revered attribute of neutrality and impartiality, and tends to make him the chief or the instrument of one side of the House against the other; third, that it should have taken place in connection with so peculiar a measure as a Bill depriving one of the three kingdoms of its guarantees for personal liberty; fourth, that it transfers in block to the Speaker powers which the majority of the House should only exert specifically and in detail, and substitutes personal will for that system of fixed regulations which ought to settle the proceedings in a free assembly; fifth, that so great an innovation ought only to have been made as part of some general scheme for reconstructing the whole method of conducting parliamentary business—a reconstruction which is now seen on all sides to be not only inevitable but urgent. For the moment, however, there is very little inclination to consider objections. One of the most remarkable features in the whole transaction has been the absolute and unquestioning support which has been afforded to the Government by the House of Commons and the country. Regret has been expressed on every side at the final disappearance of the greatest of parliamentary glories, but people have stifled their regrets under the sense of the necessity of correcting an intolerable abuse. The question, which is after all a very important question, whether the necessity, which nobody denies, has been met in the best way, has hardly been raised, and if it has been raised, has been dismissed with a good deal of impatient asperity, which is of evil omen for the immediate future of English politics.

Military operations have been carried on against the Boers of the Transvaal, but up to the present date without success. The British



forces have on more than one occasion suffered a disastrous repulse, and we have had the bitter mortification of seeing slaughter inflicted and suffered in a cause which on our side is both unjust and inexpedient in the highest degree. We now see how grossly those officials and ministers were mistaken who represented the aversion of the Boers to annexation as no more than the cry of a few agitators and malcontents. The Boers would not have left their homesteads to the number of several thousands if there had been nothing more serious at work than a factitious agitation. Every day it is felt to be more deplorable that Lord Kimberley did not on his accession to office at once undo the work which nobody of either party ever really defended. The best thing that can happen now is that the negotiations which are said to be going on while we write should end in a truce; that the truce should be followed by the dispatch of some Commission of Inquiry; and that the Commission should find it expedient to let the Boers live as their own masters in the portions of the Transvaal to which they are practically confined.

To turn to other events which have attracted public attention, the capture of Geok Tepe by the Russians, and their subsequent advance in the direction of Merv, have combined, with the publication of the secret Russian correspondence captured at Cabul, to excite interest once more in the Central Asian question. The famous fortress of the Akhal-Tekkes, which Russian report declares to have been constructed under the direction of an English officer, was captured by General Skobeleff after a siege of twenty-one days, during which both besiegers and besieged lost heavily. The Russian loss in killed and wounded is officially returned at 71 officers and 1,037 men. The total loss of life, including the mortality from disease, is estimated at 2,000 on the side of the Russians, and 8,000 on that of the Tekkes; 2,000 of whom were slain in the pursuit across the plain after their stronghold was stormed. After the capture of Geok Tepe the Russians pressed on for several stages eastward, in order to secure the submission of all the tribes of the Akhal-Tekkes as far as Merv. Already we are told, in the usual accents of alarm, General Skobeleff's cavalry are hovering around Merv, and Merv is the key of Herat, Herat the key of Candahar, and Candahar, of course, is the key of India.

The publication of the secret correspondence discovered at Cabul in the autumn of 1879, at one time seemed likely to afford the alarmists with an opportunity of gaining the ear of the public. It was only for a time. The despatches proved nothing fresh, and illustrated once more the impolicy of the late Government. The Cabul correspondence consisted of—(1) Letters from General, then Colonel, Stoletoff to Shere Ali; (2) Letters from Shere Ali to General Stoletoff; (3) Letters from General Kauffmann to Shere Ali; and (4)

A draft of a treaty taken *ad referendum* by Colonel Stoletoff, by which Russia was to defend Afghanistan against British invasion, if the Ameer, on his part, would refrain from waging war without Russian permission. Taking the last first, we find that the draft of the treaty, instead of confirming the oft-repeated assertion that Russia concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Shere Ali, proves, on the contrary, that the utmost that was proposed was, that Russia should assist the Ameer to prevent Afghanistan being used as a base from whence an Anglo-Indian attack might be made upon the Asiatic dominions of the Czar. Of course, Russia had in ordinary circumstances no business to make any treaties of any kind with the Ameer, and she recognised this as soon as peace was restored by refusing to sign the treaty which had been drafted in Afghanistan. But the circumstances were not ordinary, and her conduct in negotiating a treaty with Afghanistan when war with England was believed to be imminent has been declared by Lord Beaconsfield to be "perfectly justifiable."

It is alleged, with truth, that the draft treaty was drawn up at Cabul after the Treaty of Berlin was signed. But when the Russian mission was despatched the Treaty of Berlin had not been signed, nor is there any proof that General Stoletoff could have been apprised at Cabul of the conclusion of peace in Europe in time to arrest the drafting of the Afghan Treaty. Nor must it be forgotten that General Stoletoff's head was in the lion's mouth, and he might have exposed himself to the fate of Sir Louis Cavagnari if he had abruptly announced his mission was at an end and that Russia would do nothing to protect the Ameer from the invasion for which his visit had afforded the longed-for pretext.

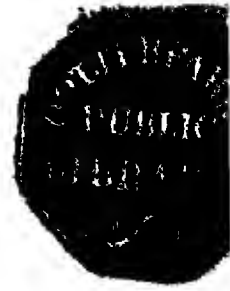
The Russian Government appears to have acted, as Lord Beaconsfield has expressly declared, with the utmost possible promptitude in withdrawing from any interference in Afghanistan; but the dispatches show that General Stoletoff continued his correspondence with the Ameer on his own account. Although this was inconsistent with Russia's position, it was natural that General Stoletoff should do his best to extricate the unfortunate Ameer from the scrape in which he had involved him. He wrote to Shere Ali from Livadia assuring him that he was "busy night and day with his affairs," and after a long preamble evidently designed to break the bad news to him as gently as possible, he advised his luckless host to make peace with the English, unless the Russians, "his brothers on the other side of the river," make war on their own account, which at that time General Stoletoff well knew they had determined not to do.<sup>1</sup> Therefore Shere Ali was told to make peace

(1) It is proper to say that some very competent authorities insist that by "their brothers on the other side of the river," Stoletoff meant the Mahometans across the Indus, and not the Russians across the Oxus.

openly, and in secret prepare for war; and if the English wanted to send an envoy to Cabul, he was to send an able emissary "possessing the tongue of a serpent and full of deceit" to India, "to perplex the enemy's mind with sweet words," and induce him to abandon the intended war. No defence can be attempted for this deliberate counsel to deceive, even after all allowance has been made for the figurative phraseology of oriental diplomacy, and the dire straits to which General Stoletoff was reduced by the necessity of saving the Ameer from the disastrous consequences which followed his reliance on promises which circumstances rendered it impossible to keep. But it is not for those who have insisted upon the adoption of the lowest possible standard of morals in the government of the British Empire to lift up their hands in pious horror because the discredited subordinate of General Kaufmann tried to keep his friend out of a difficulty by an expedient as unscrupulous as that by which Lord Salisbury proposed "to find, or if need be to create, a pretext" for getting him into one.

Shere Ali's letters to the Russians show very clearly that the whole influence which Russia gained over him was due to his dread of the aggressive policy which, rightly or wrongly, he attributed to Lord Lytton. Imperialist critics display their ignorance of the very alphabet of the controversy in which the late Lord Lawrence took a leading part, by proclaiming that the objection to the invasion of Afghanistan has no longer any force because it is proved that Russian generals can dissimulate and betray. The case against the invasion of Afghanistan, so far from resting upon an implicit faith in the meekness and innocence of Russia, is enormously strengthened by every proof of the existence of a desire on her part to do us mischief. The worse Russia can be proved to be, so much the more insensate was the folly of those who played into her hands by making the Afghans forget their hatred of the Northern Empire in their dread of the aggression of their Southern neighbour. If we had merely held aloof the Russian mission at Cabul would either have shared the fate of Sir Louis Cavagnari, or have been compelled to return empty-handed from Afghanistan. It has never been contended that we should trust the defence of our Indian frontier to the generosity of Russia. Russia, like any other power, will seek to injure us wherever she can, whenever we threaten her with war. What has been contended is, that so long as we keep out of Afghanistan she cannot injure us in India. Russia's influence in Afghanistan depends naturally upon the intensity of the animosity with which England is regarded by the Afghans. Every act of aggression on our part strengthens Russia's position and correspondingly weakens our own.

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ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

ONCE more order reigns in Ireland, but in the eyes of the vast majority of the people who live in Ireland it reigns by virtue of an act of proscription. Once more the Legislature is to be asked to pass a measure of relief for the Irish cultivator, but as usual gratitude is extinguished in advance by a measure of repression which precedes it. We are supposed to have checked the legitimate confederacy of the Land League, but in the very act we have given new strength to the lawless and mischievous confederacy of the Fenian brotherhood. A few Irish landlords have the gloomy satisfaction of feeling their hands free to do as they will with their own, but it is a considerable set-off to this that the next election will pretty certainly sweep away the chief body of Irish Liberals and replace them by exasperated Irreconcilables. In Great Britain there are many constituencies, even some great democratic constituencies, in which Irish voters hold the balance, and the Irish voters are lost for a long time to come to the party of improvement. But a strong Land Bill, we are told, will change all that. Why should it? The Land Bill will be regarded as no more than the instalment of a right, but the Coercion Act, passed as it has been passed amid circumstances of such extraordinary excitement, will long stand out in Irish memory as a hated landmark of tyrannical passion. Something more serious has been lost than the Irish vote. The leaders of the party of progress have lost their title for a long time to come to talk their old language, or to appeal to the deep and generous commonplaces of law and freedom. It is worse than the loss of many a parliamentary seat to English Liberalism, that the greatest of popular orators should never again be able to tell his countrymen that force is no remedy.

What was the alternative policy? Was a Government, we shall be asked, to look on at the scene of lawlessness and crime with heedless minds and folded hands? The answer is in famous words, that "it is no small part of wisdom to know how much of an evil is to be tolerated." It is worth while, at the cost of repeating once more some of the circumstances of a dreary and only too familiar story, to

describe the point of view of those who believe the policy actually adopted to have been fatally mistaken. Let us admit that in the later part of the autumn, Ireland, or a considerable portion of it, was in a revolutionary condition. No Liberal at least can deny that there was really good ground for an excited and discontented spirit. There are three separate considerations to this effect. For, in the first place, the House of Commons by its vote on the Disturbance Bill in the summer had put upon deliberate record that the landlords had a legal power of eviction which it was socially wrong for them to exercise. It had admitted the existence of a great grievance, and one which, save for the action of the House of Lords, it was prepared and anxious to redress. There was more evidence than this that the Irish peasantry had something to complain of. For, in the second place, the Government had announced their intention of bringing in a Land Bill, and it was matter of common and notorious expectation that this would be a strong, a thorough, a far-reaching measure. What was this but to say that there were deep, and real, and far-reaching evils, which the Irish peasants had a right to insist that the legislature of their country should remove? But even this is not all the evidence to the same purpose. Two Commissions have been inquiring into the Irish question, and what conclusion have they come to? One of these Commissions is driven to the formal conviction that the "deep-seated disorder in the body politic arose from the existence of grievances for which the present law provides no remedy, and for which justice requires that a remedy should be provided." In the other Commission, even the ultra-Conservative majority were so shaken from their natural prejudices that they have actually declared that to leave the peasant any longer exposed, without the protection of a tribunal, to arbitrary increases of rent is inexpedient and unjust. Of the report of the minority we need not speak; it went very much further.

So then it appears that two important Commissions, a majority in the House of Commons, and finally the Government itself, all testified to the fact that the Irish social system was infected by grievous injustice, which it was urgently necessary to deal with. The operations of the League, therefore, and the sentiments in the population on which the League worked, had their foundation and their excuse in precisely those circumstances which were the foundation and excuse of the Disturbance Bill of last year, and the Land Bill of this year. In other words, the Irish peasants were justified in their desire to see changes which may properly from the English point of view be called revolutionary. If we remember how ignorant they are (owing to the deliberate resolution of English statesmen in former times to keep

them ignorant), how excitable they are, how close their particular sense of wrong came to the most pressing conditions of their daily life, we need not wonder that, under the impulse of passions which were justifiable in themselves, some of them committed unjustifiable acts. What was to be seen in Ireland was the spectacle of the peasants in a state of revolt in face of the landlords, and resorting here and there to violent practices against their open enemies or their lukewarm friends. The amount of their violence, even where it reached its height, was amazingly little. We must remember the country that we are talking about. The agitation of last winter was not the first Irish agitation since the Union. Compared with any previous outbreak, especially, for instance, with the Tithe War fifty years ago, the amount of violence last winter was, I repeat, amazingly little. Considering the strength of the passions that prompted it, the ferocity of all tradition and precedent in such movements, the character of the population, and their intense concern in the issue of the struggle, the actual disorders, though they might have been appalling in Hampshire or Sussex, were hardly even alarming in Mayo or Cork or Clare.

It was clear, however, that for the moment the country had fallen into a state of profound social disorganisation. We naturally ask what the party of order were doing? What they did was this. At the very outset of the agitation—it was in October, I think—a deputation of men of the highest importance in wealth and position, landlords and others, waited upon Lord Cowper and Mr. Forster to discuss the state of the country. Mr. Forster did what he would have done if he had been receiving the same kind of deputation of country gentlemen at the English Home Office, under similar circumstances of disorder in England or Scotland. He asked them what they had to suggest, what steps they were prepared to recommend, what they were disposed to do. “Suggestion, recommendation, action!” cried all these important men with one accord in indignant surprise; “what is all that to us! It can be no affair of ours! Let the Government do its duty, we have no duty to do.” And they went away in astonishment and disgust because, as they had been accustomed to expect in all similar emergencies before, Mr. Forster did not at once promise them an immediate session of Parliament and a swinging Coercion Act. It is worth while to turn to the account of this interview even now, in order to realise the impotence of that class for whose sake the English legislature had sacrificed the interests of a whole population. No further evidence is necessary that we shall look in vain to this once dominant section of society for a restoration of permanent order in Ireland. That there are individuals both of abundant private virtue and public spirit among the Irish landlords, we are not concerned to deny. But they have

the natural and unavoidable weakness of every class that has been long protected in the enjoyment of special privileges by foreign support. Lord Cowper's visitors were true sons of the men, Lord Donoughmore and others, who, in 1839, passed a resolution that Drummond's aphorism that property has its duties as well as its rights, was a shameful insult to the magistrates of Tipperary.<sup>1</sup> They have neither political courage nor administrative resource. Demoralised by habitual reliance on the military and centralised government at Dublin, they seem to be entirely without those habits of independence, energy, and responsibility which free self-government has bred in the character of the corresponding class in England. We sometimes hear hard things of county justices and Quarter Sessions, and they have shortcomings enough of their own. But these country gentlemen, if they found themselves in a scrape with their labourers, whatever else they might do, would not, we may be very sure, throw their deliverance, without making a single effort of their own, wholesale upon the Home Office and the War Office.

When the Irish Government found there was a certain amount of disorder in the country, and no chance of help from those who ought naturally to have been the party of order, what were they to do? There were midnight visits, some firing into windows, a certain number of outrages on the person, and three or four agrarian murders. There was intimidation, and, to borrow a familiar but greatly exaggerated phrase which has been much abused for purposes of oratorical clap-trap, to some extent the law of the land was superseded by the unwritten law of the Land League. Rents lawfully due remained unpaid, and landlords were unable to exercise their legal rights.<sup>2</sup> All this was disorderly enough. But "*it is no small part of wisdom to know how much of an evil is to be tolerated.*" In December, when the agitation was at its height, there was even a kind of order; bad, illegitimate, and marked by many odious features, an inverted order, if you please, but still not that bloody

(1) For this episode see the *Memoir of Thomas Drummond*, by J. F. M'Lennan. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1867. Chap. xvi.

(2) Speaking of the agitation, of the winter of 1879, not of 1880, Mr. Courtney, now Under-Secretary for Home Affairs, writes as follows, in connection with Mr. Parnell's advice to the farmers not to pay their landlords any rents unless the latter agreed to make reasonable reductions in their claims:—

"The circumstances of the season justified an application for an abatement of rents such as the majority of landlords are generally found willing to allow. . . . It was also prudent not to make any payment until an understanding had been made about the reduction, as otherwise the worst class of landlords would have taken what they could on account, and would have maintained the unpaid balance as a claim always hanging over the head of the tenant, and thus bringing him more than ever within the power of his master. . . . It will be seen that no serious blame can be thrown upon Mr. Parnell's conduct last year (1879) except in regard to the fact that he was not sufficiently explicit in his meaning."

Yet there was hardly a single English journal which was not almost as angry with the agitation of 1879 as with that of 1880.

and reckless anarchy which has accompanied many a *Jacquerie* before now, both in Ireland and other places. It had not been going on for years or even months, but only for a few weeks. It was a hard case for the landlords who were deprived of what was undoubtedly their own. Nobody denies it. But in many a far less serious social crisis than this, hardship on some class has been inevitable, and men have known how to bear it as best they might. If the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Chaplin are right, have not the whole mass of Irish tenants been enduring wrong and hardship for generations past? A legal right, however it may have arisen, must always, so long as it exists, be of the nature of a sacred thing in the eyes of the statesman, and the landlords were suffering a legal wrong. But the tenants had for generations, owing to the ignorance or erroneous theories of the legislature, been suffering what even Conservatives like the Duke of Richmond admit to have been a moral wrong. If the landlords failed to receive their rents for a little time, in how many cases had these rents accrued at the expense of the equitable rights of the tenants? If the tenants had been waiting for justice for whole generations, could not the landlords have been asked to wait for a week or two? But the situation is too grave for these recriminations. All right-minded men would fain have seen the present crisis in the Irish system surmounted without the infliction of a single injustice or undeserved inconvenience on either the landlords or any other class. The only thing to be said is that these injustices and inconveniences are, and always have been recognised as being, inevitable in many of the great social changes which communities are driven by force of circumstances from time to time to undergo. They are part of the cost, and the most harsh, painful, and repulsive part of the cost, of every change of this kind. They constitute the strongest argument against all revolutionary methods. The necessity for them is the heaviest charge that has to be borne by those whose shortsightedness or impolitic procrastination has brought about so evil a state of things that only revolutionary methods will repair them.

The disturbed situation in Ireland was obviously intolerable, if it was likely to last for ever, or for very long. The restoration of the full authority of the law of the land was an imperative necessity. But what our countrymen forgot, and perhaps compelled the Government to forget, was that there was more than one way of setting about the restoration of order. There was the old way which has been resorted to so incessantly since the Union. The Government could take powers to seize anyone they pleased, and lock him up without trial. Sometimes this course has succeeded, and sometimes it has not. The Coercion Bill was one experiment. But another experiment was open. This was firmly and energetically to enforce the ordinary law of the land against evil-doers, so far as it was possible; where it



was not possible, then to bear evil-doing with a sensible patience, as wise statesmen have often had to do before now; and then on the meeting of Parliament to introduce the Land Bill in which all the hopes and interests of the mass of the Irish peasantry were centred. Before Parliament met, the acute stage of the agitation was beginning to pass away. The law of the land was being partially enforced, and convictions were being obtained. Even had it been otherwise, it is worth while for the English public to reflect whether it would have not been better to persevere in a wise acquiescence in a certain amount of evil, if that were in the long run the quickest and surest means of coming to a more permanently satisfactory state.

England, it must be remembered, had and still has a given thing to do, a given problem to solve. Her task is not merely to preserve law and order for the moment, but to lay the foundations of good and settled government, and one of the first conditions of securing this is to conciliate the Irish population. To do this it is above all things indispensable to make that population believe that our sympathies are on their side. The Irish never have believed this; they have had no very great reason to believe it; and a Coercion Act is the worst possible argument for making them believe it. It is in the eyes of the Irish the regular and accepted symbol of our sympathy, not with them, but with those whom justly or not they regard as their oppressors. It always has been thus; we cannot be surprised if it still wears in their eyes its old and hated colours. It is not only rebels and mutineers who feel in this way. Some of the most respectable classes in Ireland, including members of the class of landlords themselves, detest Coercion Acts quite as heartily as they are detested by dissolute ruffians and village tyrants.<sup>1</sup> If the latter recognise in the suspension of Habeas Corpus an end of their immunity in turbulence, the former are reminded by it that their country is the subject and degraded member of a Union which to them is no Union. It is very well to tell them that a Coercion Act is only a means of taking powers which are sure never to be abused, for arresting a few bad characters whose guilt nobody can doubt. This may be true or not. But what if the Irish do not choose to look at the Act in this easy and reassuring way? In our task of conciliating Ireland we have to consider not only what such a measure is, but what it seems to be to the people concerned. We have to consider the peculiar colour and aspect which the previous history of such a measure has given to it.

(1) Mr. Shaw is one of the most respectable members of the House of Commons, and this is what he says:—

"I have no hesitation in expressing my great disappointment at the policy of the Government. Had they announced their intention of not allowing lawlessness to rule the country and firmly enforced the ordinary law, and, on the meeting of Parliament, announced the Land Bill, there would have been no pretence of necessity for what I must call the worst Coercion Bill ever introduced."—Mr. Shaw's letter to the Bishop of Cloyne, published in the newspapers, February 18.

Nations do not invariably look at things through the clear medium of dry reason. They are endowed with imagination and sensibility. They are keenly alive to historic association. The Irish connect the incident of to-day with a whole chain of incidents in the past which it suits us to forget, but which they have not forgotten, nor will forget, so long as we deliberately insist on bringing it back to their minds. It is quite true that Englishmen to-day announce benevolent intentions towards Ireland, but Irishmen may be excused for thinking lightly of this when they find, on such comparatively moderate provocation, the old instrument of darker days taken out of the armoury of repression. It would have been a less evil that a few bad men should have gone unpunished, if that was necessary, than that we should have injuriously violated the sentiment of the people whom we daily declare it to be the dearest object of our political lives to turn into friends. We call the Coercion Act a measure for restoring law and order. What the Irish see in it is a measure for breaking up the only association that has ever been able effectually to protect the tenants. It is to them a measure for allowing the landlords industriously to carry out evictions. It has always been so. Even in her most gracious moments England has always been harsh and narrow to Ireland. We conceded Catholic Emancipation when it could no longer be withheld; at the same time we not only suppressed the Catholic Association, but by one of the shabbiest tricks in political history compelled O'Connell to be re-elected. Is there any other reform since which has not about it the same association of force, of grudging assent, of unworthy vindictiveness, of yielding only to compulsion?

Depend upon it, some one cries out, that the first thing to do in Ireland—the condition precedent of any real good in that country—is the inculcation of a respect for law and order, and the teaching of the lesson that nothing will be conceded to insurrection. As if this plausible but shallow principle had not been acted upon a hundred times before, with the result that the Irishman has not a whit more respect for law (in this sense) than he ever had. If you want him to respect the laws, you will have first to persuade him that they are made for his benefit and not for yours. You will have to give him grounds for believing that when the laws were being made, his wishes and interests have been consulted, and the voices of his representatives listened to, just as English wishes and interests are consulted, and English representatives are listened to, when our laws are being made. You may by suspending Habeas Corpus, and garrisoning his country with thirty thousand troops, frighten him into mechanical quiet for a year or two, but this is not teaching him respect for law, nor instilling habits of order into him, in the sense of breeding in his mind a spontaneous loyalty to what is ordained, or of attracting any real moral strength to our

government. The thing has been tried often enough for us to know what comes of it. The moment the prison door is unlocked, and the gag is removed, we find that our precious device for making Irishmen respect law has only embittered their hatred for us and our law a thousandfold. In the case of an individual offender, it may be a matter of indifference whether penal restraint reforms his character or not; it is enough to prevent him from doing mischief or to punish him for having done it. But in the case of a whole population this is so far from being enough, that it is nothing and worse than nothing. In these matters, to use Burke's language, "the physicians are to take care that they do nothing to irritate an epidemical distemper. It is a foolish thing to have the better of the patient in a dispute. The complaint or its cause ought to be removed, and wise and lenient acts ought to precede the measures of vigour. They ought to be the *ultima*, not the *prima*, ratio of a wise Government."

As for the propriety of teaching the Irish that they will never gain anything by violence, such a lesson may be as proper as we please, but it is unfortunately not true. The Irish know much better. They know that they have never gained anything without violence. The Tithe was one of the most odious imposts ever laid upon a subject people by foreign masters. Did that disappear before arguments, moral suasion, or a strictly constitutional agitation? When the Tories of that day, like the Tories of this, insisted on the sacred rights of property, and on the paramount duty of the Executive to secure to every man his own, was their appeal overcome by the weight of calm political reason? Not at all, but by the persistent opposition of physical force against the dragonnades, for they were literally and truly dragonnades, which were ordered by the British Government. Was Catholic Emancipation the reward of victory in argument, the spontaneous outcome of disinterested conviction, a recognition of the patience and self-control of the Irish Catholics? On the contrary, as everybody knows, it was wrung from the King and the Tories and the Protestant bigotry of the country by sheer alarm. Of the reforming measures of our own generation it is not necessary to remind ourselves of the share that violence had in pressing the necessity for them upon English attention. The statesman most concerned in these measures has frankly disclosed to us this part of their history. It may be distasteful to the sentimentalists of politics to find that great reforms are achieved in this way, not to satisfy the claims of abstract justice, but to save trouble. It is in fact inevitable. If anybody will enumerate to himself the list of matters that at any given moment urgently solicit the attention of an English Minister in a thronging and unending series, he will find it easy enough to understand why either an Irish question or any other is allowed to wait until a sufficient number of people

insist with sufficient loudness that it shall wait no longer. Great are the virtues of importunity. To justify coercion on the ground that the Irish must be taught that they have nothing to gain by agitation, is sheer and unadulterated cant. We need only be honest with ourselves to see what agitation, lawless agitation, if you please to call it so, has done for them within the last twelve months under our very eyes. For twenty-eight years the recommendations of the Devon Commission were neglected by the legislature in spite of persevering efforts to bring them forward. At last Fenianism came, and then people bethought themselves that it might be worth while to pay some attention to the proved and admitted mischiefs of the Irish system. Since 1871 there have been more than a score of formal and serious demands in Parliament for a further reform. The Irish peasants might have made a thousand such appeals, session after session, and yet if the Land League had not got to work, let us not conceal from ourselves how great are the chances that they would have made them in vain.

We have spoken of Ireland as being in a state of social disorganization, and it is so in the profoundest sense. In 1829, when Peel proposed emancipation, he confessed that the Clare election had shown that the instrument, the Franchise, through which the landlords maintained their local influence, and through which property had what he called its legitimate weight in the national representation, had fallen from their grasp. The landlord, he said, had been disarmed by the priest, and every tie between the Protestant proprietor and his Catholic tenantry either severed, or half severed. The process of which Peel so clearly perceived the beginning in 1829 is now all but complete. A series of legislative acts has gradually deprived the landlords of their political, social, and economical hold upon the population. One of these acts has now in its turn disarmed the priest, as the franchise had enabled the priest fifty years ago to disarm the landlord. The Ballot has completed the emancipation of the Irish peasantry, and priest and landlord are powerless alike. The Irish constituencies have now the representation in their own hands. The aims and temper of those whom they are likely to choose in the future, we may judge from their choice at present. "You have swept away our constitution," said Grattan, "you have destroyed our Parliament, but we shall have our revenge. We shall send into the ranks of *your* Parliament and into the very heart of *your* constitution, a hundred of the greatest scoundrels in the kingdom." Far be it from me to say that even one-hundredth part of this prophecy has been fulfilled in the present Parliament. But Grattan knew what he was talking about.

It is constantly said that this widespread social disorganization is due to the disintegrating action of liberal principles of government.

England has for the last fifty years and more, so we are told, yielded herself to a kind of political fatalism which has led Ireland (and perhaps England too) step by step down the slope of social ruin, and now we are rapidly nearing the bottom of the abyss. When we ask these despondent counsellors how to arrest so miserable a species of progression, their answer is almost pitiable in its narrowness and impotence. "You can at any rate," they say, "repeal the Ballot Act in Ireland." That is to say you may once more heave the pyramid back on to its apex again, and hold it there. To restore open voting after all that has happened, would do no more either for the English connection or for the stability of Irish society than the substitution of the White Flag for the Tricolor would do for the regeneration of the monarchy in France. This or that legislative measure may have been inexpedient or not, but when it has once been the means of a great change passing over men's minds, of awakening in them new aspirations and a sense of power unfelt before, it is folly to suppose that by simply retracing your steps you can put things back into their old place.

It may be worth while to consider rather broadly the answer to those who say that the disorganization of Ireland is all the work of liberal principles and the gratuitous perversity of liberal statesmen. We should like to put it in the way following. Arthur Young travelled in Ireland almost exactly a hundred years ago, and among much other valuable instruction as to the condition of the country at that time, he has painted for us a picture of the relations of landlord and tenant. Here it is. "It must be very apparent," he says, "to every traveller through that country, that the labouring poor are treated with harshness, and are in all respects so little considered that their want of importance seems a perfect contrast to their situation in England, of which country they reign comparatively speaking sovereigns. The landlord of an Irish estate inhabited by Roman Catholics is a sort of despot who yields obedience in whatever concerns the poor to no law but his own will. A long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an almost unlimited submission. Speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of written liberty. A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order which a servant labourer or cottier dares to refuse to execute. Disrespect or anything tending towards sauciness he may punish with his cane or his horsewhip with the most perfect security; a poor man would have his bones broke if he offered to lift his hand in his own defence. Knocking down is spoken of in a manner that makes an Englishman stare. Landlords of consequence have

assured me that many of their cotters would think themselves honoured by having their wives or daughters sent for to the bed of their masters: a mark of slavery that proves the oppression under which such people must live. Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of people being made free with without any apprehension of the justice of a jury. . . . The execution of the laws lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the country. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront and he will infallibly be called out." The natural consequence of such a state of things was a series of outbreaks, in which atrocious acts on one side were punished by laws on the other side, "which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary." From all which, says Young, "it is manifest that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure, from overlooking the real cause of the disease, which in fact lay in themselves and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows."<sup>1</sup>

This is what Ireland was like in the days of our great-grand-fathers, and the description, by the way, is worth remembering when we complain of certain defects in Irish character. These defects are precisely what such a system of treatment was certain to engender. When we blame the Irish for being untruthful, shift, insincere, we ought to bear in mind that they have only been emancipated from this odious and degrading bondage for a generation or two. Now nobody in England at any rate—I am less sure that we could say nobody in Ireland—would deny that the present condition of the Irish population is an improvement upon Young's picture. Owing to some causes or other—we need not now ask with any minute particularity what they were—the peasant is less of a slave, and the landlord less of a tyrant, than they were a hundred years ago. Part of the change is due to improvement in manners and general sentiment, but part also is due to altered laws and institutions; the principles which produced the second were in truth only another side of the first. If anybody tells us that he believes the Ireland of Arthur Young to have been in a better social state than the Ireland of to-day, his contention may be unanswerable. But if he admits that the last state of Ireland is not worse, but better than the first, then we have a right to ask him, if he be an honest political reasoner, to tell us at what particular points the liberal principle which was used as the instrument for an admitted and necessary reform—say Catholic Emancipation—ought to have been dropped and could have been dropped. He ought to tell us at what point the force which exacted some just and unavoidable relief—say the abolition of the Tithe—ought to have been arrested and could have been arrested.

(1) Arthur Young's *Travels in Ireland*, ii. 127—130.

It is a plain fact of political experience in all times that the statesman and the ruler can hardly ever choose precisely how far he will allow a given political force to bear himself or his State. European statesmen have more than once had reason to regret the fall of the temporal power of the Pope, for they have no longer the convenient hold upon Vatican diplomacy which the temporal power gave them; but its disappearance was only one incidental result of a great flow of general causes which statesmen could not control, and which on the whole brought good and not evil to the European communities. It would, again, perhaps have been better for Italy to be without the Southern kingdom; but the same tide which carried Victor Emanuel from Turin to Florence, bore him forward, unwillingly but without power of effective resistance, to Naples and to Rome. There were plenty of Americans, again, during their civil war who would have liked to save the Union without abolishing slavery, but they found that the only force which could do the first would insist upon the second; and in time it was found even that the preservation of the Union involved not only emancipation but enfranchisement. It might or might not have been a happier thing for Ireland if she could have had Catholic Emancipation, without depriving the great landlords of their political influence and control. Peel made the attempt, and thought he was saving this influence and control by raising the franchise from forty shillings to ten pounds. The thing was impossible.

You cannot put back the hands of the political clock, and the more strenuously you make the attempt, the more infallibly will you ruin the machinery. It might be a blessed thing for Great Britain if it were free from liberalism. But it is not free from it, and will never be so, and you cannot have liberalism in England without its application to Ireland. To perceive this is not fatalism but common sense. We may steady this application within limits, but only within limits. Even here it would not be unwise to recollect that when a society has reached the condition in which it is in Ireland to-day, the boldest and directest course may be the safest. When at the outbreak of the French Revolution the great lords saw their chateaux in flames, and had to run for their lives, some of them insisted that the catastrophe was all the work of Turgot or of Neckar. If Turgot had only never talked about reform, the people would never have known of their wrongs. If Turgot had never been Minister—if Neckar had never published his Report—if the King had never summoned the States General—all would have gone well. The only thing to be done was to revoke every concession, and restore the system of the Grand Monarch. Foolish incorrigibles! It was the system of the Grand Monarch that had done some of the worst of the mischief, and it was the reforms of Turgot that would have saved them.

But from this digression let us return to the matter in hand. From whatever cause, and of whomsoever the fault, it must again be confessed, and not only confessed but realised in the fullest sense, that Ireland is socially disorganized. No class really attached to the English connection possesses power and control over the large classes who are alienated from it. This is a new and momentous feature in the position of Ireland which has only shown itself within the last ten years. There used to be an Irish wing attached to each of the two great English parties. There is now, and on a still larger scale will there be in the future, a detached, an independent, and an energetically aggressive Irish party. But there is another new and still more momentous feature. England has now no longer to deal with the depressed and poverty-stricken Ireland across the Irish Sea and St. George's Channel, but with the Ireland on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Of the state of feeling that prevails towards England among several millions of Irish in the United States nobody needs to be told. It is an old story, and has been so often repeated that people are apt to forget that it is true, and how pregnant is its significance. We will quote, in explanation alike of cause and effect, the words of one who was himself an Irishman, a conscientious observer, and an eminent authority on economics—for it is a curious and very prevalent fallacy to talk as if all political economy were on the side of the landlords. "Not a few public writers," says the late Mr Cairnes, "feel much difficulty in accounting for the persistent hatred manifested by a portion of the Irish people for the English name. It might help those writers to a solution of the difficulty if they would reflect on the condition of mind in which the victims of the violent expulsions just described must have crossed the Atlantic. Is it strange if in after years the picture of the sheriff and his posse, with crowbar and torch, and the smoking ruins of their hovels tumbling to pieces over their heads—if the nights spent in the ditch by the wayside, and all the wretchedness of the tramp to the port—if these things should find a more permanent place in their imagination than the advantages of Catholic Emancipation, Corporate Reform, the National Schools, or the Encumbered Estates Court? Men leaving their country full of such bitter recollections would naturally not be forward to disseminate the most amiable ideas respecting Irish landlordism and the power which upholds it. I own I cannot wonder that a thirst for revenge should spring from such calamities; that hatred, even undying hatred, for what they could not but regard as the cause and symbol of their misfortunes—English rule in Ireland—should possess the sufferers; that it should grow into a passion, into a religion, to be preached with fanatic zeal to their kindred, and bequeathed to their posterity."<sup>1</sup>

(1) *Political Essays*. By J. F. Cairnes. P. 197.



Let us remark in passing that if Irish landlordism, and the English misgovernment which tolerated it, had done nothing worse than sending these millions of ignorant and backward peasants to retard and spoil the working of free institutions in the American Republic, they would still be answerable for no trivial or inconsiderable crime against civilisation. Retaliation is flowing back upon us. Every year seems to increase not only the bitterness of the hatred with which the Irish in America regard English rule in their mother country, and the fanatic zeal with which it is preached, but the material sacrifices which they are eagerly prepared to make to satisfy their unquenchable passion. Their prosperity has come to the aid of the poverty of their kinsfolk at home, and agitation is fed by a copious stream of subscriptions from America. Their energy communicates a new restlessness to those who had been listless and dispirited, and suggests those designs, some of them childish, others really mischievous, which from time to time perturb the English authorities.

No time need be spent in convincing Englishmen that this formidable element exercises an influence on Irish life and opinion that is unwholesome. It represents that worst of all forces, a revolutionary force without any solid constructive aim. It is excited and theatrical. If anybody will read the Fenian press of New York, whatever may be his wishes for the future constitution of Ireland, he will hardly think that the temper in which the movement is conducted will tend to improve the Irish character, whether Queen Victoria is to continue to govern them, or they are to fall under the unfraternal sceptre of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The serious fact is that while the political power of the priests is rapidly waning, and the political power of the landlords has almost disappeared, the power of the American-Irish has increased, and is, in some not unimportant respects, a predominant influence in Irish affairs. The necessity of satisfying this transatlantic opinion is believed by some to have prompted the recent defiant tactics of the Irish party in Parliament, though others profess to set them down to mere incoherence, levity and want of foresight. What we see is a confused battle between England and the American-Irish over the helpless and prostrate body of Ireland herself. What we want to see revived and encouraged in Ireland is a true national life of its own, free alike from the anarchical importations of Fenian adventurers and from the depressing centralisation of the reigning English system.

We are all aware that there is another side to the influence of America in Ireland, and the good side may be found more important on the whole and in the long run than the bad side. It is true that the more violent and heady spirits find a vent for their patriotism in action and language, which has none of the marks, as it will produce none of the results, of either sense or wise calculation or moral dignity. In all these respects they are no better, as

they are no worse, than the more furious and unwise of the rump of the party of ascendancy in Ireland or in London. But on the other hand it is not to be denied, as keen and reasonable observers on the spot are found to assure us, that there has come from America to Ireland a certain new vein of independence, of energy, of seriousness, of self-respect, which was never possible so long as the peasant only breathed the oppressive air of a foreign supremacy. That air is now diluted, not merely by what is called sedition, but by wholesome currents of hope from the opposite shores of the Atlantic. The feeling of isolation and helplessness which unmanned the Irish peasant in days when ascendancy shut him in with a wall of brass is vanishing, and there is a sense in which he is already feeling some of the consciousness of being a sort of citizen of a State of the American Union. There is no reason in the nature of things nor in the fixed conditions of policy, why English statesmanship should not know how to turn to right account these germs of a new virility in his character, and give him both the wish and the power to be a good citizen of the United Kingdom. Such a process, it is true, could hardly have a more inauspicious beginning than a brace of Coercion Acts.

What Burke said of Jacobinism and Ireland in 1795 is just as true of Fenianism and Ireland in 1891:—"The worst of the matter is this," he said: "you are partly leading, partly driving into Jacobinism that description of your people whose religious principles, church polity, and habitual discipline might make them an invincible dike against that inundation." If the Irish people had a decent government, there is every sign that they would be conservative and orderly even to stagnation. Though they will no longer let the priests lead them to the polls, their religious principles, their church polity, their habitual discipline fit them as much as they fitted them a hundred years ago, to be an invincible dike against foreign disturbers. What does Mr. Forster himself say of the same people now? "Many," he said, "were inclined to disparage the Irish; but in his opinion, and he had had a good deal to do with them, they were more self-denying in their habits, and more moderate in their demand for wages, than Englishmen. It often astonished him to see how a born Irish labourer, coming from a cabin in the West to earn comparatively good wages as a harvestman in England, took them back to his family; and how when he went over to America the first thing he tried to find out was how much he could send back to his people in the old country. This showed that idleness was not inherent among them, but that domestic affection and a remembrance of their homes was a feature which we should do well to remember. Irishmen had the character of being very free and easy and so on; but, taking them altogether, it would be found that they saved more out of their incomes than their equals in England or Scotland."—(March 18.) Surely a population with those qualities of industry,

self-denial, thrift, love of their kinsfolk, love of their country, were never predestined by their constitution to everlasting sedition and disorder, but on the contrary to loyalty and social repose. A man must be sanguine indeed who believes that anything that could now be done would speedily, or would perhaps even in any length of time, raise Ireland into a high and settled place among the most advanced societies of Western civilisation. Her history, her economic condition, her "habitual discipline" itself, which on its bad side is only another name for sluggishness, all seem to forbid this ambitious forecast. There are some indeed who recede so far in the other direction as to apprehend that a pacified and satisfied Ireland would be less like Belgium than it would be like Bengal, unprogressive in ideas, teeming in population, squalid in manner of life, and swept by periodic famines. What we can say is, as has been said, that we have ground for hoping better things in the progress that has actually been made, and that may therefore be expected under the ordinary influences of Western civilisation to continue. All this, however, is but an idle speculation. That it should be entertained at all by serious observers is at least a sign that what we may at least by compliment call conservative and orderly elements are not wanting in the constitution of Irish society. But then we must look for them in the right place. In other words we must seek them where France sought and found them, when the old governing orders there had disappeared. The new fabric must be reared on new *couches sociales*. We must remove as many as possible of the obstacles that now exist to the growth of industry, thrift, self-respect, and the spirit of hope and confidence in the cultivators of the Irish soil.

I do not mean that a Land Bill alone, however excellent, will suffice to do all this. It will do much, but to reach the heart of the matter it will be necessary to go a great deal further than economic changes. We have spoken of the centralised English system as one of the obstacles in the way of a natural settlement of Ireland. What is that system? The best answer is furnished by a contrast between the very different ways in which we deal with Ireland on the one hand, and Scotland on the other, and this contrast shall be described in the words of a Scotch writer who has had special means of knowing how the government of Scotland is really carried on. The reader will find it worth while to give candid consideration to the real meaning and enormous significance of such a contrast. "Let us consider," says this writer, "the working of the Union as it exists between England and Scotland. England is five or six times the larger, in inhabited area, in population, and in wealth. England might, if she chose, 'govern' Scotland. She could, by an overwhelming majority in both Houses of Parliament sitting at Westminster, establish in Scotland Episcopacy, disendow Presbytery, repeal the Scottish land laws, assimilate the marriage laws, appoint

English barristers to be judges, and send an English Viceroy to represent England at Edinburgh. In point of fact, England did at one time, in something of this fashion, attempt to thus 'govern' Scotland; and when she did Scotland was as disloyal, turbulent, and rebellious as Ireland has ever been. But supposing that England had advanced in Liberalism so far as to grasp the principle, 'We must govern Scotland according to Scottish ideas,' what should we have seen? Still, we should have seen an English Viceroy sent down, with the concession that, if procurable, an absentee Scottish peer should be sometimes selected; still we should have committees of English members sitting to inquire whether Scotsmen really cared for extempore prayers, and whether nineteen years' leases were good for them; still we should have English ministers bringing in measures for remodelling Scottish institutions; and still we should have Scotsmen obliged to put themselves under the protection of some English political party when they wanted a change in the law of corporations, or of hypothec, or of bankruptcy. Would Scotland be contented with such a system? Assuredly not. Before ten years were out there would be a smouldering rebellion from one end of the country to the other."

The writer then shows how the Government of Scotland is carried on by Scotchmen. None but Scotchmen are appointed to Scotch office. When inquiries are called for, they are made by Scotchmen. If a Royal Commission or a Parliamentary Committee is appointed to examine any question, it is composed of Scotchmen with at most, and not always with, a single Englishman or Irishman upon it to suggest outside ideas. And so forth. Englishmen and Irishmen do not attempt to force their own ideas on Scotland, nor even do they trouble themselves to find out what Scotch ideas are until Scotchmen present them in a shape for adoption.

"How utterly unlike," the writer proceeds, "this rational system is that pursued in regard to Ireland! First, we send over a Viceroy—an institution popular, no doubt, among Dublin shopkeepers, and a section of local society, but yet a distinct mark that Ireland is not directly under the Sovereign of Great Britain, but rather a dependency like India or the Isle of Man. Next, we do not make the Home Secretary even nominally Secretary for Ireland, but we appoint a special Irish Secretary. But what is most serious is that these functionaries are not invariably, not even frequently, but only rarely and exceptionally, Irishmen. Whatever ill they do is therefore a fresh example of English tyranny; whatever good they do is not welcome, because it comes from English hands. To the Irish Church it was our custom to appoint an English Archbishop; to the Irish Bench we sent, when convenient, an English Chancellor. When Parliament has to intervene, we do not ask Irishmen to state

what they want, and to bring in Bills to enact it; but it is the English Government that makes all proposals, and leaves to the Irish members the privilege of finding fault. Almost invariably the Bills of merely Irish members are rejected. When inquiries are to precede action, the Committees and Commissions generally contain a majority of English members. When, therefore, a measure is finally passed, it is the expression of English will: and whether that will be more or less benevolent, whether it be more or less an endeavour to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas, it fails to conciliate, because it is the will of foreign rulers, not the development of native wishes.

"But is there any reason why we should follow this system in regard to Ireland, instead of adopting that which we pursue in regard to Scotland? Is there, in short, any reason why we cannot let the Irish govern themselves by the action of their own representatives in the Imperial Parliament? I know of none. If it be said that race incapacitates them, the answer is that they are of the same race as the Welsh, the same race as Scotsmen; and that if the Celtic element in Scotland is dashed with Saxon and Norwegian blood, so is it in Ireland also. If it be said that it is religion, the answer is that the same religion prevails in France and Italy, in Swiss cantons and in Belgium, all of which are self-governing, and some of which are Celtic peoples. If it be said that it is disaffection and lawlessness, the answer is that Scotland was as disaffected, and ten times more savagely lawless, when she was governed as Ireland now is. If it be said that it is because Irishmen are divided into such bitterly hostile parties, once again the answer is—Scotland. The last Scottish rebellion was only half a century before the last Irish rebellion. At that date, Scotland was separated into two camps, the Jacobites and the Hanoverians, the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians. The Highlands followed one king, the Lowlands another, but even in the Lowlands one district was at war with another, and all over Scotland, as a general rule, the owners of the soil were of a religious creed that was detested by the tillers of the soil. What has made the difference that now exists between the two countries is neither race nor religion, neither temperament nor institutions, but simply the men who governed. Scotland had not till 1832 any popular representation in Parliament. She was, in point of fact, ruled by a small oligarchy of place-holders. But from the time of the last rebellion her administrators were wholly Scotsmen. In Ireland, from the same date, they have been almost wholly English."<sup>1</sup>

To this I will add a few sentences from the pen, not of a Scotchman this time, but of an Irishman who, though his pamphlet was

(1) *Ireland*. By John Boyd Kinnear. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1890.

published anonymously eleven years ago, is known to be an eminent and respected member of one of the learned professions. What Ireland resists, says this gentleman, is an anti-Irish policy for governing her; and she frets and fumes because she has no power to alter this, and is practically limited in her choice to whether that policy, which she distrusts and detests, is to be carried out according to the ideas of an English Whig or Tory party. This is the root of Irish discontent. . . . The English Conservative party are supported by a body of Irish Conservatives; the English Liberals, by the Liberal section of the Irish representatives; but the Irish members do not really sympathise with the English parties to whom they are nominally attached. There is no community of feeling between Ulster Orangemen and English country gentlemen, or between English dissenters and Irish Catholics; the Irish members are now attached to the English parties whom they support, not so much by identity of political principles, as through the sympathy of common antipathies. The accession of a Liberal or Conservative Government does not mean that Ireland is to be governed in accordance with the views of Irish Liberals or Irish Conservatives. Of this both the English and Irish members of the respective parties are fully aware. *Ministries may change, but Ireland is still governed in accordance with the prevailing ideas of the English middle classes.*<sup>1</sup>

"As to the people at large in this country (England)," said Burke, "they mean you no ill whatever; and they are too ignorant of the state of your affairs to be able to do you any good. Whatever opinion they have on your subject is very faint and indistinct; and if there is anything like a formed notion, even that amounts to no more than a sort of humming that remains on their ears of the burden of the old song about Popery." We mean them no ill, but we are ignorant of their affairs, and cling to our own prejudices. This is the real root of the mischief. We lose our best chance of raising an educated middle-class in Ireland, which would possess an inestimable social value, by refusing to give them the only system of education that they will accept. We have lost our best chance of conciliating the peasantry, by insisting on ideas about the tenure of land which the peasantry have in fact never recognised. Until we have re-shaped the whole system of Irish government, so as to leave room for an independent and spontaneous growth of Irish civilisation along its own lines, Ireland will remain what she is now, miserable herself, and the torment and despair of others.

EDITOR.

(1) *Irish Nationality in 1870.* By a Protestant Celt. Dublin: E. Ponsonby. 1870.

## ON FRUITS AND SEEDS.

Our eloquent countryman, Mr. Ruskin, commences his work on Flowers by a somewhat severe criticism of his predecessors. He reproduces a page from a valuable but somewhat antiquated work, *Curtis' Magazine*, which he alleges to be "characteristic of botanical books and botanical science, not to say all science," and complains bitterly that it is a string of names and technical terms. No doubt that unfortunate page does contain a list of synonymes, and long words. But in order to identify a plant you must have synonymes and technical terms, just as to learn a language you must have a dictionary. To complain of this would be to resemble the man who said that Johnson's *Dictionary* was dry and disjointed reading. But no one would attempt to judge the literature of a country by reading a dictionary. So also we can not estimate the interest of a science by reading technical descriptions. On the other hand, it is impossible to give a satisfactory description of an animal or plant except in strict technical language. Let me reproduce a description which Mr. Ruskin has given of the Swallow, and which, indeed, he says in his lecture on that bird is the only true description that could be given. His lecture was delivered before the University of Oxford, and is, I need hardly say, most interesting.

Now how does he describe a swallow. You can, he says, "only rightly describe the bird by the resemblances and images of what it seems to have changed from, then adding the fantastic and beautiful contrast of the unimaginable change. It is an owl that has been trained by the Graces. It is a bat that loves the morning light. It is the aerial reflection of a dolphin. It is the tender domestication of a trout." That is, no doubt, very poetical, but it would be absolutely useless as a scientific description, and, I must confess, would never have suggested, to me at least, the idea of a swallow.

But though technical terms are very necessary in science, I shall endeavour, as far as I can, to avoid them here. As, however, it will be impossible for me to do so altogether, I will do my best at the commencement to make them as clear as possible, and I must therefore ask those who have already looked into the subject, to pardon me if, for a few moments, I go into very elementary facts. In order to understand the structure of the seed, we must commence with the flower, to which the seed owes its origin. Now if you take such a flower as, say a Geranium, you will find that it consists of the following parts: Firstly, there is a whorl of green leaves, known as the sepals, and together forming the calyx; secondly, a whorl of coloured leaves, or petals, generally forming the most conspicuous part of the

flower, and called the corolla; thirdly, a whorl of organs more or less like pins, which are called stamens; and in the heads, or anthers, of which the pollen is produced. These anthers are in reality, as Goothe showed, modified leaves; in the so-called double flowers, as, for instance, in our garden roses, they are developed into coloured leaves like those of the corolla, and monstrous flowers are not unfrequently met with, in which the stamens are green leaves, more or less resembling the ordinary leaves of the plant. Lastly, in the centre of the flower is the pistil, which also is theoretically to be considered as constituted of one or more leaves, each of which is folded on itself, and called a carpel. Sometimes there is only one carpel. Generally the carpels have so completely lost the appearance of leaves, that this explanation of their true nature requires a considerable amount of faith. The base of the pistil is the ovary, composed, as I have just mentioned, of one or more carpels, in which the seeds are developed. I need hardly say that many so-called seeds are really fruits; that is to say, they are seeds with more or less complex envelopes.

We all know that seeds and fruits differ greatly in different species. Some are large, some small; some are sweet, some bitter; some are brightly coloured, some are good to eat, some poisonous, some spherical, some winged, some covered with bristles, some with hairs, some are smooth, some very sticky.

We may be sure that there are good reasons for these differences. In the case of flowers much light has been thrown on their various interesting peculiarities by the researches of Sprengel, Darwin, Müller, and other naturalists. As regards seeds also, besides Gærtner's great work, Hildebrand, Krause, Steinbrinck, Kerner, Grant Allen, Wallace, Darwin, and others, have published valuable researches, especially with reference to the hairs and hooks with which so many seeds are provided, and the other means of dispersion they possess. Nobbe also has contributed an important work on seeds, principally from an agricultural point of view, but the subject as a whole offers a most promising field for investigation. It is rather with a view of suggesting this branch of science to you, than of attempting to supply the want myself, that I now propose to call your attention to it. In doing so I must, in the first place, express my acknowledgments to Mr. Baker, Mr. Carruthers, Mr. Hemsley, and especially to Mr. Thiselton Dyer and Sir Joseph Hooker, for their kind and most valuable assistance.

It is said that one of our best botanists once observed to another that he never could understand what was the use of the teeth on the capsules of mosses. "Oh," replied his friend, "I see no difficulty in that, because if it were not for the teeth, how could we distinguish the species?"



We may, however, no doubt, safely consider that the peculiarities of seeds have reference to the plant itself, and not to the convenience of botanists.

In the first place, then, during growth, seeds in many cases require protection. This is especially the case with those of an albuminous character. It is curious that so many of those which are luscious when ripe, as the Peach, Strawberry, Cherry, Apple, &c., are stringy, and almost inedible, till ripe. Moreover, in these cases, the fleshy portion is not the seed itself, but only the envelope, so that even if the sweet part is eaten the seed itself remains uninjured.

On the other hand, such seeds as the Hazel, Beech, Spanish Chestnut, and innumerable others, are protected by a thick, impervious shell, which is especially developed in many Proteaceæ, the Brazil-nut, the so-called Monkey-pot, the Cocoa-nut, and other palms.

In other cases the envelopes protect the seeds, not only by their thickness and toughness, but also by their bitter taste, as, for instance, in the Walnut. The genus *Mucuna*, one of the Leguminosæ, is remarkable in having the pods covered with stinging hairs.

In many cases the calyx, which is closed when the flower is in bud, opens when the flower expands, and then after the petals have fallen closes again until the seeds are ripe, when it opens for the second time. This is, for instance, the case with the common Herb Robert (*Geranium robertianum*). In *Atractylis cancellata*, a South European plant, allied to the thistles, the outer envelopes form an exquisite little cage. Another case, perhaps, is that of *Nigella*, the "Devil-in-a-bush," or, as it is sometimes more prettily called, "Love-in-a-mist," of old English gardens.

Again, the protection of the seed is in many cases attained by curious movements of the plant itself. In fact, plants move much more than is generally supposed. So far from being motionless, they may almost be said to be in perpetual movement, though the changes of position are generally so slow that they do not attract attention. This is not, however, always the case. We are all familiar with the Sensitive Plant, which droops its leaves when touched. Another species (*Arerrhoa bilimbi*) has leaves like those of an Acacia, and all day the leaflets go slowly up and down. *Desmodium gyrans*, a sort of pea living in India, has trifoliate leaves, the lateral leaflets being small and narrow; and these leaflets, as was first observed by Lady Monson, are perpetually moving round and round, whence the specific name *gyrans*. In these two cases the object of the movement is quite unknown to us. In *Dionæa*, on the other hand, the leaves form a regular fly-trap. Directly an insect alights on them they shut up with a snap.

In a great many cases leaves are said to sleep; that is to say, at the

approach of night they change their position, and sometimes fold themselves up, thus presenting a smaller surface for radiation, and being in consequence less exposed to cold. Mr. Darwin has proved experimentally that leaves which were prevented from moving suffered more from cold than those which were allowed to assume their natural position. He has observed with reference to one plant, *Muranta arundinacea*, the Arrowroot, a West Indian species allied to Canna, that if the plant has had a severe shock it cannot get to sleep for the next two or three nights.

The sleep of flowers is also probably a case of the same kind, though, as I have elsewhere attempted to show, it has now, I believe, special reference to the visits of insects; those flowers which are fertilised by bees, butterflies, and other day insects, sleep by night, if at all; while those which are dependent on moths rouse themselves towards evening, as already mentioned, and sleep by day. These motions, indeed, have but an indirect reference to our present subject. On the other hand, in the Dandelion (*Leontodon*), the flower-stalk is upright while the flower is expanded, a period which lasts for three or four days; it then lowers itself and lies close to the ground for about twelve days, while the fruits are ripening, and then rises again when they are mature. In the *Cyclamen* the stalk curls itself up into a beautiful spiral after the flower has faded.

The flower of the little *Linaria* of our walls (*L. cymbalaria*) pushes out into the light and sunshine, but as soon as it is fertilised it turns round and endeavours to find some hole or cranny in which it may remain safely ensconced until the seed is ripe.

In some water plants the flower expands at the surface, but after it is faded retreats again to the bottom. This is the case, for instance, with the Water Lilies, some species of the *Potamogeton*, *Trapa natans*. In *Valisneria*, again, the female flowers (Fig. 1 *a*) are borne on long stalks, which reach to the surface of the water, on which the flowers float. The male flowers (Fig. 1 *b*), on the contrary, have short, straight stalks, from which, when mature, the pollen (Fig. 1 *c*) detaches itself, rises to the surface, and, floating freely on it, is wafted about, so that it comes in contact with the female flowers. After fertilisation, however, the long stalk coils up spirally, and thus carries the ovary down to the bottom, where the seeds can ripen in greater safety.

The next points to which I will direct your attention are the means of dispersion possessed by many seeds. Farmers have found by experience that it is not desirable to grow the same crop in the same field year after year, because the soil becomes more or less exhausted. In this respect, therefore, the powers of dispersion possessed by many seeds are a great advantage to the species.

Moreover, they are also advantageous in giving the seed a chance of germinating in new localities suitable to the requirements of the species. Thus a common European species, *Xanthium spinosum*, has rapidly spread over the whole of South Africa, the seeds being carried in the wool of sheep. From various considerations, however, it seems probable that in most cases the provision does not contemplate a dispersion for more than a short distance.

There are a great many cases in which plants possess powers of movement directed to the dissemination of the seed.\* Thus, in *Geastrum hygrometricum*, a kind of fungus which grows under-

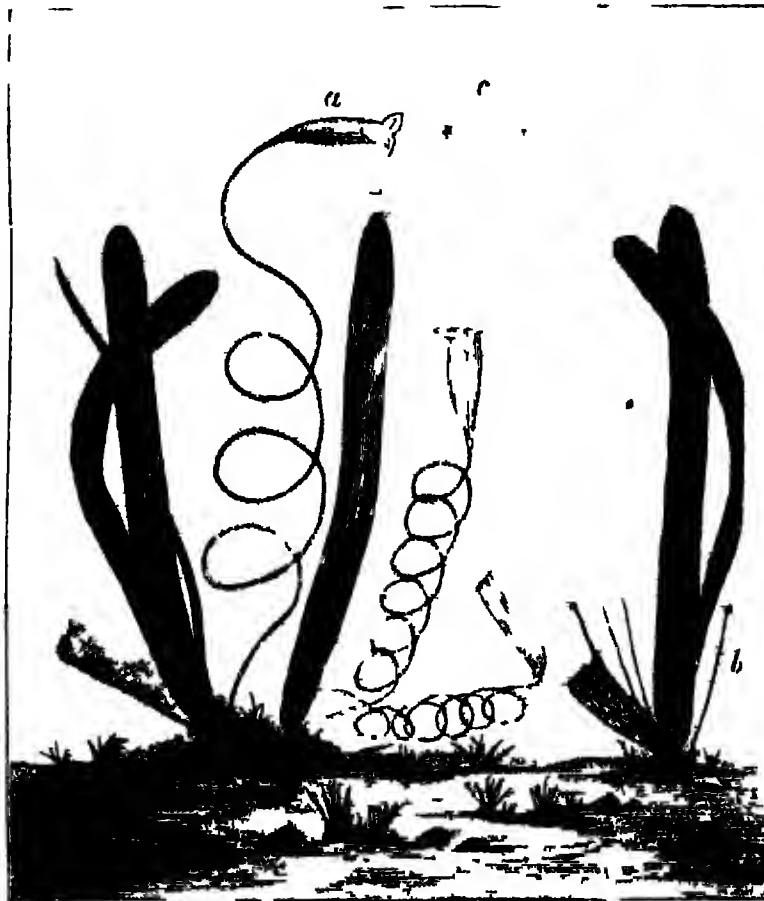


Fig. 1.—*Geastrum hygrometricum*.  
a, female flower, b, male flower, c, floating pollen.

ground, the outer envelope, which is hard, tough, and hygrometric, divides, when mature, into strips from the crown to the base; these strips spread horizontally, raising the plant above its former position in the ground; on rain or damp weather supervening the strips return to their former position; on the return of the drought this process is repeated, until the fungus reaches the surface and spreads out there; then the membrane of the conceptacle opens and emits the spores in the form of dust.

I have already referred to the case of the Common Dandelion. Here the flower-stalk stands more or less upright while the flower is expanded, a period which generally lasts for three or four days. It then lowers itself, and lies more or less horizontally and concealed during the time the seeds are maturing, which in our summers occupies about twelve days. It then again rises, and, becoming almost erect, facilitates the dispersion of the seeds, or, speaking botanically, the fruits, by the wind. Some plants, as we shall see, even sow their seeds in the ground, but these cases will be referred to later on.

In other cases the plant throws its own seeds to some little distance. This is the case with the common *Cardamine hirsuta*, a little plant, I do not like to call it a weed, six or eight inches high, which comes up of itself abundantly on any vacant spot in our kitchen-gardens or shrubberies, and which much resembles that represented in Fig. 17, but without the subterranean pods *b*. The seeds are contained in a pod which consists of three parts, a central membrane, and two lateral walls. When the pod is ripe the walls are in a state of tension. The seeds are loosely attached to the central piece by short stalks. Now, when the proper moment has arrived, the outer walls are kept in place by a delicate membrane, only just strong enough to resist the tension. The least touch, for instance a puff of wind blowing the plant against a neighbour, detaches the outer wall, which suddenly rolls itself up, generally with such force as to fly from the plant, thus jerking the seeds to a distance of several feet.

In the Common Violets, beside the coloured flowers, there are others in which the corolla is either absent or imperfectly developed. The stamens also are small, but contain pollen, though less than in the coloured flowers. In the autumn large numbers of these curious flowers are produced. When very young they look like an ordinary flower-bud (Figs 2 and 3 *a*), the central part of the flower being entirely covered by the sepals, and the whole having a trian-



FIG. 2. *Cardamine hirsuta*  
a, young plant, b, ripe seed capsule

gular form. When older (Figs. 2 and 3  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) they look at first sight like an ordinary seed capsule, so that the bud seems to pass into the capsule without the flower-stage. The Pansy Violets do not possess these interesting flowers. In the Sweet Violet (*V. odorata* and *V. hirta*, Fig. 2) they may easily be found by searching among the leaves nestling close to the ground. It is often said, for instance



Fig. 3.—*VIOLA CANINA*  
a, bud, b, bud more advanced; c, capsule open, some of the seeds are already thrown.

by Vaucher, that the plants actually force these capsules into the ground, and thus sow their own seeds. I have not, however, found this to be the case, though as the stalk elongates, and the point of the capsule turns downwards, if the earth be loose and uneven, it will no doubt sometimes so happen. When the seeds are fully ripe, the capsule opens by three valves and allows them to escape.



Fig. 4.

In the Dog Violet (*V. canina*, Fig. 3) the case is very different. The capsules are less fleshy, and, though pendent when young, at maturity they erect themselves (Fig. 3 c), stand up boldly above the rest of the plant, and open by the three equal valves (Fig. 4) resembling an inverted tripod. Each valve contains a row of three, four, or five brown, smooth, pear-shaped seeds, slightly flattened at the upper, wider end. Now the two walls of

each valve, as they become drier, contract, and thus approach one another, thus tending to squeeze out the seeds. These resist some time, but at length the attachment of the seed to its base gives

way, and it is ejected several feet, this being no doubt much facilitated by its form and smoothness. I have known even a gathered specimen throw a seed nearly 10 feet. Fig. 5 represents a capsule after the seeds have been ejected.

Now we naturally ask ourselves what is the reason for this difference between the species of Violets; why do *V. odorata* and *V. hirta* conceal their capsules among the moss and leaves on the ground, while *V. canina* and others raise theirs boldly above their heads, and throw the seeds to seek their fortune in the world? If this arrangement be best for *Viola canina*, why has not *Viola odorata* also adopted it? The reason is, I believe, to be found in the different mode of growth of these two species. *Viola canina* is a plant with an elongated stalk, and it is easy therefore for the capsule to raise itself above the grass and other low herbage among which violets grow.



Fig. 5.—*VIOLA CANINA*, SEED-VESSEL AFTER EJECTING THE SEEDS.

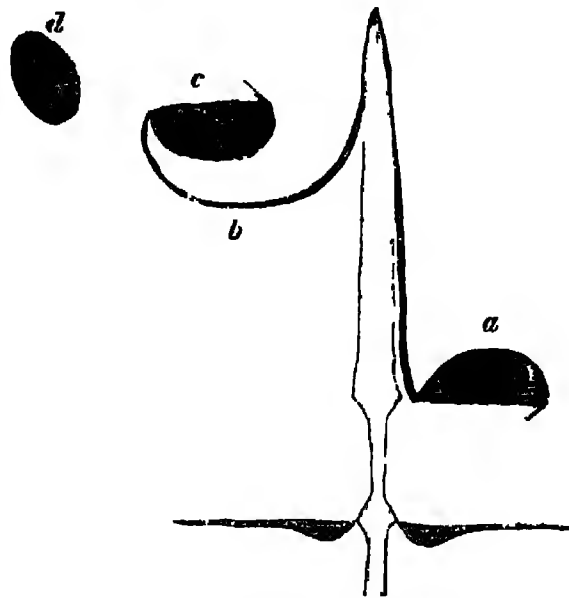


Fig. 6.—THE HERB ROBERT (*GERANIUM ROBERTIANUM*).  
a, bud, b, flower, c, flower after the petals have fallen, d, flower with seeds nearly ripe; e, flower with ripe seeds, f, flower after throwing seeds.

*V. odorata* and *V. hirta*, on the contrary, have, in ordinary parlance,

no stalk, and the leaves are radical, *i.e.* rising from the root. This is at least the case in appearance, for, botanically speaking, they rise at the end of a short stalk. Now, under these circumstances, if the Sweet Violet attempted to shoot its seeds, the capsules not being sufficiently elevated, the seeds would merely strike against some neighbouring leaf, and immediately fall to the ground. Hence, I think, we see that the arrangement of the capsule in each species is that most suitable to the general habit of the plant.

In the true *Geranium*s again, as for instance in the Herb Robert (Fig. 6), after the flower has faded, the central axis gradually elongates (Fig. 6 *c d*). The seeds, five in number, are situated at the base of the column, each being enclosed in a capsule, which terminates upwards in a rod-like portion, which at first forms part



*Diagram*

FIG. 7. *GERANIUM DISSECTUM*.

*a*, just before throwing seed, *b*, just after throwing seed, *c*, the capsule still attached to the rod, *d*, the seed

of the central axis, but gradually detaches itself. When the seeds are ripe the ovary raises itself into an upright position (Fig. 6 *e*); the outer layers of the rod-like termination of the seed-capsule come to be in a state of great tension, and eventually detach the rod with a jerk, and thus throw the seed some little distance. Fig. 6 *f* represents the central rod after the seeds have been thrown. In some species, as for instance in *Geranium dissectum*, Fig. 7, the capsule-rod remains attached to the central column and the seed only is ejected.

It will, however, be remembered that the capsule is, as already observed, a leaf folded on itself, with the edges inwards, and in fact in the *Geranium* the seed-chamber opens on its inner side. You will, therefore, naturally observe to me that when the carpel bursts outwards, the only effect would be that the seed would be forced

against the outer wall of the carpel, and that it would not be ejected, because the opening is not on the outer but on the inner side. Your remark is perfectly just, but the difficulty has been foreseen by our *Geraniums*, and is overcome by them in different ways. In some species, as for instance in *Geranium dissectum*, a short time before the dehiscence, the seed-chamber places itself at right angles to the pillar (Fig. 7 *a*). The edges then separate, but they are provided with a fringe of hairs, just strong enough to retain the seed in its position, yet sufficiently elastic to allow it to escape when the carpels burst away, remaining attached, however, to the central pillar by their upper ends (Fig. 7 *c*).

In the Common Herb Robert (Fig. 8), and some other species, the arrangement is somewhat different. In the first place the whole carpel springs away (Fig. 8 *b* and *c*). The seed-chamber (Fig. 8 *c*) detaches itself from the rod of the carpel (Fig. 8 *b*), and when the seed is flung away remains attached to it. Under these circumstances it is unnecessary for the chamber to raise itself from the central pillar, to which accordingly it remains close until the moment of disruption (Fig. 6 *c*). The seed-chamber is moreover held in place by a short tongue which projects a little way over its base; while, on the other hand, the lower end of the rod passes for a short distance between the seed-capsule and the central pillar. The seed-capsule has also near its apex a curious tuft of silky hair (Fig. 8 *c*), the use of which I will not here stop to discuss. As the result of all this complex mechanism the seeds when ripe are flung to a distance which is surprising when we consider how small the spring is. In their natural habitat it is almost impossible to find the seeds when once thrown. I therefore brought some into the house and placed them on my billiard-table. They were thrown from one end completely over the other, in some cases more than twenty feet.

Some species of Vetch, again, and the common Broom, throw their seeds, owing to the elasticity of the pods, which, when ripe, open suddenly with a jerk. Each valve of the pod contains a layer of woody cells, which, however, do not pass straight up the pod, but are more or less inclined to its axis (Fig. 9). Consequently, when

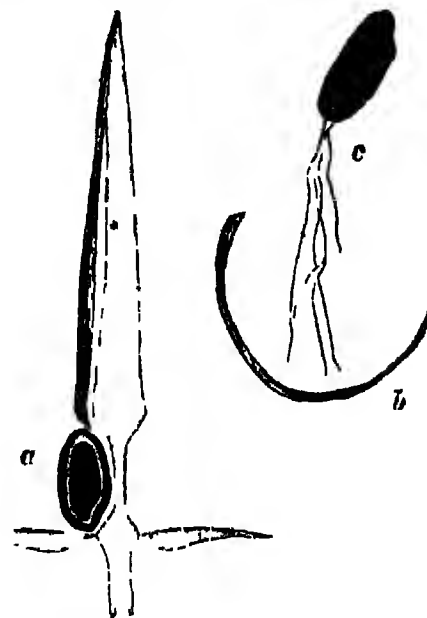


Diagram.  
Fig. 8.—*GERANIUM ROBERTIANUM*, just before throwing the seed, *b*, the rod; *c*, the seed enclosed in the capsule.



the pod bursts it does not, as in the case of *Cardamine*, roll up like a watch-spring, but twists itself more or less like a corkscrew.

I have mentioned these species because they are some of our commonest wild flowers, so that during the summer and autumn we may, in almost any walk, observe for ourselves this innocent artillery. There are, however, many other more or less similar cases. Thus the Squirting Cucumber (*Momordica elaterium*), a common plant in the south of Europe, and one grown in some places for medicinal purposes, effects the same object by a totally different mechanism. The fruit is a small cucumber (Fig. 10), and when ripe it becomes so gorged with fluid that it is in a state of great tension. In this condition a very slight touch is sufficient to detach it from the stalk, when the pressure of the walls ejects the contents, throwing the seed some distance. In this case of course the contents



Fig. 9.—*Vicia Sepium*.  
The line *a b* shows the direction of the woody fibres.

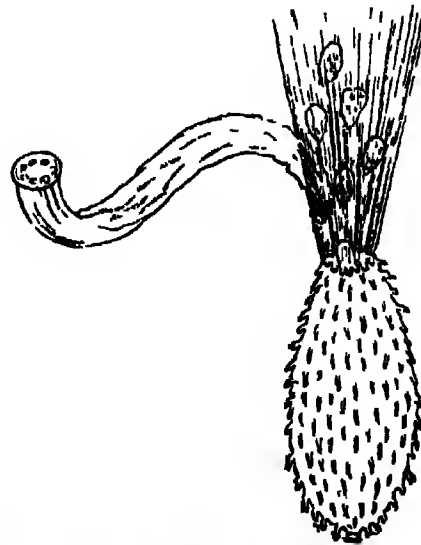


Fig. 10.—THE SQUIRTING CUCUMBER  
(*Momordica elaterium*).

are ejected at the end by which the cucumber is attached to the stalk. If any one touches one of these ripe fruits, they are often thrown with such force as to strike him in the face. In this the action is said to be due to endosmosis.

In *Cyclanthera*, a plant allied to the Cucumber, the fruit is unsymmetrical, one side being round and hairy, the other nearly flat and smooth. The true apex of the fruit, which bears the remains of the flower, is also somewhat occentric, and, when the seeds are ripe, if it is touched even lightly, the fruit explodes and the seeds are thrown to some distance. The mechanism by which this is effected has been described by Hildebrand. The interior of the fruit is occupied by loose cellular structure. The central column, or placenta, to which the seeds are attached, lies loosely in this tissue. Through the solution of its earlier attachments, when the fruit is ripe, the

column adheres only at the apical end, under the withered remains of the flower, and at the swollen side. When the fruit bursts the placenta unrolls, and thus hurls the seeds to some distance, being even itself sometimes also torn away from its attachment.

Other cases of projected seeds are afforded by *Hura*, one of the *Euphorbiæ*, *Collomia*, *Oxalis*, some species allied to *Acanthus*, and by *Arceuthobium*, a plant allied to the Mistletoe, and parasitic on Junipers, which ejects its seeds to a distance of several feet, throwing them thus from one tree to another.

Even those species which do not eject their seeds often have them so placed with reference to the capsule that they only leave it if swung or jerked by a high wind. In the case of trees, even seeds with no special adaptation for dispersion must in this manner be often carried to no little distance; and to a certain, though less extent, this must hold good even with herbaceous plants. It throws light on the, at first sight, curious fact that in so many plants with small, heavy seeds, the capsules open not at the bottom, as one might perhaps have been disposed to expect, but at the top. A good illustration is afforded by the well-known case of the Common Poppy (Fig. 11), in which the upper part of the capsule presents a series of little doors (Fig. 11 *a*), through which, when the plant is swung by the wind, the seeds come out one by one. The little doors are protected from rain by overhanging eaves, and are even said to shut of themselves in wet weather. The genus *Campanula* is also interesting from this point of view, because some species have the capsules pendent, some upright, and those which are upright open at the top, while those which are pendent do so at the base.



FIG. 11.—SEED HEAD OF POPPY (PAPAVER).

In other cases the dispersion is mainly the work of the seed itself. In some of the lower plants, as, for instance, in many seaweeds, and in some allied fresh-water plants, such as *Vaucheria*, the spores<sup>1</sup> are covered by vibratile cilia, and actually swim about in the water, like infusoria, till they have found a suitable spot on which to grow. Nay, so much do the spores of some seaweeds resemble animals, that they are provided with a red "eye-spot" as it has been called, which, at any rate, seems so far to deserve the name that it appears to be sensitive to light. This mode of progression is, however, only suitable to water plants. One group of small, low-organized plants, *Marchantia*, develop among the spores a number of cells with spirally

(1) I need hardly observe that, botanically, these are not true seeds, but rather motile buds.

thickened walls, which, by their contractility, are supposed to disseminate the spores. In the common Horse Tails (*Equisetum*), again, the spores are provided with curious filaments, terminating in expansions, and known as "elaters." They move with great vigour, and probably serve the same purpose.

In much more numerous cases, seeds are carried by the wind. For this of course it is desirable that they should be light. Sometimes this object is attained by the character of the tissues themselves, sometimes by the presence of empty spaces. Thus, in *Valerianella auricula*, the fruit contains three cells, each of which would naturally be expected to contain a seed. One seed only, however, is developed, but, as may be seen from the figure given in Mr. Bentham's excellent *Handbook of the British Flora*, the two cells which contain no seed actually become larger than the one which alone might, at first sight, seem to be normally developed. We may be sure from this that they must be of some use, and, from their lightness, they probably enable the wind to carry the seed to a greater distance than would otherwise be the case.

In other instances the plants themselves, or parts of them, are rolled along the ground by the wind. An example of this is afforded, for instance, by a kind of grass (*Spinifex squarrosus*), in which the mass of inflorescence, forming a large round head, is thus driven for miles over the dry sands of Australia until it comes to a damp place, when it expands and soon strikes root.

So, again, the *Anastatica hierochuntica*, or "Rose of Jericho," a small annual with rounded pods, which frequents sandy places in Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, when dry, curls itself up into a ball or round cushion, and is thus driven about by the wind until it finds a damp place, when it uncurls, the pods open, and sow the seeds.

These cases, however, in which seeds are rolled by the wind along the ground are comparatively rare. There are many more in which seeds are wafted through the air. If you examine the fruit of a Sycamore you will find that it is provided with a wing-like expansion, in consequence of which, if there is any wind when it falls, it is, though rather heavy, blown to some distance from the parent tree. Several cases are shown in Fig. 12; for instance, the Maple *a*, Sycamore *b*, Hornbeam *d*, Elm *e*, Birch *f*, Pine *g*, Fir *h*, and Ash *i*, while in the Lime, *c*, the whole bunch of fruits drops together, and the "bract," as it is called, or leaf of the flower-stalk, serves the same purpose.

In a great many other plants the same result is obtained by flattened and expanded edges. A beautiful example is afforded by the genus *Thysanocarpus*, a North American crucifer; *Th. lucinatus* has a distinctly winged pod; in *T. curripes* the wings are considerably larger; lastly, in *T. elegans* and *T. radians* the pods are still further de-

veloped in the same direction, *T. radians* having the wing very broad, while in *T. elegans* it has become thinner and thinner in places, until at length it shows a series of perforations. Among our common wild plants we find winged fruits in the Dock (*Rumex*) and in the Common Parsnip (*Pastinaca*). But though in these cases the object to be obtained—namely, the dispersion of the seed—is effected in a similar manner, there are

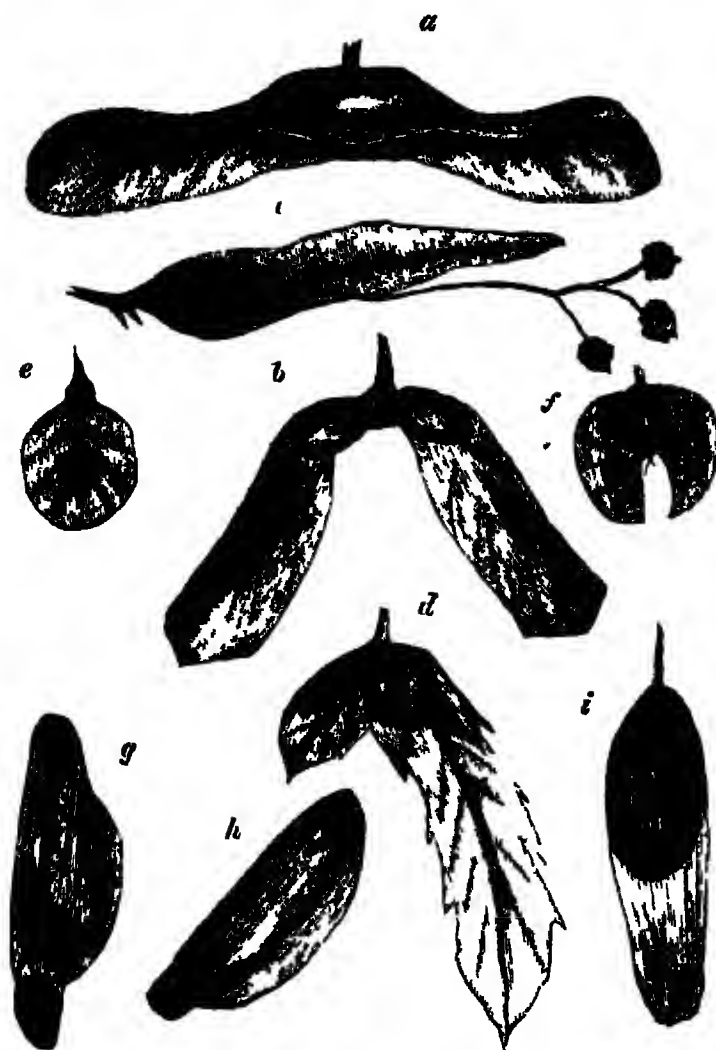


Fig. 1.  
a, maple, b, sycamore, c, lime, d, h, i, beech, e, elm, f, birch, g, pine,  
h, ib, i, ash

differences which might not at first be suspected. Thus in some cases, as, for instance, the Pine, it is the seed itself which is winged; in *Thlaspi arvense* it is the pod; in *Eutada*, a leguminous plant, the pod breaks up into segments, each of which is winged, in *Nissolia* the extremity of the pod is expanded into a flattened wing; lastly, in the Lime, as already mentioned, the fruits drop off in a bunch, and the leaf at the base of the common flower-stalk, or "bract," as it is called, forms the wing.

In *Gouania retinaria* of Rodriguez the same object is effected in another manner; the cellular tissue of the fruit crumbles and breaks away, leaving only the vascular tissue, which thus forms a net enclosing the seed.

Another mode, which is frequently adopted, is the development of long hairs. Sometimes, as in *Clematis*, *Anemone*, *Dryas*, these hairs take the form of a long feathery awn. In others the hairs form a tuft or crown, which botanists term a pappus. Of this the Dandelion and John Go-to-bed-at-noon, so called from its habit of shutting

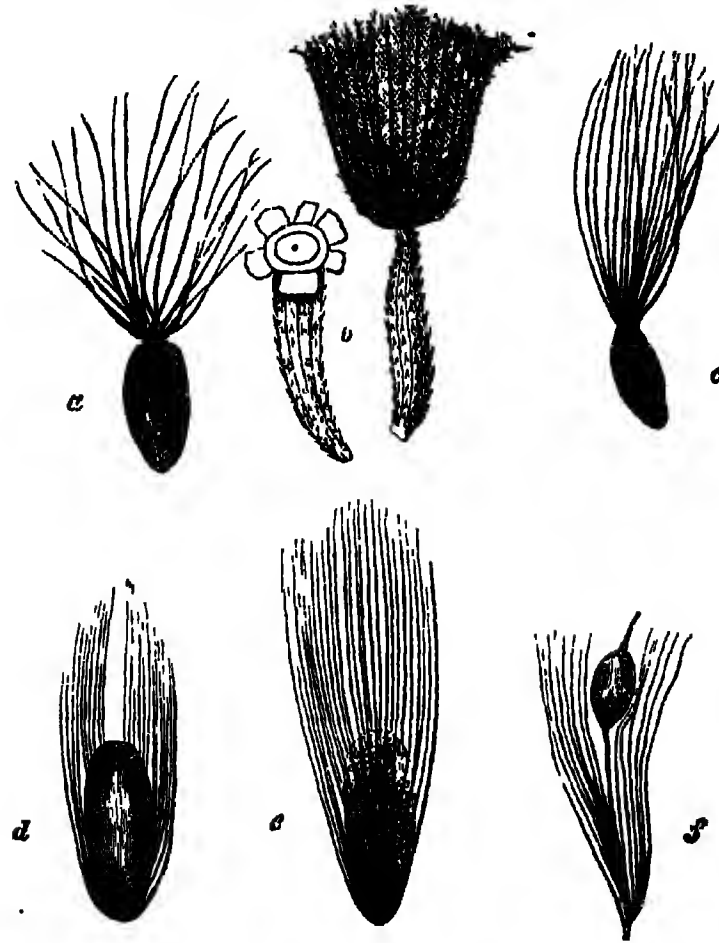


Fig. 13.  
a, willow herb (*Epilobium*); b, two forms of seed of *Thrinicia hirta*; c, *Tamarix*;  
d, willow (*Salix*); e, cotton grass (*Eriophorum*); f, bulrush (*Typha*).

its flowers about mid-day, are well-known examples. Tufts of hairs, which are themselves sometimes feathery, are developed in a great many Composites, though some, as, for instance, the Daisy and *Lapsana*, are without them; in some very interesting species, of which the common *Thrinicia hirta* of our lawns and meadows is one, there are two kinds of fruits, as shown in Fig. 13 b, one with a pappus and one without. The former are adapted to seek "fresh woods and pastures new," while the latter stay and perpetuate the race at home.

A more or less similar pappus is found among various English plants—in the *Epilobium* (Fig. 13 *a*), *Thrinia* (Fig. 13 *b*), *Tamarix* (Fig. 13 *c*), *Willow* (Fig. 13 *d*), *Cotton Grass* (Fig. 13 *e*), and *Bullrush* (Fig. 13 *f*); while in exotic species there are many other cases—us, for instance, the beautiful *Oleander*. As in the wings, so also in that of the pappus, it is by no means always the same part of the plant which develops into the crown of hairs. Thus in the *Valerians* and *Composites* it is the calyx; in the *Bullrush* the perianth; in *Epilobium* the crown of the seed; in the *Cotton Grass* it is supposed to represent the perianth; while in some, as, for instance, in the *Cotton plant*, the whole outer surface of the seed is clothed with long hairs. Sometimes, on the contrary, the hairs are very much reduced in number, as, for instance, in some species of *Eschynanthus*, where there are only three, one on one side and two on the other. In this case, moreover, the hairs are very flexible, and wrap round the wool of any animal with which they may come in contact, so that they form a double means of dispersion.

In other cases seeds are wafted by water. Of this the *Cocoa-nut* is one of the most striking examples. The seeds retain their vitality for a considerable time, and the loose texture of the husk protects them and makes them float. Every one knows that the *Cocoa-nut* is one of the first plants to make its appearance on coral islands, and it is, I believe, the only palm which is common to both hemispheres.

The seeds of the *Common Duckweeds* (*Lemna*) sink to the bottom of the water in autumn, and remain there throughout the winter; but in the spring they rise up to the surface again and begin to grow.

In a very large number of cases the diffusion of seeds is effected by animals. To this class belong the fruits and berries. In them an outer fleshy portion becomes pulpy, and generally sweet, enclosing the seeds. It is remarkable that such fruits, in order, doubtless, to attract animals, are, like flowers, brightly colored—as, for instance, the *Cherry*, *Currant*, *Apple*, *Peach*, *Plum*, *Strawberry*, *Raspberry*, and many others. This color, moreover, is not present in the unripe fruit, but is rapidly developed at maturity. In such cases the actual seed is generally protected by a dense, sometimes almost stony, covering, so that it escapes digestion, while its germination is perhaps hastened by the heat of the animal's body. It may be said that the skin of apple and pear pips is comparatively soft; but then they are embedded in a stringy core, which is seldom eaten.

These colored fruits form a considerable part of the food of monkeys in the tropical regions of the earth, and we can, I think, hardly doubt that these animals are guided by the colors, just as we are, in selecting the ripe fruit. This has a curious bearing on an interesting question as to the power of distinguishing color possessed by our ancestors in bygone times. Magnus and Geiger,

relying on the well-known fact that the ancient languages are poor in words for color, and that in the oldest books—as, for instance, in the Vedas, the Zendavesta, the Old Testament, and the writings of Homer and Hesiod—though, of course, the heavens are referred to over and over again, its blue color is never dwelt on; have argued that the ancients were very deficient in the power of distinguishing colors, and especially blue. In our own country Mr. Gladstone

has lent the weight of his great authority to the same conclusion. For my part I cannot accept this view. There are, it seems to me, very strong reasons against it, into which I cannot, of course, now enter; and though I should rely mainly on other considerations, the colors of fruits are not, I think, without significance. If monkeys and apes could distinguish them, surely we may infer that even the most savage of men could do so too. Zeuxis would never have deceived the birds if he had not had a fair perception of color.

In these instances of colored fruits, the fleshy edible part more or less surrounds the true seeds; in others the actual seeds themselves

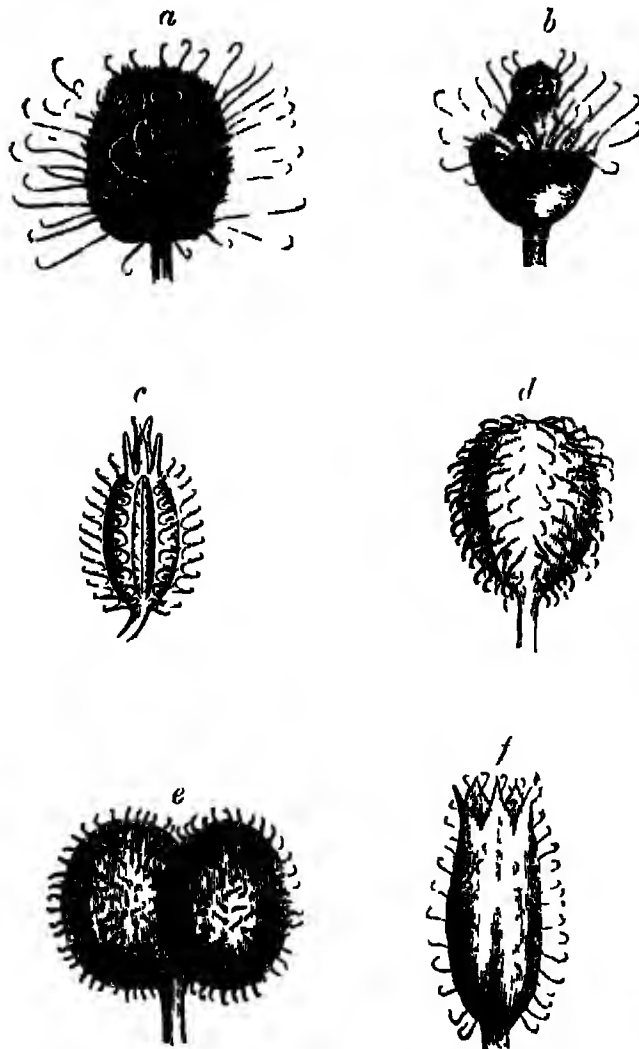


Fig. 14

a, burdock (*Lappa*), b, agrimony (*Agrimonia*), c, bur parsley (*Caucalis*), d, enchanter's nightshade (*Cucubita*), e, cleavers (*Galium*), f, forget-me-nots (*Myosotis*)

become odible. In the former the edible part serves as a temptation to animals; in the latter it is stored up for the use of the plant itself. When, therefore, the seeds themselves are edible they are generally protected by more or less hard or bitter envelopes, for instance the Horse Chestnut, Beech, Spanish Chestnut, Walnut, &c. That these seeds are used as food by squirrels and other animals is, however, by no means necessarily an evil to the plant, for the result is that

they are often carried some distance and then dropped, or stored up and forgotten, so that in this way they get carried away from the parent tree.

In another class of instances animals, unconsciously or unwillingly, serve in the dispersion of seeds. These cases may be divided into two classes, those in which the fruits are provided with hooks,



FIG. 15  
a, *Harrigophyton procumbens* (natural size), b, *Martynia proboscidea* (natural size).

and those in which they are sticky. To the first class belong, among our common English plants, the Burdock (*Lappa*, Fig. 14 a), Agrimony (*Agrimonia*, Fig. 14 b); the Bur Parsley (*Caucalis*, Fig. 14 c); Enchanter's nightshade (*Circæa*, Fig. 14 d); Goose Grass or Cleavers (*Galium*, Fig. 14 e) and some of the Forget-me-Nots (*Myosotis*, Fig. 14 f). The hooks, moreover, are so arranged as to promote the removal of the fruits. In all those species the hooks,



though beautifully formed, are small; but in some foreign species they become truly formidable. Two of the most remarkable are represented above,—*Martynia proboscidea* (Fig. 15 *b*) and *Harpagophytum procumbens* (Fig. 15 *a*). *Martynia* is a plant of Louisiana, and if its fruits once get hold of an animal it is most difficult to remove them. *Harpagophytum* is a South African genus. The fruits are most formidable, and are said sometimes even to kill lions. They roll about over the dry plains, and if they attach themselves to the skin, the wretched animal tries to tear them out, and sometimes getting them into its mouth perishes miserably.

The cases in which the diffusion of fruits and seeds is affected by their being sticky are less numerous, and we have no well marked instance among our native plants. The common *Plumbago* of South Europe is a case which many of you no doubt have observed. Other genera with the same mode of dispersion are *Pittosporum*, *Pisonia*, *Boerhavia Siegesbeckia*, *Grindelia*, *Drymaria*, &c. There are comparatively few cases in which the same plant uses more than one of these modes of promoting the dispersion of its seeds, still there are some such instances. Thus in the Common Burdock the seeds have a pappus, while the whole flower head is provided with hooks which readily attach themselves to any passing animal. *Asterothrix*, as Hildebrand has pointed out, has three provisions for dispersion; it has a hollow appendage, a pappus, and a rough surface.

But perhaps it will be said that I have picked out special cases; that others could have been selected, which would not bear out, or perhaps would even negative, the inferences which have been indicated; that I have put the cart before the horse; that the Ash fruit has not a wing in order that it may be carried by the wind, or the Burdock hooks that the heads may be transported by animals, but that happening to have wings and hooks these seeds are thus transported. Now doubtless there are many points connected with seeds which are still unexplained; in fact it is because this is so that I was anxious to direct attention to the subject. Still I believe the general explanations which have been given by botanists will stand any test.

Let us take for instance seeds formed on the same type as that of the Ash—heavy fruits, with a long wing, known to botanists as a Samara. Now such a fruit would be of little use to low herbs, which, however, are so numerous. If the wing was accidental, if it were not developed to serve as a means of dispersion, it would be as likely to occur on low plants and shrubs as on trees. Let us then consider on what kind of plants these fruits are found. They occur on the Ash, Maple, Sycamore, Hornbeam, Pines, Firs and Elm; while the Lime, as we have seen, has also a leaf attached to the fruits, which answers the same purposes. Seeds

of this character therefore occur on a large proportion of our forest trees, and on them alone. But more than this: I have taken one or two of the most accessible works in which seeds are figured, for instance Gærtner's *De Fructibus et Seminibus*, Le Maout and Decaisne (Hooker's translation) *Descriptive and Analytical Botany*, and Baillon's *Histoire des Plantes*. I find thirty genera, belonging to twenty-one different natural orders, figured as having seeds or fruits of this form. They are all trees or climbing shrubs, not one being a low herb.

Let us take another case, that of the plants in which the dispersion of the seeds is effected by means of hooks. Now, if the presence of these hooks were, so to say, accidental, and the dispersion merely a result, we should naturally expect to find some species with hooks in all classes of plants. They would occur, for instance, among trees and on water-plants. On the other hand, if they are developed that they might adhere to the skin of quadrupeds, then, having reference to the habits and size of our British mammals, it would be no advantage for a tree or for a water-plant to bear hooked seeds. Now, what are the facts? There are about thirty English species in which the dispersion of the seeds is effected by means of hooks, but not one of these is aquatic, nor is one of them more than four feet high. Nay, I might carry the thing further. We have a number of minute plants, which lie below the level at which seeds would be likely to be entangled in fur. Now none of these, again, have hooked seeds or fruits. It would also seem, as Hildebrand has suggested, that in point of time, also, the appearance of the families of plants in which the fruits or seeds are provided with hooks coincided with that of the land mammalia.

Again let us look at it from another point of view. Let us take our common forest trees, shrubs, and tall climbing plants; not, of course, a natural or botanical group, for they belong to a number of different orders, but a group characterised by attaining to a height of say over eight feet. We will in some cases only count genera; that is to say, we will count all the willows, for instance, as one. These trees and shrubs are plants with which you are all familiar, and are about thirty-three in number. Now, of these thirty-three no less than eighteen have edible fruits or seeds, such as the Plum, Apple, Arbutus, Holly, Hazel, Beech, and Rose. Three have seeds which are provided with feathery hairs; and all the rest, namely, the Lime, Maple, Ash, Sycamore, Elm, Hop, Birch, Hornbeam, Pine, and Fir are provided with a wing. Moreover, as will be seen by the following table, the lower trees and shrubs, such as the Cornel, Guelder Rose, Rose, Thorn, Privet, Elder, Yew, and Holly have generally edible berries, much eaten by birds. The winged seeds or fruits characterise the great forest trees.

TREES, SHRUBS, AND CLIMBING SHRUBS NATIVE OR NATURALISED IN  
BRITAIN.

	Seed or Fruit.			
	Edible.	Hairy.	Winged.	Hooked.
<i>Clematis vitalba</i> . . . . .		×		
<i>Berberis vulgaris</i> . . . . .				
<i>Lilium</i> ( <i>Lilium Europæum</i> ) . . .			×	
Maple ( <i>Acer</i> ) . . . . .			×	
Spindle Tree ( <i>Eunymus</i> ) . . .	×			
Buckthorn ( <i>Rhamnus</i> ) . . . .	×			
Sloe ( <i>Prunus</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Rose ( <i>Rosa</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Apple ( <i>Pyrus</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Hawthorn ( <i>Crataegus</i> ) . . . .	×			
Medlar ( <i>Mespilus</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Ivy ( <i>Hedera</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Cornel ( <i>Cornus</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Elder ( <i>Sambucus</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Guelder Rose ( <i>Viburnum</i> ) . . .	×			
Honeysuckle ( <i>Lonicera</i> ) . . . .				
Arbutus ( <i>Arbutus</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Holly ( <i>Ilex</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Ash ( <i>Fraxinus</i> ) . . . . .			×	
Privet ( <i>Ligustrum</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Elm ( <i>Ulmus</i> ) . . . . .			×	
Hop ( <i>Humulus</i> ) . . . . .			×	
Alder ( <i>Alnus</i> ) . . . . .			×	
Birch ( <i>Betula</i> ) . . . . .			×	
Hornbeam ( <i>Carpinus</i> ) . . . . .			×	
Nut ( <i>Corylus</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Boech ( <i>Fagus</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Oak ( <i>Quercus</i> ) . . . . .	×			
Willow ( <i>Salix</i> ) . . . . .		×		
Poplar ( <i>Populus</i> ) . . . . .		×		
Pine ( <i>Pinus</i> ) . . . . .			×	
Fir ( <i>Abies</i> ) . . . . .			×	
Yew ( <i>Taxus</i> ) . . . . .	×			

Or let us take one natural order. That of the Roses is particularly interesting. In the genus *Clematis* the fruit is provided with hooks; in *Dryas* it terminates in a long feathered awn, like that of *Clematis*. On the other hand, several genera have edible fruits; but it is curious that the part of a plant which becomes fleshy, and thus tempting to animals, differs considerably in the different genera. In the Blackberry, for instance, and in the Raspberry, the carpels constitute the edible portion. When we eat a Raspberry we strip them off and leave the receptacle behind; while in the Strawberry the receptacle constitutes the edible portion; the carpels are small, hard, and closely surround the seeds. In those genera the sepals are situated below the fruit. In the Rose, on the contrary, it is the peduncle that is swollen and inverted, so as to form a hollow cup, in the interior of which the carpels are situated. Here you will

remember that the sepals are situated above, not below, the fruit. Again, in the Pear and Apple, it is the ovary which constitutes the edible part of the fruit, and in which the pips are embedded. At first sight, the fruit of the Mulberry—which, however, belongs to a different family—closely resembles that of the Blackberry. In the Mulberry, however, it is the sepals which become fleshy and sweet.

The next point is that seeds should be in a spot suitable for their growth. In most cases, the seed lies on the ground, into which it then pushes its little rootlet. In plants, however, which live on trees, the case is not so simple, and we meet some curious contrivances. Thus, the Mistletoe, as we all know, is parasitic on trees.



Fig. 16.—*Myzodendron* (Mistletoe).

The fruits are eaten by birds, and the droppings often therefore fall on the boughs; but if the seed was like that of most other plants it would soon fall to the ground, and consequently perish. Almost alone among English plants it is extremely sticky, and thus adheres to the bark.

I have already alluded to an allied genus, *Arceuthobium*, parasitic on Junipers, which throws its seeds to a distance of several feet. These also are very viscid, or, to speak more correctly, are embedded in a very viscid mucilage, so that if they come in contact with the bark of a neighbouring tree they stick to it.

Another very interesting genus, again of the same family, is *Myzodendron* (Fig. 16), a Fuegian species, described by Sir Joseph

Hooker, and parasitic on the Beech. Here the seed is not sticky, but is provided with four flattened flexible appendages. These catch the wind, and thus carry the seed from one tree to another. As soon, however, as they touch any little bough the arms twist round it and there anchor the seed.

In many epiphytes the seeds are extremely numerous and minute. Their great numbers increase the chance that the wind may waft some of them to the trees on which they grow ; and as they are then fully supplied with nourishment they do not require to carry any



FIG. 17.—CARDAMINE CHENOPODIIFOLIA  
a a, ordinary pods, b, subterranean pods

store with them. Moreover their minute size is an advantage, as they are carried into any little chink or cranny in the bark ; while a larger or heavier seed, even if borne against a suitable tree, would be more likely to drop off. In the genus *Neumannia*, the small seed is produced at each end into a long filament which must materially increase its chance of adhering to a suitable tree.

Even among terrestrial species there are not a few cases in which plants are not contented simply to leave their seeds on the surface of the soil, but actually sow them in the ground.

Thus in *Trifolium subterraneum*, one of our rarer English Clovers,

only a few of the florets become perfect flowers, the others form a rigid pointed head which at first is turned upwards, and as their ends are close together, constitute a sort of spike. At first, I say, the flower-heads point upwards like those of other Clovers, but as soon as the florets are fertilised, the flower-stalks bend over and grow downwards, forcing the flower-head into the ground, an operation much facilitated by the peculiar construction and arrangement of the imperfect florets. The florets are, as Darwin has shown, no mere passive instruments. So soon as the flower-head is in the ground they begin, commencing



FIG. 18.—*VICIA AMPHICARPA*.  
a a, ordinary pods, b b, subterranean pods

from the outside, to bend themselves towards the peduncle, the result of which of course is to drag the flower-head further and further into the ground. In most Clovers each floret produces a little pod. This would in the present species be useless, or even injurious; many young plants growing in one place would jostle and starve one another. Hence we see another obvious advantage in the fact that only a few florets perfect their seeds.

I have already alluded to our *Cardamines*, the pods of which open elastically and throw their seeds some distance. A Brazilian species *C. chenopodifolia*, Fig. 17, besides the usual long pods, Fig. 17 a a,

produces also short pointed ones, Fig. 17 *b b*, which it buries in the ground.

*Arachis hypogaea* is the ground-nut of the West Indies. The flower is yellow and resembles that of a pea, but has a elongated calyx, at the base of which, close to the stem, is the ovary. After the flower has faded the young pod, which is oval, pointed, and very minute, is carried forward by the growth of the stalk, which becomes two or three inches long and curves downwards so as generally to force the pod into the ground. If it fails in this, the



Fig 19 — *LATHYRUS AMPHICARPOS*. (After Sowerby.)  
a, ordinary pods, b, 'terrestrial pods.

pod does not develop, but soon perishes; on the other hand, as soon as it is underground the pod begins to grow and develops two large seeds.

In *Vicia amphicarpa*, Fig. 18, a South European species of Vetch, there are two kinds of pods. One of the ordinary form and habit (*a*), the other (*b*), oval, pale, containing only two seeds born on underground stems, and produced by flowers which have no corolla.

Again, a species of the allied genus *Lathyrus*, Fig. 19, *L. amphicarpos*, affords us another case of the same phenomenon.

Other species possessing the same faculty of burying their seeds

are *Okenia hypogæa*, several species of *Commelyna*, and of *Amphicar-pæa*, *Voandzeia subterranea*, *Scrophularia arguta*, &c. ; and it is very remarkable that these species are by no means nearly related, but belong to distinct families, namely the *Crucifera*, *Leguminosæ*, *Commelynaceæ*, *Violaceæ*, and *Scrophulariaceæ*.

Moreover, it is interesting that in *L. amphicarpos*, as in *Vicia amphicarpa* and *Cardamine chenopodifolium*, the subterranean pods differ from the usual and aerial form in being shorter and containing fewer seeds. The reason of this is, I think, obvious. In the ordinary pods the number of seeds of course increases the chance that some will find a suitable place. On the other hand the subterranean ones are carefully sown, as it were, by the plant itself. Several seeds together would only jostle one another, and it is therefore better that one or two only should be produced.

In the *Erodiums*, or Crane's Bills, the fruit is a capsule which opens elastically, in some species throwing the seeds to some little distance. The seeds themselves are more or less spindle-shaped, hairy, and produced into a twisted hairy awn as shown in Fig. 20, representing a seed of *E. glaucophyllum*. The number of spiral turns in the awn depends upon the amount of moisture; and the seed may thus be made into a very delicate hygrometer, for if it be fixed in an upright position, the awn twists or untwists according to the degree of moisture, and its extremity thus may be so arranged as to move up and down like a needle on a register. It is also affected by heat. Now if the awn were fixed instead of the seed, it is obvious that during the process of untwisting, the seed itself would be pressed downwards, and as M. Roux has shown, this mechanism thus serves actually to bury the seed. His observations were made on an allied species, *Erodium ciconium*, which he chose on account of its size. He found that if a seed of this plant is laid on the ground, it remains quiet as long as it is dry; but as soon as it is moistened—i.e. as soon as the earth becomes in a condition to permit growth—the outer side of the awn contracts, and the hairs surrounding the seed commence to move outwards, the result of which is gradually to raise the seed into an upright position with its point on the soil. The awn then commences to unroll, and consequently to elongate itself upwards, and it is obvious that as it is covered with reversed hairs, it will probably press against some blade of grass or other obstacle, which will prevent its moving up, and will therefore tend to drive the seed into the ground. If then the air becomes dryer, the awn will again roll up, in which action M. Roux thought

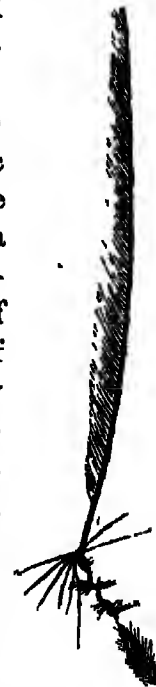


Fig. 20 — *Erodium glaucophyllum* (After Sweet.)



it would tend to draw up the seed, but from the position of the hairs the feathery awn can easily slip downwards, and would therefore not affect the seed. When moistened once more, it would again force the seed further downwards, and so on until the proper depth was obtained. A species of *Anemone* (*A. montana*) again has essentially the same arrangement, though belonging to a widely separated order.

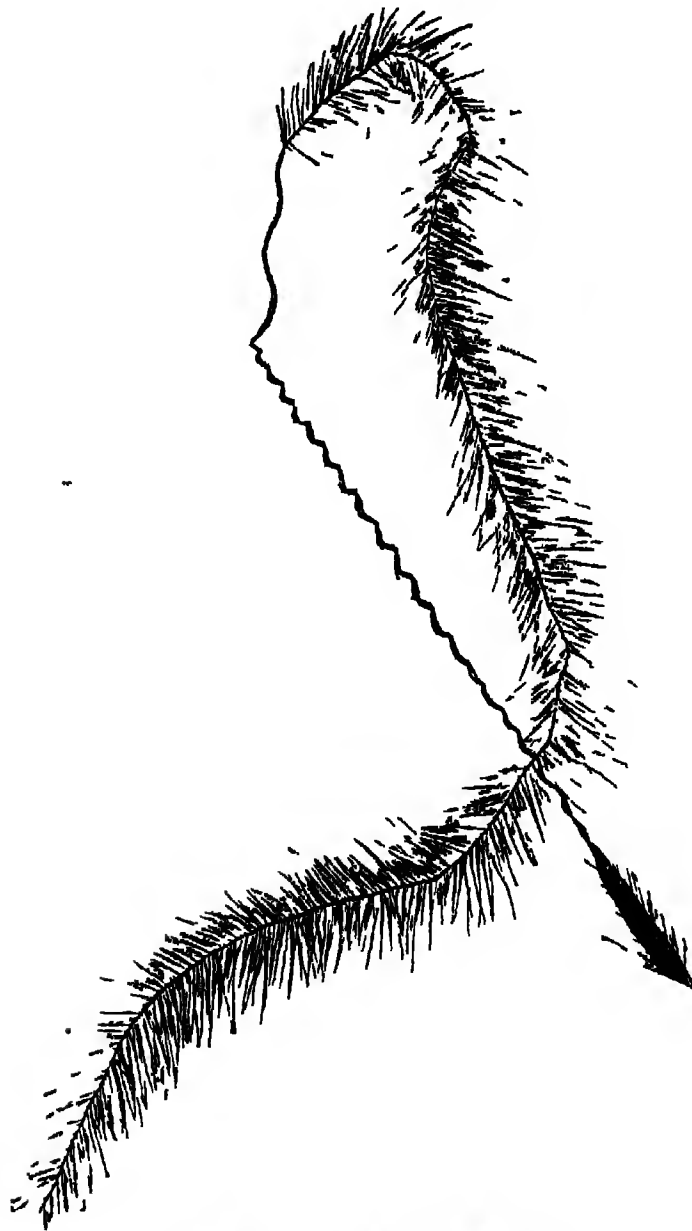


Fig 21.—SEED OF *STIPA PENNATA* (Natural size)

A still more remarkable instance is afforded by a beautiful South European grass, *Stipa pennata* (Fig. 21), the structure of which has been described by Vaucher, and more recently, as well as more completely, by Frank Darwin. The actual seed is small, with a sharp point, and stiff, short hairs pointing backwards. The posterior end

of the seed is produced into a fine twisted corkscrew-like rod, which is followed by a plain cylindrical portion, attached at an angle to the corkscrew, and ending in a long and beautiful feather, the whole being more than a foot in length. The long feather, no doubt, facilitates the dispersion of the seeds by wind; eventually, however, they sink to the ground, which they tend to reach, the seed being the heaviest portion, point downwards. So the seed remains as long as it is dry, but if a shower comes on, or when the dew falls, the spiral unwinds, and if, as is most probable, the surrounding herbago or any other obstacle prevents the feathers from rising, the seed itself is forced down and so driven by degrees into the ground.

I have already mentioned several cases in which plants produce two kinds of seeds, or at least of pods, the one being adapted to burying itself in the ground. Heterocarpism, if I may term it so, or the power of producing two kinds of reproductive bodies, is not confined to those species. There is, for instance, a North African species of *Corydalis* (*C. heterocarpa* of Durieu) which produces two kinds of seed (Fig. 22), one somewhat flattened, short and broad, with rounded angles; the other elongated, hooked, and shaped like a shepherd's crook with a thickened staff. In this case the hook in the latter form perhaps serves for dispersion.

Our common *Thrinia hirta* (Fig. 13b) also possesses, besides the fruits with the well-known feathery crown, others which are destitute of such a provision, and which probably therefore are intended to take root at home.

Mr. Drummond, in the volume of *Hooker's Journal of Botany* for 1842, has described a species of *Alismaceæ* which has two sorts of seed-vessels; the one produced from large floating flowers, the other at the end of short submerged stalks. He does not, however, describe either the seeds or seed-vessels in detail.

Before concluding I will say a few words as to the very curious forms presented by certain seeds and fruits. The pods of *Lotus*, for instance, quaintly resemble a bird's foot, even to the toes; whence the specific name of one species, *ornithopodioides*; those of *Hippocrepis* remind one of a horseshoe; those of *Trapa bicornis* have an absurd resemblance to the skeleton of a bull's head. These likenesses appear to be accidental, but there are some which probably are of use to the plant. For instance there are two species of *Scorpiurus*, Fig. 23, the pods of which lie on the ground, and so curiously resemble the one (*S. subrillosa*, Fig. 23a) a centipede, the other (*S. ver-*



FIG. 22.—SEEDS OF *CORYDALIS HETEROCARPA*.

*miculata*, Fig. 23 *b*) a worm or caterpillar, that it is almost impossible not to suppose that the likeness must be of some use to the plant.

The pod of *Biserrula Pelecinus* (Fig. 24 *a*) also has a striking resemblance to a flattened centipede; while the seeds of *Abrus precatorius*, both in size and in their very striking color, mimic a small beetle, *Artemis circumusta*.

Mr. Moore has recently called attention to other cases of this kind. Thus the seed of *Martynia diandra* much resembles a beetle with

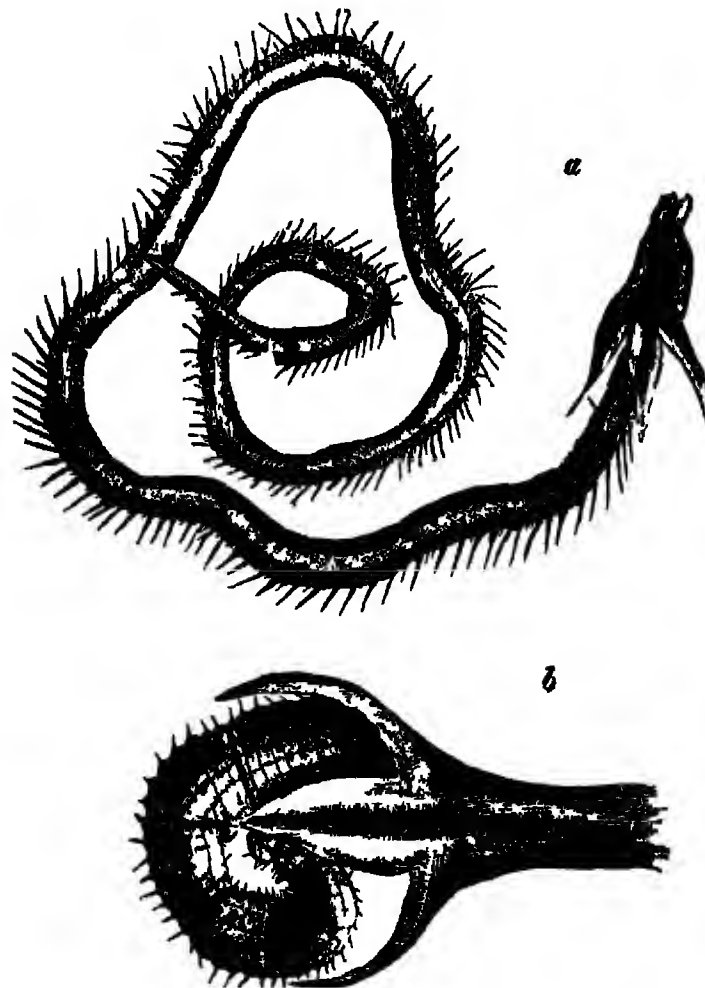
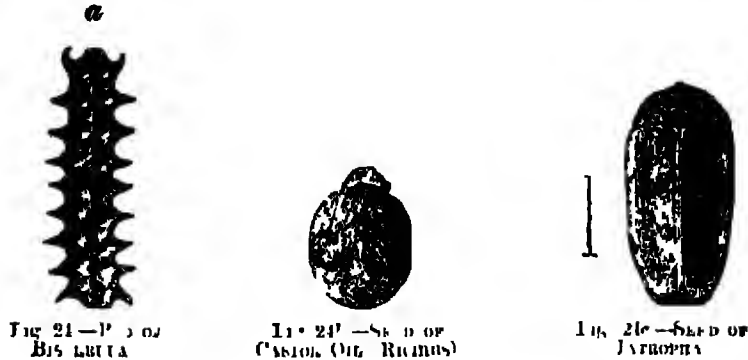


Fig. 24  
a, pod of *Biserrula subvillata*, b, pod of *Biserrula miculata*

long antennæ: several species of Lupins have seeds much like spiders, and those of *Durorhochlamys*, a gourdlike plant, mimic a piece of dry twig. In the Common Castor Oil plants (Fig. 24 *b*), though the resemblance is not so close, still at a first glance the seeds might readily be taken for beetles or ticks. In many Euphorbiaceous plants, as for instance in *Jatropha* (Fig. 24 *c*) the resemblance is even more striking. The seeds have a central line resembling the space between the elytra, dividing and slightly diverging at the end, while

between them the end of the abdomen seems to peep ; at the anterior end the seeds possess a small lobe, or caruncle, which mimics the head or thorax of the insect, and which even seems specially arranged for this purpose ; at least it would seem from experiments made at Kew that the carunculus exercises no appreciable effect during germination.

These resemblances might benefit the plant in one of two ways. If it be an advantage to the plant that the seeds should be swallowed



by birds, their resemblance to insects might lead to this result. On the other hand if it be desirable to escape from graminivorous birds, then the resemblance to insects would serve as a protection. We do not, however, yet know enough about the habits of these plants to solve this question.

Indeed, as we have gone on, many other questions will, I doubt not, have occurred to you, which we are not yet in a position to answer. Seeds, for instance, differ almost infinitely in the sculpturing of their surface. But I shall woefully have failed in my object to-night if you go away with the impression that we know all about seeds. On the contrary there is not a fruit or a seed, even of one of our commonest plants, which would not amply justify and richly reward the most careful study.

In this, as in other branches of science, we have but made a beginning. We have learnt just enough to perceive how little we know. Our great masters in natural history have immortalised themselves by their discoveries, but they have not exhausted the field ; and if seeds and fruits cannot vie with flowers in the brilliance and color with which they decorate our gardens and our fields, still they surely rival, it would be impossible to excel them, in the almost infinite variety of the problems they present to us, the ingenuity, the interest, and the charm of the beautiful contrivances which they offer for our study and our admiration.

JOHN LUBBOCK.

## CARLYLE'S REMINISCENCES.<sup>1</sup>

ONE can hardly help feeling that undue haste has been used in the publication of these volumes. Exception has already been taken at the little care shown to avoid giving unmerited and unnecessary pain to many persons whose names are here mentioned, and set round with remarks and epithets which cannot fail to be unpleasant and even wounding. The editor has executed his task with a too filial scrupulosity and piety. He has not omitted a name, or a word, or a letter of manuscripts which he admits were probably not intended for publication. Carlyle knew a great number of people, and many of them, or their near relatives, are still alive. It was, to say the least, inconsiderate to allow a book of his to appear full of personal allusions, which are well fitted to arouse a certain anger towards his memory. Either the work should have been kept back for at least another decade or so, or blanks and asterisks should have been unsparingly used.

However, the evil is done, and it is no fault of Carlyle's. It will also, in time, disappear. Posterity will not resent it, as many now with justice do. There is a graver question beyond, and it is no less than this—whether Carlyle himself is not a sufferer, and a permanent sufferer, by this publication? All the four essays were written in conditions of great gloom and depression, in consequence of recent bitter bereavement. The first on James Carlyle was begun apparently the instant the author had news of his father's death. In the middle of it he interrupts his narrative to insert the remark, "Friday night. My father is now in his grave," showing he had not waited for the funeral to commence his memoir. The pathos and beauty of the piece cannot be surpassed, written in "star-fire and immortal tears," to use his own words on a similar occasion. But the grief, though poignant, is not overpowering, on the contrary, lofty and calm, and therefore touching in the extreme. The three other essays were composed some thirty-four years later, in the decline of life and health, when choked by anguish at the loss of his wife, and the result is, perhaps, more painful than beautiful. We had no need to wait for these Reminiscences to know that Carlyle took a sad and gloomy view of the world and its prospects in his later years. Perhaps he always did so, more or less. But these papers were composed when his gloom was deepest and blackest. This was not a good standpoint from which to pass in review

(1) *Reminiscences*, by Thomas Carlyle. Edited by James Anthony Froude, M.A. London: Longmans. 1881.

a long and checkered life, when the heart was sick, and the nerves unstrung, and the years lay heavy and numerous on the venerable head bowed down in passionate grief. The pious reverence and self-effacement of Mr. Froude are complete when he says: "The Reminiscences appeared to me to be far too valuable to be broken up and employed in any composition of my own." But it may be questioned whether he did the wisest thing for his friend's memory in sending forth these sombre sketches unrelieved by any colour or contrast derived from less melancholy periods of his long life. There was no particular need of hurry for anything that appears. The promised biography, comprising a large selection of his letters, "as full of matter as the richest of his published works," would surely have been well worth waiting for a little. Then we should have had a picture of Carlyle's life seen through a less sad and depressing medium than the present. Bright lights, and still brighter laughter, we may be sure would have relieved the shadows, and the sage and hero, for whom a whole generation of disciples has felt the deepest reverence and gratitude, would not have appeared, as he now does, in a manner which has already given occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. Carlyle's morose acerbities, harsh judgments of his contemporaries, morbid self-watchings, and very often quite unheroic fastidious delicacies and shrinkings, are naturally enough, with the text of this book before them, affording rare and congenial matter for mockery to some who, for obvious reasons, have no love for either the author or his work. True admirers will believe that another face will be put upon the subject when the whole record is produced. They will hope, until the contrary is proved, that *mutatis mutandis* something similar occurred to Carlyle as to his own Goethe in reference to this autobiography. Mr. Lewes, explaining why he used the *Wahrheit und Dichtung* only as a subsidiary source in his life of the poet, remarks:

"The main reason of this was the abiding inaccuracy of tone which, far more misleading than the many inaccuracies of fact, gives to the whole youthful period as narrated by him an aspect so directly contrary to what is given by contemporary evidence, especially his own letters, that an attempt to reconcile the contradiction is impossible."—*Life of Goethe*, Preface.

Let us have whatever biographical material there may be behind, especially the letters, before we venture on a final judgment. If the letters confirm the tone of the present pieces there is nothing more to be said. The great preacher and prophet of heroes was not himself the hero we thought him. The fact when it is proven will not be a welcome one at all; but it will not be the first of its kind and we must bear with it as we can. In the meanwhile the best thing to do is without shrinking advance to a close scrutiny of the facts as we have them and cast up some sort of balance-sheet which

will show how we stand. How far have these Reminiscences added to or altered our appreciation of Carlyle?

By far their most unpleasant trait, by reason of its unamiability and persistence, is the constant depreciation of contemporaries, even acquaintances and friends. Name after name is mentioned, only to be dismissed with a contemptuous epithet, often very skilfully chosen it must be owned; but Carlyle was ever a master of nicknames, and he dabs almost every one he meets with colours from his vigorous brush, which, as he said, "stick to one." But how cheaply he held his contemporaries—with the fewest exceptions—is known to all. His opinion of Coleridge, Bentham, Keats, Byron, even Scott, has been long on record. That he seemed, from some strange reason, incapable of doing justice to contemporary merit, has been obvious to all men for well-nigh forty years. The question has an interest, irrespective of the minor morals of social intercourse, by reason of its connection with his general view of life and history, his worship of the past, and his hatred of the present, about which a few words will be said presently.

But, as a matter of fact, he does not show himself more unjust (if so much) in this book than he had often before, especially to his literary contemporaries. There is nothing equal to the famous grant against Keat's "maudlin weak-eyed sensibility," or to the deliberate ridicule of Coleridge in the *Life of Sterling*. The uncharitable tone he adopts seems, on this occasion, more offensive than heretofore; first, because there is so much of it; secondly, because it is used with regard to persons with whom he was on more or less friendly terms, and he appears not only as the harsh and mistaken literary critic, but as the ill-natured social neighbour, sneering at people behind their backs. Still there is nothing new in all this. The evil tendency is stronger than one knew, and far stronger than one could wish; but it does not alter the elements of our judgment, it only affects their proportions.

Again, the terms in which he refers to Dr. Darwin seem hardly rational, and are wholly indecent. But we were prepared even for this in a measure. The way in which he had already treated Laplace and Leibnitz showed that no scientific eminence was sufficient to save a man from his mockeries, and it is abundantly clear, from all sides, that Carlyle felt towards science like a monk of the sixteenth century felt towards the revival of learning.

"That progress of science which is to destroy Wonder, and in its stead substitute Mensuration and Numeration, finds small favour with *Toufölsdröckh*. The man who cannot wonder, were he president of innumerable royal societies and carried the whole *Mécanique Céleste* . . . in his single head, is but a pair of spectacles behind which there is no eye."

He had a perfect horror of anything being explained, accounted

for. To do this was "logic-chopping," "scrannel-piping," and the rest. In *Shooting Niagara* he hopes the "idle habit of accounting for the moral sense" will be eradicated and extinguished. "A very futile problem that, my friends; futile, idle, and far worse, leading to what moral *ruin* you little dream of." Sometimes he peremptorily closes investigation on his own historical ground, as in reference to the burial mounds on Naseby battle-field, which, with "more or less of sacrilege," had been recently explored. Quoting some account of what had been found, he sharply winds up with "Sweet friends, for Jesus' sake, forbear." He, no doubt, had a great respect for certain facts and investigations, and unwearied energy in their research—historical events, dates, and topographical details—coupled with unmeasured contempt for writers who were not endowed with his painstaking diligence. He is down upon Thiers for writing the 10th September when it should have been the 15th. But all precise and definite inquiry, especially if it led to systematic thinking, he regarded, as the ancients regarded dissection of the human body, as more or less impious, and leading to ruin. So his inane gibes at Darwinism, offensive as they are, strike us, again, as nothing new.

What does appear now, very serious, and not yet, at any rate, widely known, is the soft, shrinking, puling tone with which, on his own showing, he met the ills and even paltry discomforts of life. He cannot take a journey by train without railing, with unmeasured license of speech, at the "base and dirty hurly-burly," "the yelling flight through some detestable smoky chaos, and midnight witch-dance of nameless base-looking dirty towns." He is suffocated by the smoke and the foul air, finds the "inside of his shirt collar as black as ink," and hastens to get a bath. The least noise deprives him of sleep and half maddens him. All this must in common justice be set down to the irritability of an over-wrought nervous system, exhausted by excessive work. But his sensitiveness does not only shrink before physical ills. Contact, if only verbal, with coarse people alarms him. He mentions an instance in which there was no danger of a "quarrel about the fare" of a cab, "which was always my horror in such cases." This does not match with the spirit which inspired "The Everlasting No." He dropped schoolmastering with pretty prompt impatience when he found it unc congenial, though his surroundings at Kirkcaldy seem to have been otherwise eligible enough—pleasant country, the society of a beloved friend (Irving), sufficient leisure to allow of much reading and wide rambles by flood and field. He even cannot stand a temporary isolation in lodgings with his pupil, Charles Buller, of whom yet he was very fond; finds it "one of the dreariest and uncomfortablest of things." Still, nerves and dyspepsia may account for a good deal even of this.

What nothing can account for, or even well excuse, is the constant



manifestation of a weak and unworthy vanity. "Once or twice, among the flood of equipages at Hyde Park Corner, I recollect sternly thinking—'Yes; and perhaps none of you could do what I am at.'" He tries to make out—which may be likely enough, but why mention it?—that Leigh Hunt sought his acquaintance, and not the contrary.

"What they will do with this book none knows, my Jeannie lass; but they have not had, for two hundred years, any book that came more truly from a man's very heart, and so let them trample it under foot and hoof as they see best."

If Carlyle really said this to his wife on the day on which he had finished *The French Revolution*, the fact is a sad one. What is the natural, inevitable thought and feeling of an artist and worker who is not a coxcomb to boot, at the end of a great effort, but this—that, after all his toil, he has failed of his ideal, and that his performance, he alone knowing how much higher it might have been, is a poor and flat miscarriage, dreadful to look at? The quite unseemly word "hoof," which I have underlined, is not the only one of its kind in these reminiscences, and every one must admit that it is offensive in the extreme when applied by an author to the readers of his books, nay, even to his admirers. Yet this is what Carlyle, in very truth, actually does. Speaking of the fame acquired by his Edinburgh address, he says:—

"No idea or shadow of idea is in that address but what had been set forth by me tens of times before, and the poor gaping sea of prurient blockheadism receives it as a kind of inspired revelation, and runs to buy my books (it is said) now when I have got quite done with their buying or refusing to buy. If they would give me £10,000 a year and *bray* unanimously their hosannahs heaven high—for the rest of my life, who now would there be to get the smallest joy or profit from it?"

What can one say of such an utterance? And this from the man who had, with much wise justice and charity, looked into the sad sick heart of Jean Jacques, and told us, with calm wisdom, whence *his* miseries flowed. Painful and regrettable indeed.

Were these acerb, contemptuous pages really written by that chastened and serene spirit, which of yore led us to the "Worship of Sorrow" in words of such persuasive depth and beauty that they have ever remained for many like shining lead-stars in the dark hours of doubt and misgiving, convincing them that there is "in man a higher than a love of happiness, that he can do without happiness, and instead thereof find blessedness"? What was Carlyle's message to the world preached in everything he wrote, from brochure to bulky history but this, that we must despise alike pleasure and pain, rise in victory over mere desire and the mean hungers and vanities of our poor selves, and become humble brave men and not grumble over our wages? Herein lies the grievous pain of this

book, that the physician had, apparently, after all not in the least healed himself, that at the end of a noble and victorious career externally, we find him inwardly bankrupt of hope, faith, and charity, looking on the world with moody anger and querulous unsatisfied egotism. Where one might hope to find, had almost a right to find, a solemn hymn of victory closing in melodious *adagio* the long, well-fought battle of life, we come upon this lamentable piercing cry, not only of pain but of irascible discontent and harsh vehemence against men and things, wounding to the ear, and still more to the heart. How can we ever again read our *Sartor* with the old eyes and the old faith in our teacher, when we discover that *this* was the outcome of his wisdom? If, as every lover of Carlyle must hope and believe, this is no true presentation of his permanent mood, but the exceptional voice of anguish uttered in the agony of bereavement with "nerves all inflamed and torn up, body and mind in a most hag-ridden condition," we may be comforted. But why should we have been discomfited?

After all, Carlyle has already passed into that select band of authors who are proof not only against criticism, good or bad, but their own weaknesses or even vices. The world knows better than to be unduly exacting and uncharitable to the truly great. Rousseau and Byron would long ago have been forgotten and abolished if criticism, very often morally quite just, had any efficacy against such spirits. The "ill-cut serpents of eternity" are not to be disposed of by such short and easy methods. Carlyle's work is finished and before the world, and it will not be to-day or to-morrow that a final corrected estimate of its value will be attained. Still the outlines of a judgment may even now be forecast which excludes him at once from the class of thinkers properly so called, to place him on the roll of great writers, whose function is to stir and charm the emotions rather than enlighten the intellect. It is easy to see that feeling not reflection was his guide in life as it was in opinion. To take pains to come to a sober, well-weighed, scientifically true judgment always appeared to him more or less of a disloyalty to the Silences and Eternities and "divine soul of man." No ignorance of a subject ever kept him from the most peremptory and dogmatic conclusions about it. As this book shows, he was on the point of writing a pamphlet on the American Civil War, though he confesses he was "so ignorant about the matter," that perhaps he might have done more harm than good to the cause he favoured, that cause being of course the interesting one of Jefferson Davis. His downright delirium about the "Nigger fanaticism," as he called it, is typical. If he could have really known slavery as the hateful thing it was, who can doubt that he, with his flaming love of justice and pity, would have been the fiercest of abolitionists and refused all

parley with the abettors of the accursed thing. But he had conceived a horror of the "cash nexus" as sole bond between man and man—very true and deep the feeling which prompted this—and forthwith rushed to the conclusion that emancipation of Quashee was only a piece of modern cant and anarchy, that Quashee was meant by nature to be a servant, and that it was everybody's interest, Quashee's included, that he should remain such. Carlyle could never be so unfaithful to the Veracities as to look at two sides of a question which stirred his feelings, otherwise he might have perceived that slavery was, if possible, more abominable and injurious to the white man than the black. So he judged, or rather felt about everything. The Vesuvian fire within him was always filling his sky with sulphurous clouds of black smoke and burning cinders, at times making him discharge torrents of red-hot lava; but calm sunlight was naturally intercepted by these volcanic explosions.

He seems to have come into the world a sort of one-faced Janus, with his back resolutely turned towards the future about which he would neither hear nor believe any good thing. He not only despaired of future good for the world, but for himself even when clear victory had rewarded his valiant efforts, and his path, if he could have seen it, was strewn with nobly-won palms and laurels. All honest work and ways had to his thinking ceased more or less with his entrance into the world. His father is *Ultimus Romanorum*. He positively implies that such a thing as a good watch in these days of quackery could no longer be obtained. It is likely enough that the transition from the *ancien régime* which his long life fairly spanned, supplied his tenacious affections and memory with instances of wise old customs and usages which were lost or forgotten in the age of telegraphs and steam. But he is no mere commonplace *laudator temporis acti*. He thoroughly loathes the present and all its works. A fair, not to say a philosophic man would have struck a balance, would have said with regret that much good had been hurried away in the ever-surging new, but still have admitted that the new also contained much of good. Such a thought he would have put away from him. He was a strange spiritual survival, belonging to an extinct moral world. His real contemporaries were Luther, John Knox, and Oliver Cromwell. They had no qualms or mawkish doubts, they were "thorough men;" they did not palter with their moral sense or chop logic. Such a reactionary as Carlyle hardly can be found. De Maistre and his like are progressists in comparison. They are reactionary from the head, political interests of party, and what not. Carlyle is so from the blood, the most inward core and fibre. He detests the modern world and its ways, from no reason or interest, he simply detests it with his whole soul, and that is enough for him.

His work as an historian—that is his essential and permanent work—naturally bears the impress of these qualities and predispositions. He belongs to no school of modern writers on history, numerous and important as the class is. He shares not a whit the wider, juster, historical conception of the past—the classification of epochs, the notion of sociological growth carried on through the centuries, the long course of development which reaches from primitive man to the present day. The strongest and fruitfulest side of modern historical studies,—early institutions—he does not even glance at, and it would certainly have been abhorrent to him. “Institutions,” one can imagine him saying with his war-horse snort; “what of institutions? the spirit of man is what we seek, man symbol of eternity imprisoned into time,” &c., &c. As a matter of fact the only thing he cared about in history was *character*. The strong man who has his way, who makes cowards and caitiffs tremble before him, who pitches pedants’ formulæ to the winds, and plays the *diable à quatre* generally with owlsh conventionalities and purblind decorums and decencies—that is the man who attracts him; he and his belongings make up history for Carlyle. This alone explains his otherwise inconsistent sympathy for all manner of wild men whom on other grounds he would have fiercely condemned, Burns, Mirabeau, Danton, and the rest. “Stormy force” ever arrests his eye; and what an eye. No poet or dramatist ever pierced with more unerring insight to the core of a character than he could in an instant and with a power well-nigh unique in literature unfold that character and make it live and move again before our very eyes. Michelet is not without a kindred talent, but he has not the depth and insight of Carlyle; nor his wondrous and truly sublime pathos. His historical imagination was transcendent and almost terrific. He realises the minutest details of a great event, feels with all the characters like a consummate dramatist, sees with their eyes, and yet with his own too, seeing much which they did or could not see, and in the end rolls out such pictures as never historian painted before. Where can anything be found, leaving the longest interval, approaching to the battle of Dunbar?

“The night is wild and wet. 2nd September means 12th by our calendar. The harvest moon wades deep among clouds of sleet and hail. Whoever has a heart for prayer let him pray now, for the wrestle of death is at hand. . . . The hoarse sea moans bodeful, swinging low and heavy against those whinstone bays. The sea and the tempests are abroad; all else asleep but we. And there is One that rides on the wings of the wind.” “The trumpets peal, shattering with fierce clangour night’s silence, the cannons awaken along all the line. ‘The Lord of hosts, the Lord of hosts!’ On my brave ones, on!” “Plenty of fire from field-pieces, snaphances, matchlocks, out-ertains the Scotch main. Battle across the Brock. Poor stiffened men roused from the corn-shocks with their matches all out.”

And so on (for there is no end to quoting) till the Lord General Cromwell was heard to say, "They run; I profoss they run," and he and his at the foot of Doon Hill made a halt and sang the 117th Psalm, "rolling it strong and great against the sky." Is Milton often finer than this?

But Carlyle's especially characteristic mark among historians is his humour. Never since Herodotus, who loved his joke and cared often, one may suspect, more for the fun than the truth of his stories, has any historian in any language come near Carlyle in this respect. Historians have mostly been rather solemn and pompous folk. Not even Voltaire, the wittiest of writers in other developments, ventures in his serious histories to essay the comic vein. But Carlyle is hardly ever well out of it. In his most tragic and pathetic passages, the humorous side of things may recede a little just for a moment, but Puck is always hovering in the neighbourhood, and is at his antics again before you have time to say hold. The marvellous art and delicacy with which Carlyle applies his humour, always thereby deepening and softening his pathos, never in the least marring or destroying it, is one of the greatest things in literature. For it is clearly a greater achievement than that of the professed humourists—Rabelais, Montaigne, Swift, Sterne—who have nothing else to do but to cultivate their humour and follow its whims whithersoever it may lead them. Sidney Smith, by his admirable infusion of wit into his serious argument, comes nearest to him. But his wit, though of the brightest, is cold and on the surface compared to the warm rich humour of Carlyle, which appeals to the heart quite as much as to the sense of the ludicrous. The one, in short, is wit and the other humour. It is very likely that this quality, while it immensely increases the admiration of one class of readers, has been injurious to him in the eyes of another class, probably by a far larger one. Some good people resent fun and laughter especially in connection with otherwise serious subjects, and consider it as taking a liberty with them to introduce anything of the kind. There are, certainly, things in the *Frederick* which affect people accustomed to the so-called dignity of history, as Shakespeare's clowns and gravediggers affected Voltaire, with his notions about the dignity of tragedy, and this may be one reason why the *Frederick* [not only in size, Carlyle's greatest book] has never, I believe, attained the popularity of his other works. There were much more to say on Carlyle as an historian, if these were the occasion and place for it. There is only space for a remark or two more, one of some importance.

Every attentive reader of Carlyle must have noticed a marked difference between his earlier and later writings consisting in this, that whereas from the *Sartor* onwards to *Past and Present* (1843),

he speaks of war and bloodshed and violence generally, with more or less disgust and becomingly human reprobation, he afterwards can hardly go far enough in their praise, practically occupied himself with little else than the study of campaigns and military matters (whether of Cromwell or Frederick), or in the germane enjoyment of excogitating means of coercing and subduing caitiffs and scoundrels and fairly gloating over the process. His vehemence against war in the *Sartor* might content the Peace Society itself. The humorous description of the French and English Drumdrudge, each sending its thirty recruits—

“Till after infinite effort the two parties come into actual juxtaposition, and thirty stands fronting thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word ‘Fire!’ is given, and they blow the souls out of one another. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil, not the smallest. How then? Simploton! Their governors had fallen out, and, instead of shooting each other, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot.”

In *Past and Present* he speaks of the Manchester Insurrection like a man decently clothed and in his right mind, regards it as the most successful of insurrections just because so few were killed, and is altogether intelligent and humane. Then came a great change in his feelings with regard to all these matters. War and violence become with him almost ends in themselves one might say, so manifest is the relish with which he describes them. No one who ever read the latter-day pamphlet on Model Prisons will forget the Brobdignagian humour with which he addresses the “Devil’s regiments of the line.” “Mark it, my diabolic friends, I mean to lay leather on the backs of you, collars round the necks of you, and will teach you after the example of the Gods,” &c. There was a grain of truth and insight in all this, as there seldom fails to be in Carlyle’s wildest vagaries. He sees a fact, one aspect of a question, in dazzling clearness; but he does not only neglect, but scorns and repudiates as treason to heaven’s truth all effort to reconcile his fact or aspect with other facts and aspects. This temper grew on him with years and he came at last to sympathise with more savage barbarity. As this shows, said of Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa—

“He made Gebhardus, the anarchic governor of Milan, lie chained under a table like a dog for three days, as it would be well if every anarchic governor, of the soft type and the hard, were made to do on occasion; asking himself in terrible earnest, ‘Am I a dog, then; alas, am I not a dog?’ Those were serious old times.”

This is so much the worse as nothing is more certain than that these Italian expeditions of the German Emperors were the source of ultimate ruin to the Empire and disaster to Europe. But Carlyle did not trouble himself with considerations of this

kind. The point which I want to come to is this, that in these Reminiscences he gives us himself the approximate date when this momentary change of which we have been speaking took place in his sentiments. Referring to Mill's "considerably hidebound" *London Review*, he regrets that he was not made editor of it.

"Worse, I could not have succeeded than poor Mill himself. . . . I had plenty of Radicalism, but the opposite hemisphere (which never was wanting other, as it miserably is in Mill and Co.) had not yet found itself summoned by the trumpet of time and his events (1818, study of Oliver, &c.) into practical emergence and emphasis and prominence as now."

Though short, the intimation is sufficient. The year of revolution in the nineteenth century, and the too sympathetic brooding over the great leader of the rebellion in the seventeenth century, had, combining with elective affinities within, wrought this change. He never seems to have been aware that there had been a change, which is also characteristic.

And now to take leave even of this melancholy book with a few friendly words. Disappointing as is the picture which Carlyle here gives us of his inner mind, on one side he appears truly admirable, and that is his indomitable courage and persistence in work. In this respect he carried out to the letter all his precepts. From the *Life of Schiller* to the *Life of Frederick*, a period of some forty odd years, he never drew rein; through ill-health and disheartenment, through trials and sorrows, through neglect and through fame, he worked on with "desperate hope," determined to bring out his "product," infinitesimal or otherwise, with truly heroic courage.

Secondly: These hastily written pages—written under the circumstances we know—are nevertheless very often, in point of style and literary power, equal to anything the author ever produced. They were dashed off at such speed that in one instance—the *Essay on Irving*—the writer absolutely forgot the fact of their composition. Without the straining after effect sometimes too visible in Carlyle, his language is here often singularly rhythmical, picturesque, and graphic. The Scotch border country is painted in quiet tones and modest colours—transparent, deep, harmonious—with great beauty. And all this was done in a moment, as it were, by a broken-hearted old man of three-score years and twelve. It is difficult to refer to the deepest note of all—the cruel, the relentless pathos with which he mourns his wife. Literature may be searched through, and nothing found so unutterably pitiful and molting as this long wail of anguish of the bereaved one over his lost partner of forty years. I am half-tempted to blot what I have written. There were depths of love, radiant sublimities, in this man which we shall not soon meet with again.

JAS. CORTER MORISON.

## THE COST OF THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1880.

THE incidents of a contested election in the good old times when Reform Bills were as yet unknown must have forced themselves on most Englishmen. The choicest wines flowed without stint for the gratification of the thirsty voters, and scenes of violence which threatened destruction to the persons as well as the property of obnoxious candidates or electors were frequent in the streets. Successive changes in the law have spared us a recurrence of such scandals, and the terror of the judges has lessened the possibility of the wholesale debauchery of the whole kingdom which passed unchallenged a century ago. No longer is the cost of a county or borough election attended with the ruinous consequences which impoverished noble families for several generations. Sandwich is not so bad as Totnes, and Canterbury is better than Yarmouth. Gradual reductions in the franchise, by which units have been multiplied into tens, and tens have expanded into hundreds, have, however, led to considerable expenses in other and more legitimate ways. Registration is the fruitful parent of falsehood, but difficult as it is to arrive at a correct statement of the gains and losses before the revising barrister, the politician who hopes for success in the contest must act upon the oft-repeated maxim of Sir Robert Peel. Overseers cannot always be relied upon for absolute accuracy in the preparation of burgess lists, and the voters on their part are often so phlegmatic as not to cast a momentary glance at the lists which are exposed to public scrutiny on the door of every church and chapel. The duties of both overseer and voter must be supervised by the clerks of the registration agent, and legal assistance is often required for many days in the courts of the revising barrister. By the introduction of the lodger franchise, which in the constituencies (already swollen beyond natural bounds) of London and the chief boroughs of the North has imported a new and shifting class of electors wholly independent of the actions of any public official, the labour of issuing and obtaining the execution of elaborate forms of application has been imposed on the election agent every year, and, although a considerable portion of the attendant expenses is defrayed from the party funds, the residue generally falls on the candidate himself. Few sections of men thrive more at election times than country solicitors, and from their ranks two or three of the most popular and plausible practitioners are selected in every town for the purpose of accompanying the future senator in his tour of exploration, and of sharing in the oratorical struggles of the campaign. A swarm of



canvassers spread themselves throughout the district, and their duty is to flatter or cajole the perplexed voters into making promises which after the day of election—such is too often the sad experience of a disappointed candidate—are found to have been left unfulfilled. Committee-rooms must be established in all parts of the constituency, and a crowd of needy dependents may always be found around them rendering services which it would puzzle a lexicographer to define. Public meetings must be held at all hours of the day, and if the exhausted candidate should prove unequal to the task of attending them all some efficient substitute must be found in his place. The candidate with the best chance of success is the man who can speak at most meetings in a week, and the hoarse Codrus has been known to boast of having reiterated the same ideas at thirty different places in six days. Each individual voter must receive an expression of the political views of the gentleman who woos his suffrage. To every member of the constituency there must be transmitted a card with minute directions as to the manner in which his vote must be recorded, and, as in some cases his intelligence is not of the highest order, it is the object of an unscrupulous partizan to tempt him into the belief that unless he should mark the card in one particular manner for the benefit of an especial candidate his vote would be altogether thrown away. Such artifices are practised on the ignorant and unwary: for the voter of a higher class more attractive baits must be sought. The eldest son of a peer, or in default of an offshoot of the peerage, a distinguished commoner must be secured as the chairman of the executive committee, and on the day of election the voter is gratified by the sight on his breakfast-table of an envelope franked by the chairman's autograph, and containing a lithographed appeal that the vote may be recorded at an early hour of the day. The multiplication of newspapers has introduced another fruitful source of expense. It is a matter of paramount necessity that the proprietors of the journals supporting the candidate's views should render him an unswerving support, and this must be attained by long and frequent advertisements. For weeks before a general election many columns of the local newspapers are filled with rival addresses, the recurrence of which after the first day or two is only of interest to the owners of the papers. These are the expenses which a candidate incurs in his endeavour to ingratiate himself with a majority of the constituency. The days of canvassing are at last past, and the time approaches when it will be seen whether his efforts have been successful. The servants of the returning officer now interpose with a demand for the money required for the erection of the polling-booth. The convenience of the electors must be consulted, and this can only be done by establishing numerous places for polling. Though many of the

counties were subdivided at the last Reform Bill, yet most of them still remain of unwieldy dimensions, and it is difficult to ascertain the principles on which some of them have been divided. Numerous as are the places of polling, it has always been beneath the dignity of the county voter to walk from his house to the town where he must vote; and many a man sees the inside of a carriage at the elections who has only the passing glimpse of the outside for the rest of his life.

At the general election of 1880 there was not a single constituency offering the slightest chance of success for an enterprising politician which was not wooed by candidates from the ranks of both the great parties in the State. To any one able to sit down and reflect in his study with calmness on the prospect of success for a representative of Liberal opinion in the City of London, an attempt to storm that fortress of Conservatism might well have seemed beyond hope. Certainty of defeat, however, could not daunt the three devoted champions who advanced to the attack. Their onset was gallant, but they were soon borne down by overpowering numbers. To secure the triumph the Conservative members spent £8,435, the Liberal defeat extracted a little over £7,000 from the pockets of the vanquished combatants. The "royal borough" of Greenwich was the only constituency around London that gave a ray of hope to the partisans of the Government. The Liberal supremacy had for some time been gradually declining, and in 1880, for the first time since the Reform Bill, both its members support the action of the Conservative leaders. Their victory was won with an expenditure of £7,166, whilst their routed antagonists were only called upon to pay the sum of £3,621. Everywhere else the campaign ended in disaster for the followers of Lord Beaconsfield. Westminster, indeed, was true to its old love, but a reduction of the majority of Mr. William Henry Smith and his colleague from 5,000 to half that number was the forewarning of defeat in the future. The election cost the victorious members £6,146, and the defeated candidates £3,588. In Southwark, where the result of a by-election two months previously had deluded the Government into the belief that the verdict of the country would be in their favour, the two Conservatives courted defeat at an outlay of £7,562; in Marylebone, the expenditure on the same side reached £5,396. The expenses of the Liberals came to £8,008 and £2,446 respectively. Two of the champions of the then Ministry ventured upon contesting the borough of Chelsea, with the painful result of wasting in a disastrous defeat over £5,600; while the outlay of their opponents only came to £3,715. Major Duncan made a daring attempt in Finsbury to win one of the seats which had long been held by the Liberal party, but his canvass was not crowned with the success which his friends anticipated. The expenses for which he

was responsible exceeded £3,800. Sir Andrew Lusk and Mr. McCullagh Torrens held their own with disbursements amounting to £3,219 and £1,536. A well-known philanthropist threw himself into the contest at Hackney in support of the cause of "Constitutionalism," and his admirers exerted themselves on his behalf with unusual ardour. Mr. Edward Stanhope painted a glowing picture of Indian finance, the colours of which too quickly faded; and Sir Stafford Northcote endeavoured to beguile the ears of the electors with some ingenious pleas in justification of the oft-recurring deficiencies in his budgets; but all such labours were in vain. Messrs. Fawcett and Holms were re-elected with the moderate expense of £1,588. In spite of an outlay of £4,134, Mr. Bartley was left far behind at the poll, though the ultimate victory of Conservatism at Hackney is, if we may trust Lord Salisbury, not beyond the powers of party organization. The disunion<sup>o</sup> of the Liberals in 1874 gave several seats to the opposite side; but during six years of contemplation of the effects of Conservative policy at home and abroad, the divisions in the party had gradually healed. The Tower Hamlets is now the only constituency of London where the representative of a Conservative minority finds a seat. Professor Bryce was returned for £1,616; Mr. Ritchie came second, with expenses amounting to £1,988. The defeat of Mr. Samuda was rendered doubly bitter by the circumstance that his 10,384 votes cost him more than the united expenses of the two members, and that Mr. Lucraft polled nearly half as many votes at an outlay of little more than £500.

Figures like these can give little pleasure to any one anxious for the purity of an electoral system, except as showing that the politician who is prepared to pay dearly for the honour of a seat in Parliament does not always obtain the object of his desire even when he dispenses his liberality on all sides; but they dwindle into insignificance when compared with the reckless lavishness displayed in the rest of England. The evil is not confined to any district, and is not limited to either party, though from the particulars which we have already quoted, and from those yet to come, it will be obvious that the expenditure of the Liberal candidates is (with a few exceptions) less culpable for its profuseness than that of their political opponents. Those who are conversant with the details of electoral corruption in this country during the last half century will readily concede that the criminal misuse of wealth, for the object of debauching the consciences of the voters, reaches its highest point in our cathedral cities. The fair fame of Norwich has been trailed in the dirt for many elections. The election of 1837 cost the Whigs over £13,000, and the Tories a far greater sum. Norwich is known to include within its limits a large number of persons whose votes can be purchased by drink or money, and, in consequence of the evidence

of its impurity which was elicited by the investigations of a Royal Commission, the writ for the second seat was suspended during the last Parliament. At the last election there was the usual contest for supremacy between the rival parties, but the Liberal candidates succeeded in gaining both seats by majorities unexampled in the city's annals. Their triumph was obtained for the comparatively moderate outlay of £1,555; a sum which contrasts very favourably with the expenditure of £6,493 incurred on the opposite side. For the first time for several Parliaments an owner of the name of Lowther was not returned as one of the representatives for the city of York. Neither the hereditary influence of his family, nor the distinction conferred by high office in the Ministry, could avert defeat. He sank to the bottom of the poll with 3,959 votes, each of which represented a cost of thirty shillings, while his opponents contrived to monopolize the representation of that famous city, the centre of many an inspiring contest in past ages, for £4,398. At Bristol, Messrs. Morley and Fry, with an outlay of £3,221, retained their seats against the combined attacks of an open Conservative and a "patriotic" Liberal, who together threw away £5,621. Further west, at Exeter, a Liberal candidate, Mr. Edward Johnson, gained a seat which had been held in the previous Parliament by a Conservative of the same name, and Mr. Arthur Mills found himself displaced by the son of his leader in the House of Commons. The seat of the fortunate Liberal was won for £2,626; the candidature of his opponents muled them in £2,886. The constituency of Bath, which usually shares its honours with strict impartiality between the contending parties, threw itself with fervour into the arms of its Liberal wooers. Bath has always enjoyed an honourable reputation for the cheapness of its contests. This time the successful suitors spent no more than £1,438; the addresses of the Conservatives were rejected even when accompanied by the extravagant outlay of £3,464. After the interval of a single Parliament, when the whole of the representation of Winchester was monopolized by the Conservatives, a supporter of the present Ministry has again found favour with the Wykehamists; but his expenses are returned at £1,568, exceeding those of his opponents by about £160. The number of petitions presented against the returns for the cathedral cities has again laid bare the corruption which is their perennial characteristic. No less than six election inquiries have been necessary in the constituencies of this class, and in every instance but one the candidates returned to the House have been declared unduly elected. Of the cities which have come into painful notoriety before the Election Commissioners since the spring of 1880, it is perhaps not unjust to the rest to give the palm for corruption to Canterbury. This little borough was once again the scene of a fierce outburst of

political animosity, in which the passions both of the populace and of their leaders were stirred to the lowest depths. For many years the city had been represented by a gentleman of considerable ability and unimpeachable Conservatism. The first of these qualities remained, the last was gradually worn away by time. After a short retirement from Parliament, the famous Conservative member came forward as a suppliant for the favours of its voters in union with a Liberal who had previously tried his fortune without success. Their expenses were published as amounting to £1,432; the outlay on the other side professedly came to no more than £1,210; but the examination of the freemen and electors before the Court of Inquiry showed that a much larger sum must have been expended illegally by both parties. A similar result was shown at Gloucester. The official statement of the money spent by the Conservatives was slightly in excess of the outlay acknowledged by the Liberals; but it became evident, before the narrative of the city's degradation had come to an end, that thousands of pounds, which had been scattered broadcast in bribing the voters, had been omitted from the summary. Salisbury was the only cathedral town that escaped the condemnation of the judges. The petition was dismissed with scorn, and the borough declared free from any taint of corruption. The expenditure of the victorious Liberals amounted to £1,421, and the cost of their rivals was less by £225. Far different was the fate of Chester. The present President of the Local Government Board and Mr. Lawley ousted from the representation the late Chairman of Committees, but their triumph was shortlived. At the inquiry which ensued the judges declared that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed, and their decision has been abundantly confirmed by subsequent investigation. Even in the imperfect return which was published to the world, Mr. Dodson and his colleague owned to an expenditure of £3,332, while the disbursements of their opponents were also in excess of £3,000. Until the brewers began to realise their "potentiality" in politics, and to exert the full measure of their influence, Oxford was considered a Liberal borough. For the whole of the last Parliament (with the exception of a single month) the representation was divided between Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Hall, a local Conservative, connected with the dominant trade of beer. At the triangular fight of the general election the expenses of the two Liberals were returned as £2,958. The defeated Conservative was presented with a bill for £2,558. When Sir William Harcourt came forward for re-election, the supporters of Mr. Hall secured for their patron, at an expense of nearly £5,000, a triumph of a few weeks, and for the city a reputation which it will take many years to efface.

To the Conservatives the political maps that were published after

the last election must present a very doleful appearance. There is but one county in England that returned a favourable answer to the manifesto of the Prime Minister. Kent was the single county where the fortunes of the Ministerial adherents rose triumphant above the waves. At Maidstone two of their number were returned by a considerable majority, and the two Liberals who had represented it with credit throughout the last Parliament were left in the cold shade of defeat until one of them succeeded Mr. Lowe in the representation of London University, and the other found favour in the eyes of the electors at Gravesend. Another Conservative victory was won in the city of Rochester. Ever since the Reform Bill of 1832 it had consistently returned to Parliament two supporters of Liberalism in the face of persistent and strenuous opposition. In 1880 the city repented of its ancient fidelity and rejected the advances of the senior Liberal candidate. The expenditure on that side was returned as in excess of £2,000; the outlay of the other party was declared to fall short of that sum by over £400. The adjacent borough of Chatham, where one of the most active members of the "fourth party" contrived to retain his seat, but by a vastly diminished majority, furnished almost the solitary instance in which the outgoings of an adherent of the present Government exceeded those of his opponent so largely as to deserve condemnation. Mr. Gorst won his triumph for £1,404; his antagonist wasted in the contest more than twice that sum. Towns like Chatham and Rochester, where a considerable section of the voters are engaged in seafaring occupations, seem to require from the candidate ambitious of the honour of representing them in Parliament an expenditure of money far beyond the just requirements of an election. Bills amounting to £2,080 were presented to the Liberals as the price for the seats won at Colchester, while the champions of the opposite cause confessed to having spent £1,749 in their vain attempt to retain the supremacy of their party. At Dover there was but a difference of £3 between the expenses of the contending politicians, the aggregate disbursements exceeding £5,900. Over £2,000 was spent by the Liberals in a vain attack on the Tory stronghold at Portsmouth; for £3,192 they secured both seats at Southampton. The seaport of Poole—and who has not heard of the fury of political frenzy in this Dorsetshire borough?—was another of the boroughs won by the Conservatives, but the money spent by them in the contest was far in excess of any justifiable expenditure. Mr. Waring, the Liberal candidate, spent but £733; his opponent, who polled 854 votes and won by a majority of 6, admitted that he had paid over £2,000. In one of the remote constituencies of the West of England, in the twin boroughs of Penryn and Falmouth, more than £4,600 was lavished in the fight. Before

1832 the small boroughs of Cornwall furnished a strong contingent of Tories to the House of Commons; since that time the predominance of political feeling in the county has shown itself on the side of Liberalism. At the last election the voters of Liskeard and Bodmin steadily refused to exchange their members for Liberals of a less pronounced kind. The difference in the outlay in the former borough was but slight, but it is difficult to understand in what manner Colonel Farquharson could have expended over £2,000 in contesting Bodmin, while Mr. Gower retained his seat for less than half that sum. Both these boroughs extend for some miles into the country, and their lists of voters include many persons of the class which, after the equalisation of the franchise in town and country, will command the monopoly of the county constituencies. Many of the boroughs where the agricultural voter predominates seem almost as costly to contest as the borough where sailors and seafaring men abound. At Cricklade, the two Conservatives found themselves after the battle was over poorer by nearly £1,000, the victorious Liberal, who polled more votes than his two antagonists put together, was fined in £2,740. The expenditure at Shoreham on the part of the Conservatives was equally large. Mr. Hubbard, who polled twice as many votes as his predecessor in defeat at the general election of 1874, contented himself with an outlay of £1,612. The contest at Aylesbury was loud and long; the sitting Liberal member refused to join his forces with those of the gentleman bent on winning the seat enjoyed throughout the last Parliament by a supporter of the Beaconsfield Ministry, and each candidate fought for his own hand. Victory declared itself on the side of the two Liberals, but the peculiar nature of the struggle resulted in an aggregate expenditure in a borough of 4,228 votes of not less than £7,200. In the four small boroughs of Abingdon, Buckingham, Horsham, and Woodstock—the largest of which contains but 1,214 voters—each of the candidates supporting the late Government found himself responsible for the payment of bills in excess of £1,000, while the outgoings of their opponents fell in every case far short of such a sum.

In the boroughs of the Midland and Northern shires the same characteristics prevail as in the Southern. In every part of the country the privilege of sitting on the benches of the House of Commons cannot be obtained except after a profuse outpouring of money. A few small boroughs in the Midlands have escaped the destroyer's hand, and the courageous gentleman who resolves upon contesting them may think himself fortunate if at the close of the campaign every day's work has not entailed the spending of more than a hundred pounds. Tamworth will ever be invested with especial interest in the eyes of English politicians, and there is scarcely an elector throughout England who feels any enthusiasm

for the constitution of the House of Commons but will regret that the historic name which has been associated with the fame of Tamworth for three generations, stretching over ninety years, should be dissevered from its representation. Two centuries ago the member for Tamworth carried through the House a resolution of gratitude to the constituencies which had returned their members free of charge. To-day the successful Liberals spent within its boundaries over £3,000, and the opponent whom they distanced at the poll found that his defeat had cost him more than £2,400. At the last election two adventurous Conservatives were found ready to dispute the re-election of the sitting members at Leicester; one hardy "patriot" ventured upon opposing Mr. C. P. Villiers and his Liberal colleague at Wolverhampton. In both places the attacking parties were beaten by thousands, although their election expenses in the former borough were nearly £500, and in the latter borough more than £2,000 in excess of those of their antagonists. In the three-cornered constituency of Birmingham a determined attack was made by the intrepid warrior who rode to Khiva and a colleague of great local influence on two of the seats in the possession of the Liberals. The sitting members were hampered in the struggle by the action of the Minority Clause, and to secure their tenure of the seats which might have been jeopardized had a large section of their supporters thrown their votes on two out of the three Liberals to the exclusion of a less popular candidate, strict instructions were issued as to the manner in which their undoubted majority should be employed to the best advantage. In spite of the complicated machinery required for the accomplishment of this design the expenditure of the three victorious Liberals amounted to only £6,067, against the sum of £7,308 disbursed by their gallant but vanquished foes. The strife at Manchester was more simple though not less severe. Neither party had such confidence in its strength as to aim at a monopoly of the representation; each made a virtue out of the necessity of yielding the third seat to the defeated cause. The result showed that the Conservatives were in a minority of 4,000 votes, and as there was a difference of only £400 in the expenditure of the two parties (the aggregate disbursements exceeding £20,000), it is charitable to hope that the cost of contesting such an enormous constituency was not disproportionate to its just requirements. Bradford involved the combatants in an outlay of £9,500. Preston was fought for £6,000. Throughout the last Parliament Bolton neutralized its political influence by returning a member of either party; in 1880 it rejected entirely the overtures of the Conservatives. Bolton is almost the sole manufacturing constituency in the North where the expenditure (£3,018) of the opponents of the late Government exceeded that of its supporters. The balance was



more than restored at Blackburn. Once again that divided borough selected a Whig and a Tory for its representatives. The Conservative champions were called upon to pay £3,101 for their expenses; those who took up the gauntlet on behalf of Liberalism were only required to provide £1,486. Of all the representative boroughs outside London the busy town of Sheffield alone declared itself on the side of the Beaconsfield Cabinet. The seat of Mr. Mundella was secure from the first, and it was against his colleague that the strength of the Opposition was directed. For lack of forty votes Mr. Waddy is for a time an outcast from Parliament. It required an outlay of £4,025 to win the second place on the poll for the Conservative, but his rivals had the consolation of knowing that their joint expenses only came to £2,542.

If the resolution to contest an English borough taxes the energies and strains the pecuniary resources of the politician, the boldest among us may well shrink from engaging in a struggle for the honour of representing the division of a county. There is scarcely a seat of this kind which can be fought with any reasonable prospect of success unless the candidate is prepared to find himself the poorer at the end by at least £3,000. In many cases, the demands on the pockets of the candidate, if not carefully and continually checked, will reach to nearly twice that sum; and when a hundred or more of his supporters have agreed to spend money on all sides it is not easy to counteract their efforts. The country gentleman who is forced into action by the call of public opinion, and supported throughout the campaign by voluntary labour, may look forward to a less expensive victory. In times of great political excitement instances of this kind are not uncommon; but they cannot be expected to recur at every dissolution of Parliament. The eastern division of the county of Cornwall may be singled out as a prominent example of a Liberal victory won by the unwavering determination of the rank and file of the party almost to coerce their leaders into action. With few exceptions, it has been represented during the last fifty years by a Cornish squire from either side, although it has long been currently reported across the Tamar that in a fair stand-up fight the adherents of Conservatism would find themselves in a minority. An active and resolute body of tenant-farmers met in deliberation at the little town of Callington, and drew up a statement of the grievances which required to be redressed by legislation. At that time there was but one Liberal candidate before the electors, and all attempts to obtain a colleague for him, even from the neighbouring county, had failed. In this emergency, a gentleman from the extreme West, whose tastes had previously inclined to literature rather than to politics, was appealed to. When the appeal was backed by the pledges of 3,000 voters, Mr. Borlase threw himself into the fight with vigour, and found at the polling-booth

that the votes of the Cornishmen corresponded with their promises. The bills of the victorious Liberals came to £4,571; their rivals expended £421 less. A gallant attack on the long monopoly of the Tory party in North Wilts only failed of success by half-a-hundred votes. The retention of the seats by two members of the present Opposition was secured at a cost of £7,937; the vanquished antagonist satisfied the claims on his purse by the payment of £5,932. All the divisions of Kent were contested by Liberals, but at the close of the fight they all remained in the hands of their opponents. In Mid-Kent the combatants were required to provide over £9,400, the expenditure of the Conservatives being but £300 in excess of that of the losers. The sitting members were re-elected in West Kent at a cost of £10,646; Mr. Bompas, who led the forlorn hope on the part of the Liberals, expended nearly £4,600; and a tenant-farmer, who embarked in the struggle without much prospect of success, polled less than a thousand votes at a cost exceeding a pound a head. In Essex, as in Kent, the Conservatives retained, at the close of an arduous struggle, the whole of the county seats, though the cost of the fight was marked by some curious inequalities. In East Essex the expenses of each candidate slightly exceeded £1,300. In the opposite division, where the former members held their own against the opposition of Sir T. W. Fowell-Buxton, who expended in the fight over £2,500, the attack was repelled at a cost of £5,080. The vigorous attempt to regain the Liberal seats in South Essex, which were lost in 1874, failed of success, but the defence involved the victorious combatants in a payment of £15,530, while the vanquished Liberals were only mulcted of £4,525. No county contest attracted more attention than that of Middlesex. There was a time when its seats were considered the property of the Whigs. Those days can only be recalled by a close attention to the register, and by the union in "one harmonious whole" of the several sections of Liberal opinion. The conspicuous place which its senior member held in the ranks of the younger officials of Conservatism, and the relationship of the champion of the opposite cause to the future Prime Minister, caused the election of 1880 to be regarded with especial interest throughout the country. The Liberals determined on running their candidates at their own expense, and the members of the party responded to the call so liberally, that although the bill came to £6,377 there still remained an unexpended balance. On the other side the fight was even more costly, as the aggregate expenditure exceeded £11,500. In West Gloucestershire, a single Conservative, who headed the poll in 1874, now found himself at the bottom, with bills to be met amounting to £8,082. The minority seat in Berkshire was fiercely contested by its occupant in the last Parliament and by a gentleman representing the electors, who were dissatisfied with the votes given by Mr. Walter in support

of the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield. Mr. Walter held his own, but at an expense of £4,752, while his opponent satisfied all claims by paying £1,324. At the election of 1874, two Conservatives were returned in each of the divisions for Leicestershire by large majorities, but the Liberal candidates who were defeated in that trying year resolved, nothing daunted, on trying their luck again. One of them was elected and the other rejected. In North Leicestershire, the Conservative expenses exceeded £6,600; those of Mr. Packe, the defeated Liberal, came to £4,821. In the other division the electors returned a follower of Mr. Gladstone at the head of the poll. The election cost him £3,715, and his opponents £288 more. The conditions of the struggle in two of the divisions of Lincolnshire were identical with those of Leicestershire. Throughout the last Parliament the four seats were all held by devoted supporters of the then Ministry; one of them is now in the possession of a member of the Liberal party. More than £19,000 was spent in contesting the two divisions; the greatest expenditure (£6,754) being incurred on behalf of the gentleman who succeeded in ousting Sir John Astley from the representation.

In the keen air of the North the fire of political enthusiasm burns more brightly than under the softer influence of the Southern skies. Both in 1874 and in 1880 the struggle in Lancashire was regarded as a test of the political feeling in the manufacturing counties. In the former year the representation was monopolized by the Conservatives, and the praises of the Lancashire operatives were on the lips of every Conservative speaker. Each division was the scene of an exciting contest in 1880, but with varying success. In South-East Lancashire the Tory seats were wrested from them by considerable majorities, but the Liberal triumph was only achieved with an expense of £12,640, of which over £3,000 went in bringing the voters to the poll. The result was the same in the North-East section of the county. After an arduous contest of more than three weeks' duration, during which he delivered twenty-four elaborate speeches, the Marquis of Hartington had the gratification of thanking the voters for a handsome majority of more than a thousand votes. The Liberal expenditure reached £9,235, that of the Conservative fell ten pounds short of seven thousand. The division of South-West Lancashire remained true to its former members, and returned the late Home Secretary and a Conservative colleague by substantial majorities. Nearly £11,000 was required as the price of victory, while the attacking parties were called upon to provide £8,588. The six seats allotted to the three sub-divisions of the West Riding of Yorkshire were held in the last Parliament by four supporters of the then Government and by two members of the Opposition. Now the whole of the seats are in the hands of the supporters of the Gladstone Cabinet. In the vain hope of retaining

this acquisition the Conservatives did not shrink from disbursing the aggregate sum of £26,605, the prizes were carried off for £24,628. The total of the expenditure in Durham, though there were but four seats to fight for and only two Conservatives ventured upon throwing down the gauntlet of opposition, fell but little short of the figures just mentioned. Nearly £46,000 was expended in this single county, and Sir George Elliot has the melancholy satisfaction of knowing that his expenses (£12,726) exceeded those of any other candidate in England. A seat was won by the Liberals in West Cumberland for the comparatively small sum of £3,138 (though that amounted to just a pound a head); the Conservative candidates were mulcted by their agents in £7,589. The bold attempts of Sir Henry Tufton to break the links which for generations had bound the constituency of Westmoreland to the "Constitutional" cause were foiled on this occasion. Rather more than £7,000 was demanded from the victorious combatants in return for a fresh lease of their seats; their vanquished assailant was allowed to solace himself in defeat with the thought that he was only bled to the extent of £3,242.

Wales and Scotland have deserved well of the present Cabinet. Their electors have through doubt and depression been staunch to Liberal principles, "true as the dial to the sun, even though it be not shone upon." It was a common prophecy in the political circles of Scotland that the whole of the Conservative members for that country would be able to ride to London in a single compartment of a first-class carriage, and some of the more sanguine Liberals predicted that there would be room for them to put their feet on the opposite side. The first part of the prophecy was all but fulfilled. In spite of a lavish expenditure of money in agency and canvassing, the whole of Scotland at the general election furnished the ranks of the Opposition with exactly seven votes. The defeat of the landlords in Wales was of such a decisive character, that a few of their number, who trusted in the delusive promises which their agents brought back to their employers, were carried away by their irritation at defeat into a display of passion which has probably widened the differences of political thought between the gentry and the farmers. When the popular feeling is stirred to its lowest depths, as was the case in these two countries in the spring of 1880, it is clear from the election expenses that the employment of innumerable canvassers and the hiring of a countless number of legal supporters cannot check the tendency of political enthusiasm. In the contest for the representation of Cardiff Mr. Guest laid out £3,278, against £1,410 provided by Sir E. J. Reed; but the seat which in 1874 was held by the Liberals with a majority of nine was in 1880 won by more than 400 votes. Mr. Meyrick again endeavoured to save a Conservative victory for Pembroke, but his efforts were in vain; his

expenses were £1,133, against £599 expended for the Liberal member. The cost of the Conservative attack at Montgomery was £2,253; the defence at Monmouth led to an outlay of £2,437. In the one the Liberal member expended £1,433, in the other £1,639. In no election in Great Britain was the issue of a more startling character than in Montgomeryshire. The seat had long been held by a scion of the most influential family in Wales. It had passed for many generations from one bearer of the name of Wynn to another. A bold champion was found to enter upon what seemed a hopeless struggle, and the name of the "King of Wales" has no longer any connection with the parliamentary representation of Montgomeryshire. The fight was protracted and expensive. Mr. Rendel, the Liberal member, had to provide over £6,600, and that sum would have seemed wholly disproportionate to the necessities of the case had not Mr. Wynn been mulcted in the enormous outlay of £13,454, and yet lost the victory. More than £20,000 for 4,273 votes!

Any hope of winning a seat in the two chief cities of Scotland must be crushed out of the hearts of the Conservatives for ever. At the election of 1874, one of their candidates contrived, under the operation of the Minority Clause, to secure the third seat for Glasgow; but last year, through the absence of any discord in the Liberal ranks, the lowest supporter of Mr. Gladstone polled more than twice as many votes as the highest partizan of the then Government. The cost of the campaign was returned, as against the two Conservatives, at a sum in excess of £11,000, an expenditure very far exceeding that of the sitting members. Edinburgh has not for many years been "polluted" by a Conservative representative. Once and again has a member of that party ventured on trying a fall with Mr. McLaren and his colleague, but never without being thrown heavily to the ground. At the last election for Edinburgh, only £3,600 was the total of the expenditure on both sides, and of this amount £2,034 was spent by the defeated Conservatives. From the first the issue was never doubtful in the Scotch burghs. The adventurous Conservatives advanced to the fight with a courage worthy of all admiration, but no amount of personal exertion, no display of pecuniary resources, could bring them victory. That was never expected, and no one knew it better than the gentleman who solicited the votes of the electors. Their only object was, by forcing a contest in every borough north of the Tweed, to divert the attention of the Liberals from, and to retain unimpaired the Conservative strength in, the counties. This happy thought sprang from the brain of Mr. Charles Dalrymple, and was put forward by him in a letter addressed to the leading members of his party. Money was wanted to carry out the plan, and money was soon found. The Duke of Buccleugh, never backward in any effort to support his political friends, came forward with a subscription of £1,000, and

three other peers connected with Scotland followed up his lead with donations of £500 a piece. The humbler members responded to the call with such alacrity that sovereigns came in more rapidly than votes. The mortified Conservatives found themselves unable to secure victory in the burghs or to hold their ground in the shires. Midlothian was, of course, the centre of interest in Scotland. Victory was won by Mr. Gladstone at an outlay of £2,693; the efforts of the Earl of Dalkeith to retain his seat landed him in an expenditure of £4,068. Renfrewshire has long been the battle-ground of parties. In the autumn of 1873, after a contest of unexampled severity, and a prodigality of expenditure almost without parallel in this generation, the coveted honour was won by a Conservative. At the general election, in the following February, Colonel Mure displaced his victorious opponents of the previous year, and last spring was again returned by a majority which had risen from 88 to 474. The expenses of Colonel Campbell, in the last of these fights, was returned at £4,013; the Liberal member was permitted to gain the prize for £600 less<sup>1</sup>. Both divisions of Ayrshire are represented by Conservatives in this as in the last Parliament. In the fight for the northern section about £6,000 was spent; in the other division the outgoings on both sides came to nearly £7,500. Perthshire, which, with the exception of one Parliament, had long been the *peculium* of the Conservatives, is now represented by a follower of Mr. Gladstone; but the struggle was more than ordinarily expensive, costing both victor and vanquished more than £4,500. In South Lanarkshire, a Liberal, expending £2,802, ousted a Conservative who throw away £3,267. A seat was won for the present Ministry in Dumfriesshire, but the sitting member spent £890 more than his rejected opponent. The voice of the gallant Admiral who formerly sat for Stirlingshire will no longer enliven the proceedings at Westminster, and the leader of the Opposition must look elsewhere for the applause which that zealous admiror, with more consistent devotion than is rendered by a Lord of the Treasury, never failed to bestow on his chief. Returned in 1874 by a majority of less than fifty votes, he was excluded last spring with a deficiency of more than seven times that number. His outlay was close on £2,700; but his opponent was called upon to provide at least £240 more. A Conservative candidate, of more than ordinary recklessness, ventured on crossing swords with the Liberal in Linlithgowshire, and retired from the scene of combat with the painful consciousness that he had only succeeded in bringing to the polling-booth rather more than a third of the votes which were tendered for Mr. McLagan, although he had scattered among the constituents more than £1,500, whilst Mr. McLagan's outlay fell short of £1,000.

(1) These three elections in Renfrewshire are said to have cost the Conservatives over £40,000.

Even if the sums which I have particularized could still be accepted as the total of the moneys spent in the recent elections of the United Kingdom, they could not but wound the susceptibilities of all anxious for the maintenance of the high character of the House of Commons. Unfortunately it has become too evident that in many cases they represent but a portion of the moneys expended during those exciting contests. If any doubt on this point ever existed, it must have been dispelled by the protracted inquiries of the Election Commissioners. The evidence of hundreds of witnesses, most of whom seemed unconcerned at the immoral conduct which they confessed, furnished conclusive proofs that corruption of the most flagrant character had eaten into the electoral system of the country. No class, whatever its station in life may have been, seems exempt from the degrading influence. Virtue with rich and poor alike easily succumbs at elections to temptation, which would be repelled with scorn on any other occasion. Under the spell of political passion, the solicitor seems to abandon the path of prudence, and the clergyman turns his back on the principles which he professes in the pulpit. The chief election commissions have been at Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Canterbury,<sup>1</sup> Boston, Macclesfield, and Sandwich, and each of these boroughs has its own favourite vice, its distinctive form of bribery. The first of them is conspicuous among its fellows for the importance which the managers of the Conservative party attached to the opposition to the re-election of Sir William Harcourt. It was through their counsels that the Home Secretary was attacked by weapons long since banished from political life, and it was from club funds and the general resources of the party that the cost of the campaign was defrayed. All of the Home Secretary's opponents, from the distinguished gentleman who apparently combines the duties of a high office in the Upper House with the care of the elections for the other House in the Conservative interest to the meanest messenger at Oxford, were possessed with the absorbing idea that the Home Secretary must be dispossessed from his seat, no matter what the cost or the hazard might be. In a constituency numbering some 6,000 votes, the 600 people who were employed by the Liberals as messengers and detectives might have been deemed sufficient for the purpose by the most prodigal of election agents, but even that number was but a moiety of those engaged to support the Conservative cause. At least 12,000 persons were retained for the service of Mr. Hall, and through their agency 60,000 circulars and placards were sown broadcast among the electors. His election expenses were at first returned as £3,611. An ominous paragraph in the papers subsequently stated that £1,200 had been accidentally omitted from the return of the sum expended in the West Ward. Even with

(1) There have been at least five petitions for Canterbury since 1832.

the addition of this sum there still remained a large amount unaccounted for, and before the Commissioners it was frankly confessed that the barren victory of the Conservative candidate had cost his friends about £7,000.

At Chester and Gloucester the publicans kept open houses for their respective parties in the hope that after the election was over the cost of their generous hospitality would be repaid to them. The oft-repeated warnings which the electioneering managers in Gloucester have received in the past have not induced them to mend their ways. Bribery was committed with as little show of secrecy as on previous contests, and the money was distributed among the electors with such reckless profusion, that over £3,300 is believed to have been spent in corrupting the constituency. The speciality of the contest at Chester was an excursion of the constitutional association to Rhyl. Without the aid of the late Conservative member for that ancient city, this happy association of ardent patriots would have perished still-born, and it was only by subscriptions wrung from its patrons that it hovered between life and death. This pleasant trip to the seaside was one of the means by which the flickering light of life was kept from perishing. Its members were enabled to travel to the seashore for about half the price paid by the ordinary tourist, and were presented on their arrival with tickets marked with the figures 1, 2, 3, and 4, entitling them to various kinds of meat and drink, chiefly the latter, at the expense of their illustrious entertainers. No vulgar entertainment of this kind would tempt the Conservatives of Boston. In that happy town musical concerts were set on foot during the election, and voters of the right sort were admitted without passing through the formality of paying at the doors. Something more than harmony was required to insure a victory and it was forthcoming. An enterprising maltster confessed to the Commissioners that on the polling-day he prevailed on about seventy electors to vote for the Conservatives with the pleasing argument of half-sovereigns. From other unwilling witnesses it was extracted that 368 persons were employed by the same political party as clerks and messengers, and about 500 by their opponents. Matters were still worse at Macclesfield. It was admitted that out of 2,678 who voted for the leading supporter of the late Government, all but 209 had a pecuniary interest in his success, 1,863 having been bribed and 600 paid as canvassers. In one ward, with a register of 625 Liberal votes, there were only 200 righteous men who had not stooped to accept money for their votes; in another ward there were 800 Liberals and 500 Conservatives who confessed to having received moneys for services which might have been dispensed with save for the fact that they had votes to render in return. There are about 6,000 registered voters in this borough, and two-thirds of them at least were bribed either directly or indirectly. At Macclesfield the prices given for



votes rarely exceeded a few shillings; in the twin borough of Sandwich and Deal the average sum which each elector received was £3, and a few of the more experienced declined to go to the poll until five sovereigns had changed hands. In the Cinque Ports everything is conducted in the princely style common before the Reform Bill. No candidate has any chance of election who is not prepared to spend £600 in the personal expenses of a single fortnight. Nearly a hundred public-houses were engaged by the agents for the Conservative side in the dull little town of Sandwich, and the tariff was fixed at £5 for each committee-room. Enormous flagstuffs were erected in front of the candidates' houses and on every vacant spot, while a score of idle boatmen were liberally paid to bestow an occasional glance on the flags which flaunted on the poles. Bands of musicians decked out in the colours of the candidates paraded the streets, discoursing sweet music for the gratification of the pleasure-seeking voters. Each candidate at Deal must join the ranks of the Foresters or Odd Fellows, and make liberal contributions to the charitable funds, if he is not called upon as Mr. Crompton Roberts was "to stand drinks all round" for the benefit of the members. If there is a pier on which no one is allowed to walk without the payment of a small fee, it must be thrown open on one day at least for the gratification of the public. Those who are above such a temptation as that must be gratified by the sight of a regatta with handsome prizes paid for by the candidate bent on winning the election. Should these inducements not be sufficient, the candidate must promise that, if elected, he will come to live in the constituency, and spend his money freely for the benefit of all classes. If the elections have for any number of years been uniformly successful for the Liberal cause, he must threaten that should the Conservative again lose the seat no candidate of that party will ever more condescend to contest the constituency.

When these discreditable disclosures were printed in the papers a cry of horror went up from their readers. Rarely, indeed, has the demand for a thorough reform of an abuse been more generally expressed by the leading organs of political opinion. The necessity for removing the causes which led to such an extravagant outlay of money was immediately recognised by the principal members of both political parties, and several of them came forward with propositions for rendering a recurrence of such scandals impossible. To such an expression of feeling the members of the Ministry could not be indifferent. During the recess the Attorney-General was engaged with several of his colleagues in drafting a measure which should accomplish the universal wish of the country. Even in this session, when weeks upon weeks have been spent on nothing but the discussion of the perennial grievances of Ireland, time has been found for the introduction of this Bill, and it has been generally

accepted as an honest and effective attempt to remove the blots on the existing electoral system. It embodies most of the suggestions which have been made in previous years by zealous reformers who were in advance of their times, and it contains some novel provisions for preventing an undue expenditure of the candidate's money within limits which are not in themselves improper. The person who either by himself or another supplies entertainment for an elector will for the future be guilty of treating, and the elector who accepts the generosity of his friend will find that he has not only been guilty of the same offence but that he has also by his conduct vitiated his vote. Any one committing a corrupt practice may be imprisoned for a period not in excess of two years and fined in the penalty of £500. He will also be incapable during the next ten years after his conviction of being included in the authorised lists of voters or of sitting in the House of Commons. Only one election agent may be legally employed, and his assistants are limited to one personation agent for each polling station, and to one clerk with one messenger for each district in a county, or for every five hundred electors in a borough. All payments for the conveyance of voters, for bands, flags, ribbons, and other election luxuries are forbidden, and all such disbursements will render the payer and the recipient alike guilty of an illegal practice and expose them to very severe penalties. Until last year the bringing of electors to the poll was a matter with which the politician who contented himself with courting a borough had little practical concern. If carriages and cabs were engaged in his interest, they were generally either lent or hired by his supporters. The county candidate, on the other hand, discovered to his cost that the task of bringing his admirers to the supreme point of recording their votes in his favour absorbed no mean part of his outlay. They might be cruising in northern latitudes or botanizing in the South Sea, and must be summoned home to swell his triumph or mitigate his defeat. In most county elections it may be assumed that nearly three-fourths of the gross expenditure is incurred for agency, canvassing, and the conveyance of voters. Even in the boroughs, if Liverpool is a fair test, nearly a third of the outgoings may be ascribed to the cost of bringing the electors to the polling-booth. The sums which have been lavished in honour of the candidates on bands and flags cannot be estimated with certainty. In this respect the borough of Sandwich and Deal has an unenviable notoriety; the supposition that the other constituencies had offended to an equal extent would be repudiated with indignation by their election managers. As such payments have long been declared illegal the particulars of their cost have been carefully concealed, but the evidence before the commissions on the other offending boroughs has shown that the Kentish constituency is not the only one in England in which the money of the candidates has been applied to the profits

of the vendors of flags and the discoursers of sweet music. Great as have been the gains of those fortunate voters at election times, their profits have been as nothing compared with those of the licensed victuallers. In most towns there are both Liberal and Conservative houses, and elections, even when the issue of the struggle is beyond a doubt, are sometimes arranged for the benefit of their proprietors. Huge notices announcing that the committees of the respective candidates meet in those establishments arrest the eye of the voter as he passes along the streets. It is in these rooms that the mysterious gatherings which have afforded such trouble to the Election Commissioners are ordinarily held; and in their precincts may be descried the conscientious supporters who render their party some valuable but occult services in exchange for a very disproportionate rate of payment, and then throw in their votes in addition. The facilities which the licensed houses afford for refreshing the hungry and still more the thirsty voter, tempt the hangers-on of both parties into many breaches of the law. Such offences will for the future be impossible. The Bill of the Attorney-General provides that no part of any premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors shall be used as a committee-room.

These reforms are no novelties; they have been advocated by a few members on both sides of the House for many sessions. Even in the dull days of 1868 a motion for prohibiting the use of public-houses for election purposes was supported by Mr. Beresford Hope and Sir Rainald Knightley, though it was promptly rejected by a majority of nearly two votes to one. If every one of these suggestions should receive the sanction of Parliament, the cost of a contested election might still exceed all legitimate limits. A candidate with an income of £40,000 per annum might even then throw away £600 on his personal expenses in the course of a single fortnight. Printing and advertising in newspapers, with the kindred items of stationery and postage, might still absorb many hundreds of pounds. Committee-rooms might be hired by scores, provided that they were not attached to public-houses. The difficulty of devising any scheme which should apply a check upon lavish outlay under those heads seemed almost insurmountable, but the Attorney-General has hit upon a plan which may be confidently assumed to answer the purpose of its inventor. A maximum scale of expenditure has been fixed for such outgoings, and all payments must for the future come within its limits. If the number of the electors on the register do not exceed 2,000 persons, a sum of £100 is allowed for printing, advertising, stationery, postage, and telegrams, and a further sum of £250 for all other expenses, with the exception of the candidate's personal bills and the charges of the returning officer. For every addition of a thousand voters a further sum of £10 may be expended on printing and subsidiary item of postage, while

an extra payment of £20 is allowed for all other expenses. If the hotel bills of the candidate fall short of £20, they may be discharged without the intervention of his election agent (though even then an account of the charges must be supplied to his adviser), but any expenses in excess of that sum must be paid by the agent himself. The duties of the agent will be of a far more important character in the future than they have been in the past. The failure of the existing system has been abundantly shown before the Election Commissioners. In every case which has come under public notice the amounts returned as the total of the disbursements have been shown to form but a small part of the money actually expended. At elections all the ordinary rules of life are suspended, and gentlemen who at any other time would scrutinize the accounts of their servants with the keenest vigilance, refrain from ascertaining whether the published returns include the total of the cheques which they have signed. The principle laid down by the Bill of the Attorney-General is that all the arrangements for the election and poll shall be made by the agent. He is to appoint the clerks and messengers; he is to hire the committee-rooms. No payment shall be made except through his means, and every disbursement which he makes must be vouched for by a bill, and accounted for to the returning officer. The details of the expenditure must be published in two newspapers, and the vouchers themselves will be open to inspection during twelve months' time on payment of a trifling fee. The appointment of this political agent is not to free the candidate from all responsibility for the purity of the contest. Many men who would not scruple to connive at the introduction into a party contest of the practice of treating or paying the electors extravagantly for very trifling services will hesitate before committing a breach of the laws of honour. The late Lord Hampton proposed that every member should be required, on his entrance into Parliament, to make a solemn declaration of his freedom from all improper practices. Under the Bill of the Attorney-General a similar declaration is to be made by each candidate before a justice of the peace, and, until this injunction shall have been complied with, the offending member will be liable to a penalty for every day on which he sits and votes.

A Bill of this nature deals with so many vested interests that its provisions will be keenly criticised, and its progress resolutely opposed. It is perhaps from a fear lest its progress through the House should meet with even more obstacles that its authors have refrained from incorporating in it any clauses for throwing the expenses of the returning officers on the rates. A supplementary Bill for effecting that object has since been introduced, and no satisfactory settlement of this question can be arrived at until it shall have been carried into law.

W. P. COURTNEY.

## MODERN ITALIAN POETS.

ONE of the first specimens I saw of the "nuova scuola," the realistic school of Italian poetry, happened to be Lorenzo Stecchetti's *Postuma*. It came to me accompanied by a feeling complaint of the usual sad fate and early death of men of genius, and the little volume itself contained a short biography of the departed poet, telling how he was born in 1845, and was left an orphan at five years old, how he lived and studied and loved, and finally fell a victim to a lingering and painful chest disease at the early age of thirty-one. The final scene is described with graphic touches:—to the suggestion of seeing a priest he stoutly answered no! With his dying breath he asked that the window should be opened to let him see the sun once more, but there was no sun. *Fine*, "the end," was his last word. "He is buried," the account concludes, "in the churchyard of his village (Fiumana), under the fifth cypress to the left as you enter. The tombstone bears simply the names and dates. He left all his property to charities." The account is signed by Dr. Olindo Guerini, a cousin of Stecchetti's; "le nostre madri furono sorelle" is added for the sake of accuracy.

Some time after receiving the volume, I mentioned Stecchetti to my friend Signor Mazzucato, expressing my regret at the untimely extinction of his unmistakable, although as yet undeveloped, gift; whereupon Signor Mazzucato asked me with a smile to be comforted, for that the author of *Postuma*, so far from being dead, was, on the contrary, in excellent health, and might be seen every evening in Bologna drinking beer and playing "tresette" at the brasserie of the excellent Otto Hofmeister, to whom one of his volumes is affectionately dedicated. "Stecchetti," I was further informed, is a pseudonym, the poet's real name being Olindo Guerini, the name which stands at the end of his own obituary notice.

The reason for this elaborate hoax in the style of Edgar Poe seems to have been that Stecchetti, who had been savagely attacked by the critics, wished to see how they would modify their opinion of him when defunct. Moreover, he appears to have thought that a dead poet had a better chance in Italy than a living one, and in this he was evidently not mistaken; for *Postuma* went through six editions in a little more than a year, and it has certainly contributed more to its author's reputation than anything he had done before.

A trick of this kind appears at first sight scarcely more account-

able and dignified than the dedication of a serious volume of poetry to a tavern-keeper. But all this and more is fully explained when we come to consider the peculiar position of Stecchetti and his literary companions. Their youthful eccentricities have been the object of most savage attacks on the part of "respectable" critics. All the crimes in the Newgate Calendar of literature and morality were laid to their charge; they were compared to unclean animals (*vide* Professor Rizzi's *Sonetti al Majale*), and generally handled in a style compared with which the treatment of the "Satanic School" by the *Quarterly* would appear the pink of courtesy. Their natural retort was the assumption of an exaggerated cynicism and Bohemianism, which, if in some measure it seemed to justify the attack of their adversaries, at the same time served to irritate them. This, at least, is the attitude assumed by Stecchetti in the elaborate essay in defence of the new school which he has prefixed to his *Nova Polemica*, and which, in a convenient form, sums up the charges made against the movement, and, by inference, its own aim and *raison d'être*.

Stecchetti begins by crowing over his critics for having gone into the trap set them by the rumour of his death. "When they thought me defunct," he exclaims, "they were willing to bury me in the Capitol with every honour; now that they see me come forth from the hearse, they will no doubt continue to throw me from the Tarpeian rock." To induce such a violent course his "apologia" is indeed well adapted. "Prima di tutto, dici, che non credo in Dio," he addresses the "malevolent reader" at the outset, and begins to discuss religious questions in a manner which shows that the forbidden charm of wickedness and Byronism still attaches to flippant unbelief in Italy. In England the days are fortunately over when Shelley thought it necessary to proclaim his atheism in the visitors' album at the Chartreuse at Montanvert, but young Italians evidently still love to pose in the interesting attitude of militant unbelievers, a circumstance scarcely less creditable to their own tact than to the wisdom of the orthodox critics whom they hope to irritate.

Stecchetti next turns to the charge of immorality raised against the new school, and again reveals a mind rather cynical than thoughtful. His glorification of the senses reminds one of the early writings of Heine, wherein he used to preach the doctrine of the "third testament" of joy, which would be so true and so pleasant if youth and health and money would only last for ever. Stecchetti elsewhere proclaims Byron, Heine, and Alfred de Musset to be his poetic trinity, and he has evidently studied his models to some purpose. His plea in excuse of the cynical tendency of his poetry is singular enough. He simply declares that the public are tired of ideal women, that they want realities, and that these realities are anything but what

moral and religious people might desire. This method is at least as good as that of painting, to use Schiller's words, "vice and the devil by the side of it," so as to please both the wicked and the virtuous. Signor Stecchetti does not pretend to any great degree of virtue, neither does he attempt to cover his licentious pictures with the mantle of an ulterior moral and didactic purpose; all he says is that what he describes is true, and therefore a legitimate object of modern realistic as opposed to conventional "ideal" poetry. This plea, although it does not justify the tone of some of Stecchetti's poems, explains well the *raison d'être* of the new school. It does not materially differ from the *l'art pour l'art* principle, of which so much has been heard of late both in France and England; neither do the *veristi* show much originality in describing their programme as a "return to nature." That pliable term has been the battle-cry of every new movement in literature, and its significance is to a great extent determined by the double question whence that return is made and whither it leads. In Italy, however, some such movement was needed beyond a doubt. Her last great poet, Leopardi, died half a century ago, and he left no school. Only what was least individual in him, his sorrow for the fate of his country, found an echo in the patriotic songs which record the long strife for Italian unity. But even this motive has lost its meaning now that the goal is reached. This is well pointed out by Stecchetti, who, as soon as he forgets his cynicism and his grievances against the critics, becomes sensible and even eloquent. "In 1860," he says, "there was the ideal of a united Italy. At present, when that unity is no longer discussed or threatened, how can we have and sing the same ideal? Should we, perhaps, hold meetings for l'Italia irredenta? What would 'Il Pungolo' and 'La Perseveranza' say then? Realism, in short, is nothing but the effect of a social condition—a moment in a social evolution. . . . We cannot have an ideal, because we cannot find one in the present state of things, and the old ones would be no longer in their place in our State, our Society, our Family. Give us a new idea, at once elevated and in accordance with the demands of the epoch, and the singer of that idea will be forthcoming without delay; neither will there be wanting the confessors and martyrs, such as there were for other ideals."

And here we touch upon the really important side of the new movement. The altered state of the political condition in Italy has brought about a commensurate change of public feeling. A long period of political and social lethargy is naturally followed by a powerful impulse at first in the practical direction, and, however archæologists and artists and poets may deplore the external changes involved in such a movement, it is impossible to deny its necessity in the natural order of things. Students of literature have at the

same time been curious to see whether the revival of Italian unity would infuse new life into Italian poetry, whether the united nation would produce a great national poet. To answer that question in the affirmative would be, to say the least, premature. The "*nuova scuola*" has not at present produced a man worthy of being named by the side of Leopardi, but it has as undoubtedly paved his way if he should appear. This merit is beyond dispute; it may be proved by figures and statistics. "A few years ago," Stecchetti says, "only French books were read in Italy, and our country was the drain into which third and fourth rate French novelists emptied their inanities. Pope Gregory—good old soul—was an enthusiastic admirer of Paul de Kock's novels. Italian books had no sale. How is it, then, that our little emancipation from the great Parisian market, our little revival of literature, has come to pass exactly when our poets have given up swimming against the stream of the time with their tragedies, idyls, historic romances, and sacred hymns?" The final sentence alludes to Manzoni and his school, against which the *veristi* wage incessant war, without, however, in their calm moments failing to acknowledge the genius of the author of *I promessi Sposi*. But, although an *ex parte* statement, Stecchetti's remarks are true in most respects. Manzoni's poetry is sublime, dignified in expression, and strictly religious; modern Italians are practical, matter-of-fact in speech, and, amongst the intelligent classes, thoroughly sceptical, at least anti-Catholic. The consequence has been for a number of years a total want of *rapport* between the public and the Manzonianni, and a general decline of interest in any poetry whatever. Stecchetti's statement in this respect is fully confirmed by independent testimony. Signor Enrico Panzacchi, for example, by no means a blind admirer of the new school, states how in former days "even the most celebrated poets, Prati and Alcardi, had to bow to the indifference of the public spirit, and to wait for some event in order to justify in some measure the publication of a new poem." All this is altered, and the pretty volumes in which the new poets love to appear before the world, and to which they owe their second nickname of "*Elzeviriani*," are found on every bookstall. To have revived the interest of Italians in their native poetry is, absolutely speaking, a feat well worthy of notice apart from the intrinsic merit of that poetry.

The fact is the more curious as the *nuova scuola* derives its poetic *cachet* distinctly from French sources. Those who remember the movement of the "*Parnassiens*" in France, or have seen their eccentric organ *La République des Lettres*, will at once recognise a kind of elective affinity with the Italian poets. There is not, as in the case of some English writers, a direct imitation. Italian poetry is too rich in beautiful and varied forms to have to borrow



rondeaux and rondels and triolets from Villon through the medium of M. Théodore de Banville. An innate feeling for beauty also has protected even Stecchetti and other extreme members of the school from the delight in filth and abomination which constitutes the higher morality of Zola. But the external features, the battle-cry of realism at any price, the revival of old verse forms, the violent radicalism in religion and in politics, the indifference as to other people's prejudices—all this we find in Milan and Bologna as well as in Paris. For it should be noted that the new movement belongs exclusively to the north of Italy. It is in the two cities already named that most of the *veristi* reside, and here their works are published, and no doubt chiefly read. By birth also the leaders of the school belong to the north.

To return to the parallelism with the modern French school, it extends to the taste for certain congenial movements in the sister arts of painting and music. When Wagner's *Tannhäuser* was hissed off the stage in Paris it was Gautier and Baudelaire and Catulle Mendez who became his champions; and the appearance of *Lohengrin* at Bologna was received with poetic acclamations of the highest enthusiasm by the young bards of the ancient university city. I may mention in this connection that the most promising composer of modern Italy, Signor Arrigo Boito, the author of *Mephistofele*, is at the same time a distinguished poet of the new school.

It is time that we should leave generalities for individual cases, and inquire into the merits of some of the leaders of the new movement. To begin with Stecchetti himself, he may be characterized in comparatively few words. There is nothing complex or occult in his poetical constitution, and the themes he has chosen are of the simplest, one may say most primitive, kind. Love, of course, stands at the head of them; and as to the nature of that love the reader will be able to form an idea by what has been said before. To condemn obvious *juvenilia* of this kind with the stern mind of the moralist would be obviously out of place. But even from the æsthetical point of view, which Stecchetti justly asks his critics to occupy, there is a great deal that is highly objectionable in the tone of his amorous raptures, in his frequent references to "la carne," and similar excrescences of a youthful imagination. That anything approaching to a direct appeal to the senses, whether in the way of pleasure or of horror, ceases to be art, is an axiom acknowledged by the best opinions of all ages. Stecchetti here has out-Musseted Musset and out-Heined the youthful Heine in a manner which does more credit to his powers of assimilation than to his discretion. Of Heine's *Weltschmerz* also we have ample supply in such poems as *Noia*, in which the poet regrets the happiness of his "Cari vent' anni," and looks upon the world in general through the black spec-

tales of his ennui. Again, we find him in other poems of the *Postuma* develop that "talent de chambre de malade," which supplies a kind of poetic commentary to the story of his own death in the preface.

"Quanto amor, quanta gioia in questo mondo  
Di pochi passi che si desta al sole!  
Oh quanta vita! Ed io son moribondo" <sup>1</sup>

he exclaims at the end of one of his most melodious sonnets, and the same sad note is faintly audible in many of his poems. In the outbursts of jealousy and other troubles caused the poet by the fickleness of his various mistresses, the influence of Heine's early work gains prominence. Stecchetti is alternately cynical and sad; and by saying that he is influenced by Heine, I do not wish to deny that there is much that is fine and powerful in such lines as those which I subjoin in a literal translation:—

"And since that night I never more saw thee,  
And never knew thy fate or heard thy name.  
At this hour, it may be,  
Thou standest at the gate in sin and shame,  
Expectant who would buy  
Thy venal kisses. Maybe thou didst die.

"Perhaps—the thought is bitterer to my heart—  
Thou hast forgotten thy departed life,  
And now contented art  
In the chaste duty of a happy wife;  
Tending with love divine  
The children of a love which is not mine."

But in spite of admirable detached passages, it must be owned that Stecchetti's love poetry, with its raptures and regrets, has about it a touch of the mechanical, which extends even to his description of external appearance. He has the love of all southern poets for fair-haired beauties, and in Milan no doubt the type is by no means uncommon. At the same time it is scarcely credible that the stereotyped phrases of "testa bionda," "capelli biondi" should apply to all the numerous ladies whose charms the poet celebrates.

For this and other reasons one finds the poet most satisfactory where he forgets his Byronic attitudes, and gives utterance to simple, unsophisticated feeling. The subjoined lyric, in a metre which Stecchetti's reserve for poems of this kind, may not contain much depth of thought or originality of diction, but it has the true ring of lyrical poetry—

"Un organetto suona per la via  
La mia finestra è aperta e vien la sera,  
Sale dai campi alla stanzuccia mia  
Un alito gentil di primavera.

(1) "What love, what joy in this world of a few paces (his garden) which wakens to the sun. Oh what life, and I am doomed to die."

"Non so perchè mi tremino i ginocchi  
Non so perchè mi salga il pianto agli occhi.

"Ecco, io chino la testa in sulla mano  
E penso a te che sei così lontano." <sup>1</sup>

Almost equally sweet is the sentiment of the stanzas beginning "Quando tu sarai vecchia," which he has borrowed from Beranger, Beranger from Ronsard, and Ronsard from Tibullus. Only in the last line there is a harsh dissonance peculiar to the Italian poet.

But Stecchetti is not always in the melting mood. He has a quiet humour of his own, and his attacks on his detractors are sometimes very quaint and pretty, as, for instance, where in a poem of anything but unimpeachable Latin and morality he comforts his muse by the sweeping assertion, "Nesciunt critici latinum, quamvis macaronicum." He has also admirably caught Heine's trick of throwing, as it were, cold water on the enthusiasm called forth by the passionate beginning of a love poem. Thus he describes with great intensity how, in a beautiful dream, he floats in a frail bark on the sea alone with his loved one, rocked by the waves and seen only by the stars: "Suddenly she is silent, and, struck by a thought, she lifts her blonde head from my shoulders, and with her face strangely fixed on the deep darkness of the night she whispers, 'Be silent, yonder are the lights of Lissa.'"

Take him all in all Stecchetti is a literary phenomenon of no small interest. He is evidently young, and his work shows the sins and sillinesses of youth, but there is unmistakable power of a more or less undeveloped mind. Amongst the *veristi* he represents the Bohemian side of the movement; and his faults may be to a great extent explained from the false and exaggerated position in which he was placed by the injudicious attacks of his critics.

Another exponent of the same extreme principles, to whom we must now turn, is Emilio Praga, one of the most interesting poets of the new school. He is a kind of tragic pendant to Stecchetti. What the latter frequently pretends to be the former is in sad earnest. There is in the first instance, unfortunately, no doubt as to Praga being dead. His premature end made a painful sensation in Italy, and Domenico Milelli, another *verista*, has laid his volume of *Odi Pagane* on the "grave marked No. 10 in the cemetery of Porta Magenta (Milan)," where Praga is buried. His life is soon told; it is typical of a phase too common in the rapid transitions of modern existence: a man of high imaginative power, in search of new ideals, dissatis-

(1) "An organ sounds in the street; my window is open, and evening is coming. From the fields comes to my chamber a gentle breath of spring. I do not know why my knees tremble; I do not know why tears rise to my eyes. Behold, I lean my head on my hand, and think of thee who art so far."

fied with established law and custom, and at the same time unable to keep his moral equilibrium without them. Born in 1839, Emilio Praga started in life as a landscape painter, it is said, of no ordinary power, and with the same tendency towards the sombre and melancholy which is observable in his poetry. But he soon seems to have discovered his vocation for literature, and published his first collection of verse at the age of twenty-three, under the title *La Tavolazza* (The Palette). It was brought out against the advice of prudent friends, and with little hope of success. All the poet asks for is a stray flower or sprig of laurel; and he compares himself to a Savoyard boy going about the cafés playing his fiddle, and too grateful if any one has a kind word for him. Of kind words, or, indeed, of any words, he was not to have many. In those days the public interest was entirely taken up by the great political changes which had gone before and were impending, and Praga's volume fell dead from the press. But, nothing daunted, the poet continued to work, and two years after his first book he published a second of increased import and maturity. On this second effort, called *Penombre* (1864), Praga's claim to immortality must mainly rest. He still published another volume of verse, consisting of "Stories and Legends": but narrative poetry was evidently not congenial to his intensely individual mind. Neither do his dramatic efforts seem to have been condemned without good reason, if one may judge by the specimen printed in a posthumous volume. It is called *Fantasma*, and is, indeed, of a very shadowy character. Its motive is that constant wavering between sin and repentance, which is the keynote also of Praga's lyrical poetry; and the author has succeeded in cramming into a few scenes a number of painful incidents and some very beautiful lines of rhetorical poetry. The *Fantasma* was played at Milan in 1870, and seems to have met with a moderate success. Two pieces, *Le madri galanti* (written in collaboration with Arrigo Boito) and *Il capolavoro d'Orlando*, preceding it, had been hissed off the stage; a romantic drama, *Altri Tempi*, written subsequently, was rehearsed at various theatres, but never performed. Praga's solitary dramatic success was his faithful and elegant translation of Coppée's "Le Passant." The detached lyrics of his latter years Praga intended to collect in a volume of *Trasparenze*; but death overtook him in 1874, and the work was published posthumously. There is, unfortunately, little doubt that that death was accelerated by his own excesses, although Signor Molineri, his biographer, denies the assertions of charitable critics that Praga died of delirium tremens, and that his later poems were written under the influence of absinth. Of his private life it is ascertainable only that he was intensely fond of his little son, a fact, moreover, which is beautifully apparent from his poetry. From that son and from his wife he was separated shortly before his death; for what reason we are not told.

It would have been unnecessary to dwell on these common and melancholy incidents but for the curious reflex they find in Praga's poetry. Never has the interconnection between a man's life and a man's work been illustrated in a more striking manner. In the opening "preludio" of *Penombre* the poet exclaims—

“(Giacchè canto una misera canzone  
Ma canto il vero,”

and to this programme he has adhered throughout his poetical career. He is in the first instance true, a *verista* in a sense more literal and more tragic than the more æsthetic realists of the school ever dreamed of. Hence the strong tone of individual suffering which gives to Praga's work an almost painful interest. For his is not a healthy attitude of life and mind. Like Alfred de Musset's *Rolla*, “il est venu trop tard dans un monde trop vieux;” and in that world of doubt and temptation and practical strife he is as one in a wilderness. Unlike Stecchetti, Praga is not a bold unbeliever or an open sensualist. He loves the good but does the evil; and at the gay banquet, amidst the clinking of glasses and the laughter of girls, he hears the distant bells, which remind him of childhood and pure love. “Poor child!” he says in another poem, “what can you say of me? I am not a fool nor a coward! I have loved you in good days and evil, and love thee still with a pure holy love. But there are days when my heart grows faint, when the mud threatens to choke me; pray, pray for a pure sky. For do you not know that man is also a brute? Fly, fly from me.”

That this frame of mind leads in its ultimate consequences to a morbid delight in the horrible will not surprise psychologists. This side of Praga's poetry finds its climax in the lines addressed “A un feto,” and is expressed in a less crude, though hardly less powerful, form in a poem on the death of Seraphina, the twin-sister of Heine's *Königin Pomare*. Fortunately there is a bright counterpart to this dark side of the picture. The happy childhood of Praga has left its echo in such charming creations as the poem called *Noli*, after the fishing village of that name; and another, dedicated to the memory of the good village priest, to whom he owed his early education. The poet here is genuinely at home, quite as much, at least, as in the vicious atmosphere of a great city, and his regret of the past is entirely free from the affectation too common in such moral effusions. He is, moreover, a real lover of nature, which is not saying a little of an Italian poet; for the resplendent scenery of the South has curiously enough left slight traces in the poetry of southern nations. The troubadours of Provence refer to blue skies and spring blossoms in the most conventional manner, and the great Italian poets of the Middle Ages were not

at least *par excellence* lovers of nature, any more than Raphael and Leonardo were landscape painters. Praga's early artistic training may to some extent account for his genuine love of the country. At the same time he is not a minute observer of every little flower and every change of clouds in the sonse, for instance, that Wordsworth is; neither does he ever attempt an actual pictorial effect. It would be easy to guess, if one did not know, that the hand which penned the descriptions of scenery in the *Princess of Thule* must at one time have held the brush; but there is nothing in Praga to betray the old landscape painter beyond the intense sympathy with nature already alluded to. The beautiful poems addressed by Praga to his child should finally be mentioned. The sentiment in these is as true as it is pure. They are not, as some readers might infer, specimens of Italian baby-worship. The poet looks upon his boy with the eyes of a thoughtful and even a sad man; but at the same time he sees in a child's smile at once the hope and the mystery of man's destiny:—

"Un vagito di bimbo, ecco la fede,  
Ecco il segreto dei destini umani."

It would be idle to prophesy that Praga had he lived would have been a great poet. Of the attributes belonging to such he had at least two—intensity and truth of feeling; but two others seem as conspicuously wanting in the work he has left behind him. These are balance of mind and beauty of form. With regard to the latter it may seem presumptuous for a foreigner to speak in an authoritative manner. But judged by the standard of Dante and Petrarch and Leopardi, and even of Carducci and Stecchetti, Praga seems to me to lack that perfect symmetry of strophic development and that harmonious rhythm of metre without which an Italian poet, albeit of the Realistic School, can scarcely be imagined.

Stecchetti and Praga, with many others, represent, as it were, the extreme left of the *veristi*. They are Bohemians by profession, and irreconcilable enemies to literary proprieties. Their works are published by a certain firm, and their readers, in all probability, limited to a certain—although, no doubt, a wide—circle of readers. All this is changed as soon as we come to speak of the acknowledged leader of the school, Giosuè Carducci. He is admitted by writers of all parties to be the leading poet of Italy; the most exalted and most beautiful lady of his country has paid tribute to his genius; and his literary respectability is confirmed by a handsome edition of his collected poems under the auspices of the celebrated firm of Barbera in Florence. In short, he is on the straight road to classical dignity. And all this he has achieved without forfeiting the adoration of his own immediate followers. Domenico

Milelli, a thoroughpaced Bohemian, dedicates to him a poetical confession of faith, and Stocchetti calls him "nostro duce intanto e nostra forza." It may be surmised that a poet who is thus able to please opposite parties must possess high qualities independent of all party considerations.

Giosuè Carducci's life is devoid of stirring incidents; with few interruptions it has been that of the poet and the scholar. He was born in 1836, at Val di Castello, near Pietrasanta, in the province of Pisa, the son of a physician of moderate means. His early youth was passed in a small village of the Maremma, where his father had an appointment as medical man to a French mining company. The dreary solitude of this fever-haunted region did not depress the spirit of the boy, who here received his earliest poetic impressions, and who, moreover, was at liberty to follow his studious inclinations under his father's guidance. The latter was by literary creed a member of that school of Manzoni worshippers which his son was destined to destroy, or at least to throw into the background for a season. Like most intelligent men of his day Dr. Michele Carducci was a Carbonaro, and his liberal views were developed by his son into the extreme forms of radicalism. As early as 1849 the youthful republican execrated the name of Charles Albert, and persuaded his friend the village tailor and a great politician to raise the cry of "Abasso tutti i re: viva la repubblica." To this creed the poet remained faithful in after life, and it was on a republican, although law-abiding, platform that he was in 1876 returned as member for Lugo di Romagna. On that occasion he made a very remarkable speech, which deserves brief notice were it only on account of its fundamental difference from any electioneering address that could possibly be delivered in this country. His chief argument is the fitness of poets for a political career, which he tries to prove by both ancient and modern instances. Plato, he says, would not tolerate a poet in his Republic, but the Platonic Republic itself was more lyrical than an ode of Pindar. Solon, on the other hand, composed elegies; Milton penned the "Apologia del Popolo d'Inghilterra;" Uhland was a staunch advocate of liberty in the Frankfort Parliament, and Lamartine braved the fury of the mob for days together. "Perhaps my adversaries may exclaim, 'You are not a Milton or an Uhland or a Lamartine;' 'Neither are you a Plato,' I should reply." Fancy any one talking of Plato and Uhland and Lamartine to the enlightened electors of Gloucester or Boston, and being rewarded with "ilarità o applausi," besides obtaining the seat.

It may be mentioned in this connection that on one occasion Carducci is accused of having sunk his stern Republican principles. It appears that he was introduced to the Queen of Italy, who received him in the most gracious manner, and paid him the compliment dearest to

the poet of showing intimate acquaintance with his works. Soon afterwards Carducci wrote the ode "*Alla Regina d'Italia*," of which an enthusiastic publisher's circular states, "*Una distintissima copia*,"—"printed on parchment and bound in white silk"—was presented to Her Majesty, and which raised a shout of derision in the Conservative press. Carducci's motive, and even the meaning of his verses, were misrepresented in the grossest manner, till at last he was compelled to publish an explanatory letter. To the outsider it seems natural enough that even a republican poet need not be debarred from doing homage to a beautiful and distinguished lady because she happens to be a queen.

It is highly to the credit of the Italian Government—as, indeed, Carducci himself acknowledges—that a man of his extreme views should not in any way have suffered in his professional career. He was, on the contrary, from the first treated with the distinction no doubt fully deserved by his scholarly attainments. In 1859, at the early age of twenty-five, he was appointed Professor of Greek in the University of Pisa, and in the following year obtained the same distinguished position at Bologna, which he still holds. Only on one occasion, in 1867, he was with two of his colleagues suspended for a short time for signing an address to Mazzini, "a slight injury, quite excusable," Carducci himself remarks, "in those days of political contention."

Carducci's poetical work is comprised under the following titles, *Juvenilia*, *Levia Gravia*, *Decennalia*, *Nuove Poesie*, and *Odi Barbare*, the first three published in a collected form as *Poesie* (Florence), the last two belonging to the pretty Elzevir edition of modern poets appearing at Bologna. It must be owned that in the early poems there is little to betray the future *verista* or to distinguish Carducci from the school of literature then most in vogue. The stately march of his stanzas, the dignified grace of the diction, do not in any way differ from the style of Monti and Manzoni. And there is little variation of manner in the treatment of the various subjects; Venus and Bacchus are duly invoked if a love song or a "brindisi" is attempted, and the patriotic addresses to "Liberty," and the Italians are full of the classic magniloquence of Alfieri, to whom, indeed, the former is dedicated.

The phenomenon is easy of explanation. Carducci's father was, as we have seen, a staunch "Manzoniano," and the poet himself joined a society of young literary men who saw the only chance of Italian poetry in the strict adherence to the great models of the mediæval and Renaissance periods, to the exclusion of all foreign and modern elements. It was in the literary organ of this movement, significantly called *Angelo Poliziano*, that Carducci earned his first laurels, and his serious studies at this period enabled him subse-



quently to appear amongst the learned editors of the charming "diamond" edition of Italian classics published by Barbèra. The poet himself is by no means ashamed of these antecedents. "I started," he writes, "and I am proud of it, from Alfieri, Parini, Monti, Foscolo, Leopardi; through them and with them I went back to the ancients and imbued myself with Dante and Petrarch." The same tone prevails essentially in the *Levia Gravia*, and begins to disappear only in the *Decennalia*, comprising the poems mostly political, which were written during the ten eventful years preceding the occupation of Rome by the Italians. The last-named collection contains one of the author's most famous, or as some would say most notorious, poems, the "Inno a Satana," which on its appearance in 1869 evoked all the thunders of a Conservative press, and in the eyes of pious persons still surrounds the poet with a sort of lurid glow of unholiness. Adolfo Borgogni relates how one evening when walking with the poet at Bologna they were met by an old priest, who greeted Carducci in the most cordial manner. Turning to Borgogni the kind old man added: "A very good excellent person the professor, an excellent person! What a pity he should have written *quel demone!*" meaning the "Hymn to Satan." That such a title alone would be sufficient to frighten a simple-minded priest or a pious lady is not a matter for surprise. Those, however, who had the courage to read must have seen that Carducci's meaning is not quite as terrible as might appear at first sight. The Satan glorified by him is not the "northern phantom" of the Middle Ages justly despised by Mephistopheles, nor yet that spirit of negation himself; perhaps the interesting fiend in the "Vision of Judgment" is the nearest approach to a principle which is at once the "king of forms and phenomena in matter," the spirit of noble resistance which lived in Huss and Savonarola and Luther, and finally the "ribellione o forza vindice della ragione." It may be readily admitted that in this sense many enlightened men are devil-worshippers both in and out of Italy. It was no doubt this perfect *rapport* with the spirit of modern progress which attracted Carducci's readers, and made him the idol of Italian, more especially of North Italian, youth.

The purely literary importance of Carducci's work belongs to a comparatively later period. In his career the process of sowing wild oats has been curiously delayed. Speaking of the *Juvenilia*, Enrico Panzacchi, one of the leading Italian critics, remarks: "If youth in art as in life signifies power and liberty, then the poems of Carducci at forty are more juvenile than those he wrote at twenty." This process of regeneration is accounted for by the study of modern foreign literatures, especially those of France and Germany, Victor Hugo in the former and Heine in the latter being the poets to whom Carducci seems to think himself most indebted. Hence the accusa-

tion of hostile critics that Carducci has been all his life, and remains, little more than a skilful and learned remodeller of other people's ideas, that he began by imitating Dante and Leopardi, and ended by mimicking Heine and the modern French School. There is a grain of truth to a whole heap of error in this sweeping assertion. If Carducci adopts his ideas from other poets, he knows at least how to remodel them in his own way so that hardly a trace of their origin remains. He has, for example, in common with Victor Hugo, a perfect horror of Cæsarism, as represented in modern times by the Bonapartes; and he thunders against the vices of royal Versailles as if all philosophers and Republicans—Diderot, and Mirabeau and Danton—had been models of virtue. But at these conclusions a staunch Republican might well arrive without the aid of the great French poet. And here, as far as I can see, Carducci's indebtedness ends, if one excepts a certain more personal and less conventional pathos which distinguishes his later from his earlier work.

It is very similar with the relations of the Italian poet to Heine. From him he is said to have borrowed his "paganism." Now Heine's paganism was never of a genuine or of a lasting kind. Even when he was in the full vigour of health, and when the golden ducats of his uncle Salomon jingled in his pockets, his enjoyment of life and beauty was mingled with the melancholy note of romanticism. When experience and illness had chastened him and developed the true greatness of his genius the mask of Greek optimism fell from his face. For the old gods he has only a regretful farewell in *Les Dieux en Exil*, and the finest of his poems is concerned with a true man of sorrow, the mediæval Jewish poet, Jehuda ben Halevi. Of all this there is not a trace in Carducci. He is a genuine and healthy pagan in the style of Goethe, or perhaps still more in that of Platen, Heine's great enemy, whom Carducci quotes frequently, and with whom he shares the love of classical metres. The lesson he has learnt from the modern poet is of a negative rather than of a positive kind. In the *Nuove Poesie* his style, without losing anything of its sonorous breadth, is more simple, and therefore more intense, more personal. The imagery also has grown in boldness and colour, and the typical deities of Greek mythology are less frequently called upon. In addition to this the subject matter is more substantial, more tangible. Instead of vague addresses to Italy or Liberty we have now a memorial poem on the battle of Mentana, and another "On the Seventy-ninth Anniversary of the French Republic, 21st September, 1871." To quote detached portions of these poems would give little idea of their continuity of thought and of their force of declamatory pathos. It will be better to give the final stanzas of the address to the

"wild courser," his genius with which the poet prefaces his "New Songs":—

"Corriam degli avversarii sovra le teste e i petti  
Dei mostri il sangue imporpori i tuoi ferrei garetti  
E a noi rida l'april!

L'april dei colli italici vaghi di messi e fiori  
L'april santo dell' anima piena di nuovi amori  
L'aprile del pensier.

Valiam, sin che la folgore di Giove tra la rotta  
Nubo ci arda o purifichi, o che il torrente inghiotta  
Cavallo e cavalior.

O ch'io disconda placido dal tuo stellante arcione  
Con l'occhio ancora gravido di luce e visione  
Sul toscano mio suol.

Ed al fraterno tumulto posi da la fatica,  
Gustando tu il trifoglio da una bell' urna antica  
Verso il morente sol."<sup>1</sup>

His climax of development Carducci has, according to some of his critics, reached in his last volume, the *Odi barbare*. The title immediately suggests Leconte de Lisle's *Poèmes barbares*, but those would be entirely mistaken who from a kindred name would guess at a kindred spirit. Here, indeed, the different instincts of French and Italian literature are strikingly illustrated. The "Parnarissiens" and their great master and model, Victor Hugo, represent a kind of mediæval Renaissance. The Italian mind instinctively abhors the Middle Ages, and we see accordingly that the leader of the *veristi* chooses paganism for his battle-cry, and tries to revive Horatian metres. In these metres the *Odi barbare* are written, and on that account extolled to the skies by enthusiastic Italians, and not by them alone. The celebrated Professor Mommsen is a great admirer of these odes, and has himself translated several of them into German. In spite of this high authority, and at the risk of being classed amongst irresponsible, indolent reviewers, I must own that I cannot see the value of these metrical experiments in a language which has not only lost the sense of quantity but even to a great extent that of rhetorical accent. The latter is the vital metrical principle in English and German, but the romance languages have abandoned even this last rhythmical stronghold, and measure their

(1) "Let us run over the heads and breasts of the enemies; let the blood of the monsters dye purple thy iron knee-caps; and on us shall smile April—the April of Italian hills, rich with harvests and flowers; the holy April of the soul, full of new love; the April of thought. Let us fly till the lightning of Zeus from the scattered cloud burn and purify us, or till the torrent engulf horse and rider. Or till I descend calmly from your starry saddle with my eyes still heavy from the light and the vision, on my Tuscan soil, to rest from my fatigue on my brother's tomb, while you taste the trefoil from a beautiful antique urn, towards the dying sun."

verses entirely by the number of syllables. That even on this principle fine rhythmical effects may be produced by great poets is a truism which need not be here insisted upon, but it is a very different thing where a certain rhythm is to be repeated in a certain part of each line. Here the impotence of the modern language becomes noticeable at every step. I doubt if an unwary reader would suspect Horatian metre in the following dainty stanza addressed to Lidia, the presiding deity of the "Odi":—

"O devinata verde solitudine  
Lungi dal rumor de gli uomini!  
Qui duo con noi divini amici vengono  
Vino ed amore o Lidia."

To me the most striking feature of this stanza is the absence of rhyme, which is, to say the least, of doubtful value. At the same time it is very possible that an Italian ear may discover subtle beauties of rhythm and melody hidden from the foreigner. And the same reservation should be made in judging of Carducci's literary importance in its entirety. He is not a lyrical poet, and seldom touches the heart. His subjects are, indeed, seldom chosen with such a view, being in most instances suggested by the great events and the leading ideas of the present day. For all these he finds an expression fully satisfactory to the rising generation of Italians, who, moreover, admire the nobility of his thought and diction, the depth of his scholarship. All this gives him a prominent place in the modern development of his country; but it is of course different when his position in international literature comes to be examined. The latter, however, is of little importance for our present purpose. It was the aim of this article to show that Italian poetry has entered upon a new phase, which, whithersoever it may ultimately lead, has at any rate the sympathy of the young and the intelligent amongst the nation. By the side of this fact the nice distinctions of more or less individual merit are of comparatively little significance.

FRANCIS HUEFFER.

## SUICIDE.

IN recording a few facts and figures about the sin and crime of suicide, I shall not attempt even a brief treatise on the general question. I have therefore purposely refrained from consulting such books and papers on the subject as have appeared in this and other countries, being content to give the evidence of one who is, unfortunately, obliged to be somewhat of an expert in the matter, rather than to assume the position of one who generalises from the evidence of many witnesses from many lands. Especially have I avoided some almost exhaustive treatises on the subject, which have been produced, I believe, by foreign authors, believing that the comparative study of this question would be as fallacious as interesting.

That I have peculiar opportunities for studying the question will be recognised probably by all readers of newspapers from the familiar phrases "remanded for a week to the House of Detention," or "remanded to receive the advice of the prison chaplain," which close the account of the appearance before a police magistrate of some one charged with an attempt at self-murder. I suppose that no one in the world has similar or as great opportunities of observing the phenomena of this particular crime. Thus in 1880, no less than 341 were brought to her Majesty's Prison, Clerkenwell, on this charge, of whom all but 35, who were Roman Catholics, were commended to and received my special care and attention. To take the decennium 1868—1877, there were 2,053 brought in on this charge, of whom 1,900 were "Church of England," that is, not Romanists, the yearly number fluctuating from 146 to 258. It will be seen, therefore, that the material from which I draw such facts, figures, and conclusions as I place before the reader is by no means scanty. Not, however, that these figures represent the entire number of those who attempt this crime, for it will be seen from the Metropolitan Police Return that in the years 1869—78 there were 1,868 suicides in London, and 3,810 attempts known to the police. To these numbers we must, of course, add those cases which are not discovered, being hushed up by friends, or relegated to the categories of Lost or Found Drowned. It is somewhat remarkable that while during the last three years the number of suicides reported by the police has been steadily decreasing, thus, 310, 240, 174, the number of attempts at suicide has been as steadily increasing, thus, 386, 388, 448.

Let us now imagine that a would-be suicide has been brought before the magistrate. In a great majority of cases these kindly, conscientious, hard-worked men remand them for a week, that the chaplain of Clerkenwell Prison, or, as it was formerly called, the

Middlesex House of Detention, may endeavour to make them understand the folly and sin of their act, and may see if in any way they can be aided to begin a better life. He visits them daily, sees and writes to their relations, finds Homes or other institutions for deserving cases where such help is necessary, in other ways helps them, temporally as well as spiritually; and in each case he writes to the committing magistrate his opinion of the case, with a recommendation, which is always carefully and kindly considered, as to its disposal. From the notebooks in which I record the particulars of each case, I have now taken 300 cases of separate individuals, not picked cases, however, but simply taken as they come; and from these I will draw some facts and figures, leaving others to theorise upon them if they will.

Statistics, for example, as to the sex, condition, occupation, and age of those who committed these attempts, and of their manner and causes, will be found to afford food for thought, and these are as follows:—

With regard to sex, there is a very considerable preponderance of the impulsive female sex.

I find, for example, that of the 300 cases, 117 were males and 183 females; while if the figures for the decennium 1868—77 are taken, they show 746 males to 1,307 females brought here on this charge. On one day in 1877 I had 15 women under my notice for attempting suicide, either on remand or in default of bail; while the number of men on the same day was not probably (I am not quite certain) above 5, if so many. This shows, of course, a different state of affairs to that presented by the ordinary records of crime, in which men have always the preponderance. Thus in 1878, there were apprehended in London, for all crimes, 56,122 males and 27,624 females; while if we deduct the apprehensions for being drunk, or drunk and disorderly—in which departments of crime women are rapidly becoming equal to the men—the proportionate numbers would be more striking, *i.e.* 37,239 males to 11,099 females. Suicide is therefore seen to be a specially female crime, though some allowance must be made for the fact that a man often has more force, both physical and mental, and therefore his attempt is more frequently successful; and again, the sham attempts of silly girls may help to swell the record against their sex.

With regard to the *condition* of these persons, I find that 90 were single, 131 married, 30 widows or widowers, 40 married but separated from their husbands or wives, 40 prostitutes, and 22 living in concubinage. These figures will be found to amount to 353, not 300; but this is attributable to the fact that some persons would come under two categories, *i.e.* a widow, or even a wife, might also be a prostitute. These may be divided again thus:—

Married or in concubinage . . . . .	223	} 353
Single or prostitutes . . . . .	130	

This seems to run on all fours with the canon deducible from other sources, that marriage increases crime in women, but decreases it in men. Thus in the Black Book or register, of 179,601 habitual criminals discharged in 1869—75, it is shown that the relative percentage is as follows:—

Married males	32·8	Married females	59 12 }
Single males .	67·2	Single females	40·88 }

With regard to the *trade or occupation* of persons taken into custody on this charge, I observe that in 1877, of 388 who had attempted suicide, 212 were of no trade or occupation (*i.e.* married women and prostitutes chiefly), 33 were labourers, and 30 servants, leaving only 113 artisans, tradesmen, &c. It must be noted, however, that in the higher classes of society attempts are most frequently made at home, and are hushed up, or do not come under the notice of the police.

Their *ages* varied from 15 to 88, every year being represented from 15 to 47, even to 60, with the exception of 48 and 57. (While writing, I have a case under my notice of a boy, aged 13, remanded for this offence.) Beyond 60, the years 65, 67, 69, 73, 83, and 88 are represented by one case each.

The decade to 20 years inclusive contains 37 cases.

30	124
10	61
50	41
60	28
70	3
80	1
90	2
<hr/>	
300	

It is to be noted that suicide therefore presents no exception to the rule that the decade from 20 to 30 years is the worst for nearly every species of crime.

With regard to the ages most represented—the favourite age, so to speak, for suicide—there were—

21 cases of persons 22 years old				11 cases of persons 21 years old			
15	23	11	25	11	25	11	25
14	30	11	42	11	42	11	42
13	26	10	24	10	24	10	24
12	18	10	29	10	29	10	29
12	27	10	31	10	31	10	31

The ages which came next in order, as represented by attempts at suicide, were 19, 28, 32, 36 (8 cases each), 38, 53 (7 cases), 33, 40, 46 (6 cases), 20, 34, 41, 43, 44, 58 (5 cases), 16, 35, 37, 39, 47, 55, 60 (4 cases), 17, 45, 59, 52 (3 cases), 50, 56 (2 cases), and the years 15, 51, 54, 59, 65, 67, 69, 73, 83, and 88, one case only each.

*The manner in which these attempts were made is as follows :—*

Attempts to drown . . . . .	138	Throwing self from window . .	6
Poison . . . . .	58	Throwing self before train . .	2
Strangling or hanging . . . .	49	Throwing self before carriage .	1
Cutting throat . . . . .	36	Shooting . . . . .	1
Stabbing self . . . . .	8	Poison and cutting arm . . . .	1

It must be remembered, of course, that the majority of attempts at shooting oneself are unhappily successful, and therefore the number of attempts in this manner do not represent the proportion in which this form of suicide prevails. It is said also by those of wide experience that they remember no instance of a person twice attempting his or her life by firearms. It may be noted also that women have an aversion to shed blood, very rarely cutting their throat, and only in one case of the eight of stabbing was the offender a woman.

CAUSES OF 300 CASES.

144 Simple drunkenness of prisoner.	145	179	182
1 Chloral drunkard.			
15 Drunk and quarrel with husband.	24		
2 Drunk and quarrel with wife.			
1 Drunk and quarrel with son.	3		
5 Drunk and bad husband.			
1 Drunk and deserted by concubine.			
1 Annoyance by drunken wife.			
1 Brutality of drunken father.			
1 Persecution by drunken husband who had deserted her.			
40 Depression from destitution, debt, disease, distress, &c.			
41 Unknown or doubtful.			
8 Bad temper.			
7 Jealousy or jilting.			
5 Insane at the time.			
2 Poison by mistake.			
2 Too strong dose of poisonous medicine.			
2 Quarrel with husband.			
2 „ paramour.			
2 Deserted by husband.			
2 „ paramour.			
3 Bad husband.			
2 Brutality of paramour.			
1 Infidelity to husband.			
1 Unkindness of stepfather.			
1 Loss of hoard.			
1 Apparently no intention of suicide.			
1 To frighten wife.			

The large proportion of the cases attributable to drunkenness will not fail to attract notice, 145 being caused apparently by nothing else; as when the deed is committed in a fit of *delirium tremens*, or when, as is the case in very many instances, a prisoner (usually a woman in this kind of attempt) is apprehended for drunkenness, and



attempts self-strangulation in the police cell or van. In 24 additional cases a quarrel or grievance is superadded to drunkenness as a cause, and 3 others are attributable to the drunkenness, not of the prisoner, but of another who made life a misery to the would-be suicide. There is no doubt also that a more accurate knowledge of the cases would have caused some of the 41 described as of unknown or doubtful cause to be transferred to the account of the facilities afforded for and the social fashions of drinking. Occasionally, however, a far higher proportion may be thus ascribed to intemperance. It happened, for example, that in July, 1878, there were brought to the prison 28 cases of attempted suicide, which present the following facts:—

1. Woman, 59, canal, drink.
2. Woman, 25, canal, husband admits his drunkenness and brutality.
3. Woman, 31, strangling, drink.
4. Woman, 32, canal, drink, often in prison for drink.
5. Man, 42, river, *delirium tremens*.
6. Woman, 29, strangling in cell when apprehended for drink; frequently punished for drink.
7. Man, 26, poison, 4 or 5 years' hard drinking, a raving maniac for 5 days after admission owing to *delirium tremens*.
8. Man, 27, canal, 16 times in prison for drink.
9. Woman, 48, strangling in cell when apprehended for drink.
10. Woman, 38, canal, debt and misery from a drunken and idle husband.
11. Woman, 34, strangling in cell when apprehended for drink.
12. Woman, 38, river, not apparently due to drink.
13. Man, 18, dock, drink.
14. Woman, 27, throat, drinking all week.
15. Man, 61, river, apparently not due to drink.
16. Man, 34, river, drink.
17. Man, 26, throat, drink.
18. Woman, 17, canal, not primarily due to drink, but had stolen brandy and wine.
19. Woman, 63, canal, drink; habit of pawning husband's clothes for drink.
20. Man, 31, canal, drink; spent £2 therein in 3 days, though only a day labourer.
21. Woman, 47, canal, drink.
22. Woman, 30, canal, left husband 11 times from his drunken cruelty.
23. Woman, 27, strangling, not apparently due to drink.
24. Man, 28, poison, hard drinking for a year.
25. Woman, 21, strangling when apprehended for drink.
26. Woman, 26, pond, drink.
27. Woman, 30, strangling, when apprehended for drink.
28. Man, 31, poison, drink.

That is, 21 cases plainly caused by the drunkenness of the prisoner, 3 due to the intemperance and brutality of husbands, 1 partially caused by drink, and only 3 not apparently due directly or indirectly to intemperance.

There are of course many remote causes of the crime which cannot now be even enumerated, but three that do not appear upon the list given above, must be mentioned. First, heredity. My inquiries

have not been specially directed into this channel, and such a cause would be found of course chiefly amongst those who had a decided suicidal mania, which is not the case with more than a very small fraction of those who once, or even several times, attempt suicide. One case, however, may be mentioned: W. C. H., aged 50, a labourer, who had four times attempted, at last committed suicide by drowning himself; a brother had drowned himself at the same spot; a sister poisoned herself; and another sister had attempted suicide. Amongst the 300 cases I find but two in which heredity may be suspected, though I have not usually made inquiries as to this point. One man had an uncle who had poisoned himself, and a grandfather who cut his throat, both under the influence of drink; and a woman said her father had blown his brains out about a year before her attempt to poison herself. The temperament and dispositions, however, which prompt or incline to suicide, are no doubt matters of transmission from parents who have not taught or transmitted the power of self-government and the reverence for life which they themselves did not possess. Secondly, I cannot doubt but that the sentimental glamour thrown over suicide by some poets and novelists has had an evil result, which they would be eager to deprecate. I distinctly assert, for example, my belief that the poem of T. Hood, *The Bridge of Sighs*, written with the sole object of evoking charity for the despised, has yet, with a certain class, tinged suicide with a halo of romance, and afforded a justification of cowardice and crime to the unreasoning and hysterical. Thirdly, many of the attempts that have come under my notice are distinctly attributable to the ordinary violently exaggerated language of parents, perhaps especially mothers, of the poorer classes. "I'll break every bone in your body," is an ordinary way of expressing displeasure at some trivial offence of a child; and no one who has been forced to overhear "a few family words" will wonder how that deed of violence, which is threatened with no intention whatever of accomplishment, becomes in a less guarded moment the suggestion of a crime which is familiar in language, though never really contemplated hitherto in act. Brought up in an atmosphere of threats against life, what wonder if children proceed from the sin of word to that of deed?

The next point to notice is the influence of the seasons upon this crime, a subject obviously difficult to determine. It appears, however, from books kept by my predecessors and by myself, that in the decennium 1868—77, there were nearly exactly 1,900 cases brought to the notice of the chaplain. Of these, 377 came in during the first quarter of the year, 542 during the second, 561 during the third, and 420 during the last. The first or winter quarter is thus 184 under the third or summer quarter; or to divide the year into halves, there were in the half year, October to March, 797 cases, and

from April to September, 1,103, a difference of 306. All crime is greater, or at least the total amount of crime is greater, during the summer half of the year, but yet the disproportion is not so marked as that we find in the one item of suicide. I believe, considering that nearly half the cases are those of seeking a watery grave, the difference of the temperature of the water has much to do with the matter. There is occasionally an epidemic or local outbreak of this, as of most other crime. Thus the *Lancet* drew attention lately to the fact that no less than 16 cases of suicide were registered in London in the week ending August 16, 1879, whereas the corrected weekly average is scarcely 6. In the four weeks ending on that day, 51 suicides were recorded in the metropolis, the corrected average of the corresponding period of the last ten years being but 22.

An uncle of mine, who was coroner for a large country district, used to say that whenever a suicide had occurred in one place, he made his arrangements to visit the same again soon, as suicide is like marriage in respect to one making many.

It might, perhaps, be imagined that suicides in prison were of not infrequent occurrence, especially when the shame of detection was fresh and the fear of punishment greater even than the reality is found to be. This is not, however, the case. In the last ten years, for example, 85,015 persons have entered the Clerkenwell Prison, and there have been only ten cases of suicide; and in Coldbath Fields, into which came 34,437 male convicted prisoners in the years 1867—8—9, there were but two deaths ascribed to this cause.

Others, again, might imagine that no attempts could be successful if a sufficient watch were kept. When a person from any cause or reason is supposed to be not unlikely to attempt self-destruction he is, in Clerkenwell at least, placed in a "special" cell into which a light is cast all night, so that frequently during every hour the warder's eye is applied to the inspection hole in his door, and suicides or attempts in such cells are rare. But in other cases it seems simply impossible, with the utmost ingenuity and vigilance, to prevent such deeds. Even if no bar or pipe were accessible, a shirt torn into strips will afford means of self-strangulation, and in some terrible cases a sudden leap from a gallery affords a way to death which none can stop. Where there is a will there is a way is unfortunately true in this as in almost every other respect. For example, an officer was once standing by the bedside of a prisoner, talking to him, and, noticing that his face became purple, he tore off the bed-clothes to discover that the man had made a rope of his sheet, put one loop round his neck, and was pulling it tight by means of inserting his foot into another noose at the other end. Very often, of course, such attempts are mere pretence, and all the prisoner desires is to make a fuss, or perhaps to produce such indisposition as

may cause his removal to the infirmary. One wretched lad I remember who used frequently to tie something tightly round his neck, and then ring the bell to attract attention! Unfortunately, however, he tried this once too often, and was found dead beneath the handle of the bell, not having had, I am persuaded (though he was the most hopelessly bad prisoner), the least intention of succeeding. It is said of a stalwart warder from the Sister Isle, that he once found a man of this kind hanging in his cell at an hour when he knew well that his cell door was about to be opened for chapel. Exclaiming, "I'll tache ye to commit suicide," he took off his uniform belt, and so belaboured the man before he cut him down that never again was the man known to indulge in this pastime. It is satisfactory to know that in every case of death in a prison a coroner's inquest must be held, and the most critical or suspicious juryman can never find a really preventible means or facility by which suicide is accomplished.

Many also of the cases which appear in the police-courts, and figure in my list and tables, are simply shams. Hysterical girls make demonstrations on the Embankment, and a pail of water over their finery would often be more efficacious a deterrent or cure than the notoriety they gain (and perhaps seek) by apprehension. The words of Dickens will be remembered with regard to the bridge in Old Gravel Lane, which, to the disgrace of St. George's-in-the-East or Dock authorities, is still allowed to be a favourite and undefended spot for suicides :—

"I found myself on a swing bridge, looking down at some dark locks in some dirty water. Over against me stood a creature remotely in the likeness of a young man. I asked the apparition what it called the place. Unto which it replied, with a ghastly grin and a sound like gurgling water in its throat, 'Mister Baker's trap.' Inspiration suggested that Mr. Baker was the coroner of the neighbourhood. 'A common place for suicide?' said I, looking down at the locks. 'Sue?' returned the ghost with a stare, 'Yes! and Poll: likewise Emily and Nancy: and Jane: always a headering down here, they is. On'y mind you, there must be somebody comin'. They don't go a headering down here wen there ain't no bobby nor gen'ral cove fur to hear the splash.'"

I have already mentioned suicidal mania, which I consider rare; but yet the subject of suicides in prison brings to my mind a case which aptly illustrates both.

The girl in question was, when I knew her first, about 17, and had previously been in prison five times, including twice for attempting suicide. Her parents and home were utterly bad, and she herself quiet, but weak and sullen. She came to my notice first under a punishment of two months, in default of bail, for attempting suicide (the third time). On discharge she soon attempted twice again, and was remanded to Horsemonger Lane Prison. In a month or so she reappeared here for attempts in a canal and in the police-cell, and got six months. She attempted to strangle herself a few days

after entrance, once in the next month, seven or eight times in the next, and, finally, on the day before her discharge, having preferred to return to her parents, though over and over I had tried to get her to go into a Home. Two days after she got a month's hard labour for being drunk and attempting suicide, and thence came to us for six months. She attempted here twice, though, on the latter occasion, her hands were confined by leather straps, owing to the determined nature of her previous attempt. On discharge I sent her to a Home, but she left, and, in two weeks, attempted to buy poison, and twice tried to strangle herself in the police-cell. After a week's remand I tried another Home for her, but there she threatened suicide and left. Very soon she was in again for attempting to drown herself and making three attempts in the police-cell. She then got six months' hard labour, attempted her life again, and from prison was sent to an asylum, where she is now I believe. I knew of her attempting her life 28 times in two years; every means had been tried with her, but no doctor would, or could, ever certify that she was insane in the legal sense of the word. This has, however, since been done.

I may here note that of the 300 cases I have known, that 21 had attempted their life on more than one occasion.

It is worthy of note that the impression (greatly justified by facts) which prevails among the class from which most of these cases come, that the punishment for the crime is merely a week's detention and a lecture, has a bad effect by causing the persons to think lightly of the crime, and even to repeat it on the next occasion of irritation or apprehension.

An alderman was once derided for expressing his intention of putting down suicide, but he probably meant, what is undoubtedly true, that some real punishment, inflicted as a rule, would be a strong deterrent to those who are unable or unused to see moral crime in what is ignored or treated lightly by the law of the land.

I firmly believe that if it became the exception instead of the rule for such offences to escape a period of hard labour, the numbers of attempts would at once, and to a remarkable extent, diminish.

That the legal, or perhaps the public, mind is at present irrational with regard to this crime needs no further illustration than that afforded by the fact that an attempt at suicide, *if successful*, is almost universally said by coroners and their juries to be due to temporary insanity, while, *if unsuccessful*, the chaplain or doctor would be simply derided who hinted at insanity, temporary or otherwise, as existing, or having existed, in the case. The truest kindness would, I believe, be found in more seeming severity in the attitude of the law, of moralists, and of society, towards this form of murder, which is often more cowardly and less frequently followed by real penitence than those forms of the offence which are expiated on the scaffold.

J. W. HORSLEY.

## THE MORALITY OF THE PROFESSION OF LETTERS.

THE profession of letters has been lately debated in the public prints; and it has been debated, to put the matter mildly, from a point of view that was calculated to surprise high-minded men, and bring a general contempt on books and reading. Some time ago, in particular, a lively, pleasant, popular writer devoted an essay, lively and pleasant like himself, to a very encouraging view of the profession. We may be glad that his experience is so cheering, and we may hope that all others, who deserve it, shall be as handsomely rewarded; but I do not think we need be at all glad to have this question, so important to the public and ourselves, debated solely on the ground of money. The salary in any business under heaven is not the only, nor indeed the first, question. That you should continue to exist is a matter for your own consideration; but that your business should be first honest, and second useful, are points in which honour and morality are concerned. If the writer to whom I refer succeeds in persuading a number of young persons to adopt this way of life with an eye set singly on the livelihood, we must expect them in their works to follow profit only, and we must expect in consequence, if he will pardon me the epithets, a slovenly, base, untrue, and empty literature. Of that writer himself I am not speaking; he is diligent, clean, and pleasing; we all owe him periods of entertainment, and he has achieved an amiable popularity which he has adequately deserved. But the truth is, he does not, or did not when he first embraced it regard his profession from this purely mercenary side. He went into it, I shall venture to say, if not with any noble design, at least in the ardour of a first love; and he enjoyed its practice long before he paused to calculate the wage. The other day an author was complimented on a piece of work, good in itself and exceptionally good for him, and replied in terms unworthy of a commercial traveller, that as the book was not briskly selling he did not give a copper farthing for its merit. It must not be supposed that the person to whom this answer was addressed received it as a profession of faith; he knew, on the other hand, that it was only a whiff of irritation; just as we know, when a respectable writer talks of literature as a way of life, like shoemaking, but not so useful, that he is only debating one aspect of a question, and is still clearly conscious of a dozen others more important in themselves and more central to the matter in hand. But while those who treat literature in this penny-wise and virtue-foolish spirit are themselves truly in possession of a better light, it does not follow that the treat-

ment is decent or improving, whether for themselves or others. To treat all subjects in the highest, the most honourable, and the pluckiest spirit, consistent with the fact, is the first duty of a writer. If he be well paid, as I am glad to hear he is, this duty becomes the more urgent, the neglect of it the more disgraceful. And perhaps there is no subject on which a man should speak so gravely as that industry, whatever it may be, which is the occupation or delight of his life; which is his tool to earn or serve with; and which, if it be unworthy, stamps himself as a mere incubus of dumb and greedy bowels on the shoulders of labouring humanity. On that subject alone even to force the note might lean to virtue's side. It is to be hoped that a numerous and enterprising generation of writers will follow and surpass the present one; but it would be better if the stream were stayed, and the roll of our old, honest, English books were closed, than that esurient bookmakers should continue and debase a brave tradition and lower, in their own eyes, a famous race. Better that our serene temples were deserted than filled with trafficking and juggling priests.

There are two just reasons for the choice of any way of life: the first is inbred taste in the chooser; the second some high utility in the industry selected. Literature, like any other art, is singularly interesting to the artist; and in a degree peculiar to itself among the arts, it is useful to mankind. These are the sufficient justifications for any young man or woman who adopts it as the business of his life. I shall not say much about the wages. A writer can live by his writing. If not so luxuriously as by other trades, then less luxuriously. The nature of the work he does all day will more affect his happiness than the quality of his dinner at night. Whatever be your calling, and however much it brings you in the year, you could still, you know, get more by cheating. We all suffer ourselves to be too much concerned about a little poverty; but such considerations should not move us in the choice of that which is to be the business and justification of so great a portion of our lives; and like the missionary, the patriot, or the philosopher, we should all choose that poor and brave career in which we can do the most and best for mankind. Now nature, faithfully followed, proves herself a careful mother. A lad, for some liking to the jingle of words, betakes himself to letters for his life; by-and-by, when he learns more gravity, he finds that he has chosen better than he knew; that if he earns little, he is earning it amply; that if he receives a small wage, he is in a position to do considerable services; that it is in his power, in some small measure, to protect the oppressed and to defend the truth. So kindly is the world arranged, such great profit may arise from a small degree of human reliance on oneself, and such, in particular, is the happy star of this trade of writing, that it should

combine pleasure and profit to both parties, and be at once agreeable, like fiddling, and useful, like good preaching.

This is to speak of literature at its highest; and with the four great elders who are still spared to our respect and admiration, with Carlyle, Ruskin, Browning, and Tennyson before us, it would be cowardly to consider it at first in any lesser aspect.<sup>1</sup> But while we cannot follow these athletes, while we may none of us, perhaps, be very vigorous, very original, or very wise, I still contend that, in the humblest sort of literary work, we have it in our power either to do great harm or great good. We may seek merely to please; we may seek, having no higher gift, merely to gratify the idle nine-days' curiosity of our contemporaries; or we may essay, however feebly, to instruct. In each of these we shall have to deal with that remarkable art of words which, because it is the dialect of life, comes home so easily and powerfully to the minds of men; and since that is so, we contribute, in each of these branches, to build up the sum of sentiments and appreciations which goes by the name of Public Opinion or Public Feeling. The total of a nation's reading, in these days of daily papers, greatly modifies the total of the nation's speech; and the speech and reading, taken together, form the efficient educational medium of youth. A good man or woman may keep a youth some little while in clearer air; but the contemporary atmosphere is all powerful in the end on the average of mediocre characters. The copious Corinthian baseness of the American reporter or the Parisian *chroniqueur*, both so lightly readable, must exercise an incalculable influence for ill; they touch upon all subjects, and on all with the same ungenerous hand; they begin the consideration of all, in young and unprepared minds, in an unworthy spirit; on all, they supply some pungency for dull people to quote. The mere body of this ugly matter overwhelms the rarer utterances of good men; the sneering, the selfish, and the cowardly are scattered in broad sheets on every table, while the antidote, in small volumes, lies unread upon the shelf. I have spoken of the American and the French, not because they are so much baser, but so much more readable, than the English; their evil is done more effectively, in America for the masses, in French for the few that care to read; but with us as with them, the duties of literature are daily neglected, truth daily perverted and suppressed, and grave subjects daily degraded in the treatment. The journalist is not reckoned an important officer; yet judge of the good he might do, the harm he does; judge of it by one instance only: that when we find two journals on the reverse sides of politics each, on the same day, openly garbling a piece of news for the interest of its own party, we smile at the discovery (no discovery

(1) Since this article was written, only three of these remain. But the other, being dead, yet speaketh.



now!) as over a good joke and pardonable stratagem. Lying so open is scarce lying, it is true; but one of the things that we profess to teach our young is a respect for truth; and I cannot think this piece of education will be crowned with any great success, so long as some of us practise and the rest openly approve of public falsehood.

There are two duties incumbent upon any man who enters on the business of writing: truth to the fact and a good spirit in the treatment. In every department of literature, though so low as hardly to deserve the name, truth to the fact is of importance to the education and comfort of mankind, and so hard to preserve, that the faithful trying to do so will lend some dignity to the man who tries it. Our judgments are based upon two things: first, upon the original preferences of our soul; but, second, upon the mass of testimony to the nature of God, man, and the universe which reaches us, in divers manners, from without. For the most part these divers manners are reducible to one, all that we learn of past times and much that we learn of our own reaching us through the medium of books or papers, and even he who cannot read learning from the same source at second hand and by the report of him who can. Thus the sum of the contemporary knowledge or ignorance of good and evil is, in large measure, the handiwork of those who write. Those who write have to see that each man's knowledge is, as near as they can make it, answerable to the facts of life; that he shall not suppose himself an angel or a monster; nor take this world for a hell; nor be suffered to imagine that all rights are concentrated in his own caste or country, or all veracities in his own parochial creed. Each man should learn what is within him, that he may strive to mend; he must be taught what is without him, that he may be kind to others. It can never be wrong to tell him the truth; for, in his disputable state, weaving as he goes his theory of life, steering himself, cheering or reproving others, all facts are of the first importance to his conduct; and even if a fact shall discourage or corrupt him, it is still best that he should know it; for it is in this world as it is, and not in a world made easy by educational suppressions, that he must win his way to shame or glory. In one word, it must always be foul to tell what is false; and it can never be safe to suppress what is true. The very fact that you omit may be what somebody was wanting, for one man's meat is another man's poison, and I have known a person who was cheered by the perusal of *Candide*. Every fact is a part of that great puzzle we must set together; and none that comes directly in a writer's path but has some nice relations, unperceivable by him, to the totality and bearing of the subject under hand. Yet there are certain classes of fact eternally more necessary than others, and it is with these that literature must first bestir itself. They are not hard to distinguish, nature once more easily leading us; for the

necessary, because the efficacious, facts are those which are most interesting to the natural mind of man. Those which are coloured, picturesque, human, and rooted in morality, and those, on the other hand, which are clear, indisputable, and a part of science, are alone vital in importance, seizing by their interest, or useful to communicate. So far as the writer merely narrates, he should principally tell of these. He should tell of the kind and wholesome and beautiful elements of our life; he should tell unsparingly of the evil and sorrow of the present, to move us with instances; he should tell of wise and good people in the past, to excite us by example; and of these he should tell soberly and truthfully, not glossing faults, that we may neither grow discouraged with ourselves nor exacting to our neighbours. So the body of contemporary literature, ephemeral and feeble in itself, touches in the minds of men the springs of thought and kindness, and supports them (for those who will go at all are easily supported) on their way to what is true and right. And if, in any degree, it does so now, how much more might it do so if the writers chose! There is not a life in all the records of the past but, properly studied, might lend a hint and a help to some contemporary. There is not a juncture in to-day's affairs but some useful word may yet be said of it. Even the reporter has an office, and, with clear eyes and honest language, may unveil injustices and point the way to progress. And for a last word: in all narration there is only one way to be clever, and that is to be exact. To be vivid is a secondary quality which must presuppose the first; for vividly to convey a wrong impression is only to make failure conspicuous.

But a fact may be viewed on many sides; it may be chronicled with rage, tears, laughter, indifference, or admiration, and by each of these the story will be transformed to something else. The newspapers that told of the return of our representatives from Berlin, even if they had not differed as to the facts, would have sufficiently differed by their spirit; so that the one description would have been a second ovation, and the other a prolonged insult. The subject makes but a trifling part of any piece of literature, and the view of of the writer is itself a fact more important because less disputable than the others. Now this spirit in which a subject is regarded, important in all kinds of literary work, becomes all important in works of fiction, meditation, or rhapsody; for there it not only colours but itself chooses the facts; not only modifies but shapes the work. And hence, over the far larger proportion of the field of literature, the health or disease of the writer's mind or momentary humour forms not only the leading feature of his work, but is, at bottom, the only thing he can communicate to others. In all works of art, widely speaking, it is first of all the author's attitude that is narrated, though in the attitude there be implied a whole experience

and a theory of life. An author who has begged the question and reposes in some narrow faith, cannot, if he would, express the whole or even many of the sides of this various existence; for his own life being main, some of them are not admitted in his theory, and were only dimly and unwillingly recognised in his experience. Hence the smallness, the triteness, and the inhumanity in works of merely sectarian religion; and hence we find equal although unsimilar limitations in works inspired by the spirit of the flesh or the despicable taste for high society. So that the first duty of any man who is to write is intellectual. Designedly or not, he has so far set himself up for a leader of the minds of men; and he must see that his own mind is kept supple, charitable, and bright. Everything but prejudice should find a voice through him; he should see the good in all things; where he has even a fear that he does not wholly understand, there he should be wholly silent; and he should recognise from the first that he has only one tool in his workshop, and that tool is sympathy.<sup>1</sup>

The second duty, far harder to define, is moral. There are a thousand different humours in the mind, and about each of them, when it is uppermost, some literature tends to be deposited. Is this to be allowed? not certainly in every case, and yet perhaps in more than rigourists would fancy. It were to be desired that all literary work, and chiefly works of art, issued from sound, human, healthy, and potent impulses, whether grave or laughing, humorous, romantic, or religious. Yet it cannot be denied that some valuable books are partially insane; some, mostly religious, partially inhuman; and very many tainted with morbidity and impotence. We do not loathe a masterpiece although we gird against its blemishes. We are not, above all, to look for faults but merits. There is no book perfect, even in design; but there are many that will delight, improve, or encourage the reader. On the one hand, the Hebrew Psalms are the only religious poetry on earth; yet they contain sallies that savour rankly of the man of blood. On the other hand, Alfred de Musset had a poisoned and a contorted nature; I am only quoting that generous and frivolous giant, old Dumas, when I accuse him of a bad heart; yet, when the impulse under which he wrote was purely creative, he could give us works like *Carmosine* or *Fantasio*, in which the lost note of the romantic comedy seems to have been found again to touch and please us. When Flaubert wrote *Madame Bovary*, I believe he thought chiefly of a somewhat morbid realism; and behold! the book turned in his hands into a

(1) A footnote, at least, is due to the admirable example set before all young writers in the width of literary sympathy displayed by Mr. Swinburne. He runs forth to welcome merit, whether in Dickens or Trollope, whether in Villon, Milton, or Pope. This is, in criticism, the attitude we should all seek to preserve, not only in taste, but in every branch of literary work.

masterpieces of appalling morality. But the truth is, when books are conceived under a great stress, with a soul of nine-fold power nine times heated and electrified by effort, the conditions of our being are seized with such an ample grasp, that, even should the main design be trivial or base, some truth and beauty cannot fail to be expressed. Out of the strong comes forth sweetness; but an ill thing poorly done is an ill thing top and bottom. And so this can be no encouragement to knock-knee'd, feeble-wristed scribes, who must take their business conscientiously or be ashamed to practise it.

Man is imperfect; yet, in his literature, he must express himself and his own views and preferences; for to do anything else, is to do a far more perilous thing than to risk being immoral: it is to be sure of being untrue. To ape a sentiment, even a good one, is to travesty a sentiment; that will not be helpful. To conceal a sentiment, if you are sure you hold it, is to take a liberty with truth. There is probably no point of view possible to a sane man but contains some truth and, in the true connection, might be profitable to the race. I am not afraid of the truth, if any one could tell it me, but I am afraid of parts of it impertinently uttered. There is a time to dance and a time to mourn; to be harsh as well as to be sentimental; to be ascetic as well as to glorify the appetites; and if a man were to combine all these extremes into his work, each in its place and proportion, that work would be the world's masterpiece of morality as well as of art. Partiality is immorality; for any book is wrong that gives a misloading picture of the world and life. The trouble is that the weakling must be partial; the work of one proving dank and depressing; of another, cheap and vulgar; of a third, epileptically sensual, of a fourth, sourly ascetic. In literature as in conduct, you can never hope to do exactly right. All you can do is to make as sure as possible; and for that there is but one rule. Nothing should be done in a hurry that can be done slowly. It is no use to write a book and put it by for nine or even ninety years; for in the writing you will have partly convinced yourself; the delay must precede any beginning; and if you meditate a work of art, you should first long roll the subject under the tongue to make sure you like the flavour, before you brew a volume that shall taste of it from end to end; or if you propose to enter on the field of controversy, you should first have thought upon the question under all conditions, in health as well as in sickness, in sorrow as well as in joy. It is this nearness of examination necessary for any true and kind writing, that makes the practice of the art a prolonged and noble education for the writer.

There is plenty to do, plenty to say, or to say over again, in the meantime. Any literary work which conveys faithful facts or pleasing impressions is a service to the public. It is even a service to be

thankfully proud of having rendered. The slightest novels are a blessing to those in distress, not chloroform itself a groater. Our fine old sea-captain's life was justified when Carlyle soothed his mind with *The King's Own* or *Newton Forster*. To please is to serve ; and so far from its being difficult to instruct while you amuse, it is difficult to do the one thoroughly without the other. Some part of the writer or his life will crop out in even a vapid book ; and to read a novel that was conceived with any force, is to multiply experience and to exercise the sympathies. Every article, every piece of verse, every essay, every *entre-filet*, is destined to pass, however swiftly, through the minds of some portion of the public, and to colour, however transiently, their thoughts. When any subject falls to be discussed, some scribbler on a paper has the invaluable opportunity of beginning its discussion in a dignified and human spirit ; and if there were enough who did so in our public press, neither the public nor the parliament would find it in their minds to drop to meaner thoughts. The writer has the chance to stumble, by the way, on something pleasing, something interesting, something encouraging, were it only to a single reader. He will be unfortunate, indeed, if he suit no one. He has the chance, besides, to stumble on something that a dull person shall be able to comprehend ; and for a dull person to have read anything and, for that once, comprehended it, makes a marking epoch in his education.

Here then is work worth doing and worth trying to do well. And so, if I were minded to welcome any great accession to our trade, it should not be from any reason of a higher wage, but because it was a trade which was useful in a very great and in a very high degree ; which every honest tradesman could make more serviceable to mankind in his single strength ; which was difficult to do well and possible to do better every year ; which called for scrupulous thought on the part of all who practised it, and hence became a perpetual education to their nobler natures ; and which, pay it as you please, in the large majority of the best cases will still be underpaid. For surely, at this time of day in the nineteenth century, there is nothing that an honest man should fear more timorously than getting and spending more than he deserves.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

## POLITICAL HEADS—CHIEFS, KINGS, ETC.

Of the three components of the tri-une political structure traceable at the outset, we have now to follow the development of the first. Already in the last two chapters something has been said, and more has been implied, respecting that most important differentiation which results in the establishment of a headship. What was there indicated under its general aspects has here to be elaborated under its special aspects.

"When Rink asked the Nicobarians who among them was the chief, they replied laughing, how could he believe that *one* could have power against so many?" I quote this as a reminder that there is at first resistance to the assumption of supremacy by one member of a group—a resistance which, though in some types of men small, is in most considerable, and in a few very great. To instances already given of tribes practically chiefless, may be added, from America, the Haidahs, among whom "the people seemed all equal;" the Californian tribes, among whom "each individual does as he likes;" the Navajos, among whom "each is sovereign in his own right as a warrior;" and from Asia the Angamies, who "have no recognized head or chief, although they elect a spokesman, who, to all intents and purposes, is powerless and irresponsible"

Such small subordination as rude groups show, occurs only when the need for joint action is imperative, and control is required to make it efficient. Instead of recalling before-named examples of temporary chieftainship, I may here give a few others. Of the Lower Californians we read—"In hunting and war they have one or more chiefs to lead them, who are selected only for the occasion." Of the Flatheads' chiefs it is said that "with the war their power ceases." Among the Sound Indians the chief "has no authority, and only directs the movements of his band in warlike incursions"

As observed under another head, this primitive insubordination has greater or less play according as the environment and the habits of life hinder or favour coercion. The Lower Californians, above instanced as chiefless, Baogert says resemble "herds of wild swine, which run about according to their own liking, being together to-day and scattered to-morrow, till they meet again by accident at some future time." "The chiefs among the Chipewyans are now totally without power," says Franklin; and these people exist as small migratory bands. Of the Abipones, who are "impa-

tient of agriculture and a fixed home," and "are continually moving from place to place," Dobrizhoffer writes—"they neither revere their cacique as a master, nor pay him tribute or attendance as is usual with other nations." The like holds under like conditions with other races remote in type. Of the Bedouins Burckhardt remarks "the sheikh has no fixed authority;" and according to another writer "a chief, who has drawn the bond of allegiance too tight, is deposed or abandoned, and becomes a mere member of a tribe, or remains without one."

And now, having noted the original absence of political control, the resistance it meets with, and the circumstances which facilitate evasion of it, we may ask what causes aid its growth. There are several; and chieftainship becomes settled in proportion as they co-operate.

Among the members of the primitive group, slightly unlike in various ways and degrees, there is sure to be some one who has a recognized superiority. This superiority may be of several kinds, which we will briefly glance at.

Though in a sense abnormal, the cases must be noted in which the superiority is that of an alien immigrant. The headmen of the Khonds "are usually descended from some daring adventurer" of Hindoo blood. Forsyth remarks the like of "most of the chiefs" in the highlands of Central Asia. And the traditions of Bochica among the Chibchas, Amalivaca among the Tamanacs, and Quetzalcoatl among the Mexicans, imply kindred origins of chieftainships. Here, however, we are mainly concerned with superiorities arising within the tribe.

The first to be named is that which goes with seniority. Though age, when it brings incapacity, is often among rude peoples treated with such disregard that the old are killed or left to die, yet, so long as capacity remains, the greater experience accompanying age generally insures influence. The chiefless Esquimaux show "deference to seniors and strong men." Burchell says that over the Bushmen, old men seem to exercise the authority of chiefs to some extent; and the like is true with the natives of Australia. By the Fuegians "the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people." Each party of Rock Voddahs "has a headman, the most energetic senior of the tribe," who divides the honey, &c. Even with sundry peoples more advanced the like holds. The Dyaks in North Borneo "have no established chiefs, but follow the counsels of the old man to whom they are related;" and Edwards says of the ungoverned Caribs, that "to their old men, indeed, they allowed some kind of authority."

Naturally, in rude societies, the strong hand gives predominance. Apart from the influence of age, "bodily strength alone procures distinction among" the Bushmen. The leaders of the Tasmanians were tall and powerful men: "instead of an elective or hereditary chieftaincy, the place of command was yielded up to the bully of the tribe." A remark of Sturt's implies a like origin of supremacy among the Australians. Similarly in South America. Of people on the Tapajos, Bates tells us that "the footmarks of the chief could be distinguished from the rest by their great size and the length of the stride." And in Bedouin tribes "the fiercest, the strongest, and the craftiest obtains complete mastery over his fellows." During higher stages physical vigour long continues to be an all-important qualification; as in Homeric Greece, where even age did not compensate for decline of strength: "an old chief, such as Pélus and Laertes, cannot retain his position." And throughout Mediæval Europe, maintenance of headship largely depended on bodily prowess.

Mental superiority, alone or joined with other attributes, is a common cause of predominance. With the Snake Indians, the chief is no more than "the most confidential person among the warriors." Schoolcraft says of the chief acknowledged by the Creeks that "he is eminent with the people only for his superior talents and political abilities," and that over the Comanches "the position of a chief is not hereditary, but the result of his own superior cunning, knowledge, or success in war." A chief of the Coroados is one "who by his strength, cunning, and courage had obtained some command over them."

Yet another source of governmental power in primitive tribes is largeness of possessions: wealth being at once an indirect mark of superiority and a direct cause of influence. With the Tacullics "any person may become a *muty* or chief who will occasionally provide a village feast." "Among the Tolewas, in Del Norte Country, money makes the chief." And of the chiefless Navajos we read that "every rich man has many dependants, and these dependants are obedient to his will, in peace and in war."

But naturally in societies not yet politically developed, acknowledged superiority is ever liable to be computed with or replaced by superiority arising afresh.

"If an Arab, accompanied by his own relations only, has been successful on many predatory excursions against the enemy, he is joined by other friends; and if his success still continues, he obtains the reputation of being '*lucky*,' and he thus establishes a kind of second, or inferior agency in the tribe."

So in Sumatra—

"A commanding aspect, an insinuating manner, a ready fluency in discourse,



and a penetration and sagacity in unravelling the little intricacies of their disputes, are qualities which seldom fail to procure to their possessor respect and influence, sometimes, perhaps, superior to that of an acknowledged chief."

And supplantings of kindred kinds occur among the Tongans and the Dyaks.

At the outset then, what we before distinguished as the principle of efficiency is the sole principle of organization. Such political headship as exists, is acquired by one whose fitness asserts itself in the form of greater age, superior prowess, stronger will, wider knowledge, quicker insight, or larger wealth. But evidently supremacy which thus depends exclusively on personal attributes is but transitory. It is ever liable to be superseded by the supremacy of some more able man from time to time arising; and if not superseded, is inevitably ended by death. We have, then, to inquire how permanent chieftainship becomes established. Before doing this, however, we must consider more fully the two kinds of superiority which especially conduce to chieftainship, and their modes of operation.

As bodily vigour is a cause of predominance within the tribe on occasions daily occurring, still more on occasions of war is it, when joined with courage, a cause of predominance. War, therefore, ever tends to make more pronounced any authority of this kind which is incipient. Whatever reluctance other members of the tribe have to recognize the leadership of any one member, is likely to be over-ridden by their desire for safety when recognition of his leadership furthers that safety.

This rise of the strongest and most courageous warrior to power is at first spontaneous, and afterwards by agreement more or less definite: sometimes joined with a process of testing. Where, as in Australia, each "is esteemed by the rest only according to his dexterity in throwing or evading a spear," it is inferrable that such superior capacity for war as is displayed, generates of itself such temporary chieftainship as exists. Where, as among the Comanches, any one who distinguishes himself by taking many "horses or scalps, may aspire to the honours of chieftaincy, and is gradually inducted by a tacit popular consent," this natural genesis is clearly shown us. Very commonly, however, there is deliberate choice; as by the Flatheads, among whom, "except by the war-chiefs no real authority is exercised." By some of the Dyaks, both strength and courage are tested. "The ability to climb up a large pole, well-greased, is a necessary qualification of a fighting chief among the Sea Dyaks;" and St. John says that in some cases, "it was a custom in order to settle who should be chief, for the rivals to go out in search of a head: the first in finding one being victor."

Moreover, the need for an efficient leader tends ever to re-establish chieftainship where it is only nominal or feeble. Edwards says of the Caribs that "in war, experience had taught them that subordination was as requisite as courage; they therefore elected their captains in their general assemblies with great solemnity;" and "put their pretensions to the proof with circumstances of outrageous barbarity." Similarly, "although the Abipones neither fear their caoique as a judge, nor honour him as a master, yet his fellow-soldiers follow him as a leader and governor of the war, whenever the enemy is to be attacked or repelled."

These and like facts, of which there are abundance, have three kindred implications. One is that continuity of war conduces to permanence of chieftainship. A second is that, with increase of his influence as successful military head, the chief gains influence as political head. A third is that there is thus initiated a union, maintained through subsequent phases of social evolution, between military supremacy and political supremacy. Not only among the uncivilized Hottentots, Malagasy, and others, is the chief or king head of the army—not only among such semi-civilized peoples, as the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, do we find the monarch one with the commander-in-chief; but the histories of extinct and surviving nations all over the world exemplify the connexion. In Egypt "in the early ages, the offices of king and general were inseparable." Assyrian records represent the political head as also the conquering soldier; as do the records of the Hebrews. Civil and military supremacy were united among the Homeric Greeks; and in primitive Rome "the general was ordinarily the king himself." That throughout European history it has been so, and partially continues so even now in the more militant societies, needs no showing.

How command of a wider kind follows military command, we cannot readily see in societies which have no records: we can but infer that along with increased power of coercion which the successful head-warrior gains, naturally goes the exercise of a stronger rule in civil affairs. That this has been so among peoples who have histories there is proof. Of the primitive Germans Sohm remarks that the Roman invasions had one result:—

"The kingship became united with the leadership (become permanent) of the army, and as a consequence, raised itself to a *power* [institution] in the State. The military subordination under the king-leader furthered political subordination under the king. . . . Kingship after the invasions is a kingship clothed with supreme rights—a kingship in our sense."

In like manner it is observed by Ranke that during the wars with the English in the fifteenth century—

"The French monarchy, whilst struggling for its very existence, acquired at the same time, and as the result of the struggle, a firmer organization. The expedients adopted to carry on the contest grew, as in other important cases, to national institutions."

And modern instances of the relation between successful militancy and the strengthening of political control, are furnished by the career of Napoleon and the recent history of the German Empire.

Political headship then, commonly beginning with the influence gained by the strongest, most courageous, and most astute warrior, becomes established where activity in war gives opportunity for his superiority to show itself and to generate subordination; and thereafter the growth of political power continues primarily related to the exercise of militant functions.

Very erroneous, however, would be the idea formed if no further origin for political headship were named. There is a kind of influence, in some cases operating alone and in other cases co-operating with that above specified, which is all-important. I mean the influence possessed by the medicine-man.

That this arises as early as the other can scarcely be said; since, until the ghost-theory takes shape, there is no origin for it. But when belief in the spirits of the dead becomes current, the medicine-man, professing ability to control them and inspiring faith in his pretensions, is regarded with a fear which prompts obedience. When we read of the Thlinkets that "the supreme feat of a conjuror's power is to throw one of his liege spirits into the body of one who refuses to believe in his power, upon which the possessed is taken with swooning and fits," we may imagine the dread he excites and the sway he consequently gains. From some of the lowest races upwards we find illustrations. Fitzroy says of the "doctor-wizard among the Fuegians" that he is the most cunning and most deceitful of his tribe, and that he has great influence over his companions. "Though the Tasmanians were free from the despotism of rulers, they were swayed by the counsels, governed by the arts, or terrified by the fears, of certain wise men or doctors. These could not only mitigate suffering, but inflict it." A chief of the Haidahs "seems to be the principal sorcerer, and indeed to possess little authority save from his connexion with the preter-human powers." The Dakota medicine-men—

"Are the greatest rascals in the tribe, and possess immense influence over the minds of the young, who are brought up in the belief of their supernatural powers. . . . The war-chief, who leads the party to war, is always one of these medicine-men, and is believed to have the power to guide the party to success, or save it from defeat."

Among more advanced peoples in Africa, supposed powers of working supernatural effects similarly give influence, strengthening authority otherwise gained. It is so with the Amasulu: a chief "practises magic on another chief before fighting with him;" and his followers have great confidence in him if he has much repute as a magician. Hence the power possessed by Langalibalele, who, as Bishop Colenzo says, "knows well the composition of that *intelezi* [used for controlling the weather]; and he knows well, too, the war-medicine, *i.e.* its component parts, being himself a doctor." Still better is seen the governmental influence thus acquired in the case of the king of Obbo, who in time of drought calls his subjects together and explains to them—

"How much he regrets that their conduct has compelled him to afflict them with unfavourable weather, but that it is their own fault. . . . He must have goats and corn. 'No goats, no rain, that's our contract, my friends,' says Katchiba. . . . Should his people complain of too much rain, he threatens to pour storms and lightning upon them for ever, unless they bring him so many hundred baskets of corn, &c. &c. . . . His subjects have the most thorough confidence in his power."

And the king is similarly supposed to have power over the weather among the people of Loango.

A like connexion is traceable in the records of various extinct peoples in both hemispheres. Of Huitzilopochtli, the founder of the Mexican power, we read that "a great wizard he had been, and a sorcerer;" and every Mexican king on ascending the throne had to swear "to make the sun go his course, to make the clouds pour down rain, to make the rivers run, and all fruits to ripen." Reproaching his subjects for want of obedience a Chibcha ruler told them they knew "that it was in his power to afflict them with pestilence, small-pox, rheumatism, and fever, and to make to grow as much grass, vegetables, and plants as they wanted." Ancient Egyptian records yield indications of a similar early belief. Thutmes III., after being deified, "was considered as the luck-bringing god of the country, and a preserver against the evil influence of wicked spirits and magicians." And it was thus with the Jews:—

"Rabbinical writings are never weary of enlarging upon the magical power and knowledge of Solomon. He was represented as not only king of the whole earth, but also as reigning over devils and evil spirits, and having the power of expelling them from the bodies of men and animals and also of delivering people to them."

The traditions of European peoples furnish kindred evidence. As before shown stories in the *Heims-kringla* saga imply that the Scandinavian ruler, Odin, was a medicine-man; as were also Niort and Frey, his successors. And after recalling the supernatural

weapons and supernatural achievements of early heroic kings, we can scarcely doubt that with them were in some cases associated the supposed magical powers whence have descended the supposed powers of kings to cure diseases by touching or otherwise. We shall the less doubt this on finding that like powers were ascribed to subordinate rulers of early origin. There were certain ancient Breton nobles whose spittle and touch had curative properties.

One important factor, then, in the genesis of political headship, originates with the ghost-theory, and the concomitant rise of a belief that some men, having acquired power over ghosts, can obtain their aid. Generally the chief and the medicine-man are separate persons; and there then exists between them some conflict: they have competing authorities. But where the ruler unites with his power naturally gained, this ascribed supernatural power, his authority is necessarily much increased. Recalcitrant members of his tribe who might dare to resist him if bodily prowess alone could decide the struggle, do not dare to do this if they believe he can send one of his *posse comitatu* of ghosts to torment them. That rulers desire to unite the two characters we have, in one case, distinct proof. Canon Callaway tells us that among the Amazulu, a chief will endeavour to discover a medicine-man's secrets and afterwards kill him.

Still there recurs the question—How does permanent political headship arise? Such political headship as results from bodily power, or courage, or sagacity, even when strengthened by supposed supernatural aid, ends with the life of any savage who gains it. The principle of efficiency, physical or mental, while it tends to produce a temporary differentiation into ruler and ruled, does not suffice to produce a permanent differentiation. There has to co-operate another principle, to which we now pass.

Already we have seen that even in the rudest groups age gives some predominance. Among both Fuegians and Australians, not only old men, but old women, exercise authority. And that this respect for age, apart from other distinction, is an important factor in establishing political subordination, is implied by the curious fact that, in sundry advanced societies characterized by extreme governmental coercion, the respect due to age takes precedence of all other respect. Sharpe remarks of ancient Egypt that "here as in Persia and Judæa the king's mother often held rank above his wife." In China, notwithstanding the inferior position of women socially and domestically, there exists this supremacy of the female parent, second only to that of the male parent; and the same thing occurs in Japan. As supporting the

inference that subjection to parents prepares the way for subjection to rulers; I may add a converse fact. Of the Coroados, whose groups are so incoherent, we read that—

"The pajé, however, has as little influence over the will of the multitude as any other, for they live without any bond of social union, neither under a republican nor a patriarchal form of government. Even family ties are very loose among them . . . there is no regular precedence between the old and the young, for age appears to enjoy no respect among them."

And, as re-inforcing this converse fact, I may add that, as I have shown elsewhere, the Mantras, the Caribs, the Mapuchés, the Brazilian Indians, the Gallinuceros, the Shoshones, the Navajos, the Californians, the Comanches, who submit very little or not at all to chiefly rule, display a filial submission which is mostly small and ceases early.

But now under what circumstances does respect for age take that pronounced form seen in societies distinguished by great political subordination? It was pointed out that when men, passing from the hunting stage into the pastoral stage, began to wander in search of food for their domesticated animals, they fell into conditions favouring the formation of that patriarchal group, at once family and miniature society, constituting the unit of composition of societies which reach the highest stages of evolution. We saw that in the primitive pastoral horde, the man, dissociated from those earlier tribal influences which interfere with paternal power, and which prevent settled relations of the sexes, was so placed as to acquire headship of a coherent group: the father became "by right of the strong hand, leader, owner, master, of wife, children, and all he carried with him." There were enumerated the influences which tended to make the eldest male a patriarch; and it was shown that not only the Semites, Aryans, and Turanians have exemplified this relation between pastoral habits and the patriarchal organization, but that it recurs in South African races.

Be the causes what they may, however, we find abundant proof that this family supremacy of the eldest male, common among pastoral peoples and peoples who have passed through the pastoral stage into the agricultural stage, naturally develops into political supremacy. Of the Santals Hunter says—

"The village government is purely patriarchal. Each hamlet has an original founder (the Manjhi-Hanan), who is regarded as the father of the community. He receives divine honours in the sacred grove, and transmits his authority to his descendants."

Of the compound family among the Khonds we read in Macpherson that—

"There it [paternal authority] reigns nearly absolute. It is a Khond's maxim that a man's father is his god, disobedience to whom is the greatest crime—and all the members of a family live united in strict subordination to its head until his death."

And the growth of groups thus arising into compound and doubly compound groups, acknowledging the authority of one who unites family headship with political headship, has been made familiar by Sir Henry Maine and others as common to early Greeks, Romans, Teutons, and as still affecting social organization among Hindoos and Selavs.

Here, then, we have making its appearance a factor which conduces to permanence of political headship. As was pointed out in a foregoing chapter, while succession by efficiency gives plasticity to social organization, succession by inheritance gives it stability. No settled arrangement can arise in a primitive community so long as the function of each unit is determined exclusively by his fitness; since, at his death, the arrangement, in so far as he was a part of it, must be recommenced. Only when his place is forthwith filled by one whose claim is admitted, does there begin a differentiation which survives through successive generations. And evidently in the earlier stages of social evolution, while the coherence is small and the want of structure great, it is requisite that the principle of inheritance should, especially in respect of the political headship, predominate over the principle of efficiency. Contemplation of the facts will make this clear.

Two primary forms of hereditary succession have to be considered. The system of kinship through females, common among rude peoples, results in descent of property and power to brothers or to the children of sisters; while the system of kinship through males, general among advanced peoples, results in descent of property and power to sons or daughters. We have first to note that succession through females results in less stable political headships than does succession through males.

From the fact named when treating of the domestic relations, that the system of kinship through females arises where unions of the sexes are temporary or unsettled, it is to be inferred that this system characterizes societies which are unadvanced in all ways, political included. We saw that irregular connexions involve paucity and feebleness of known relationships, and a type of family the successive links of which are not strengthened by so many collateral links. A common consequence is that along with descent through females there goes either no chieftainship, or chieftainship is established by merit, or, if hereditary, it is usually unstable. The

Australians and Tasmanians may be named as typical instances. Among the Haidahs and other savage peoples of Columbia "rank is nominally hereditary, for the most part by the female line;" and actual chieftainship "depends to a great extent on wealth and ability in war." Of other North American tribes the Chippewas, Comanches, and Snakes, show us the system of kinship through females joined with either absence of hereditary chieftainship or very feeble development of it. Passing to South America, the Arawaks and the Waraus may be instanced as having female descent and almost nominal, though hereditary chiefs; and much the same may be said of the Caribs.

A group of facts having much significance may now be noted. In many societies where descent of property and rank in the female line is the rule, an exception is made in the case of the political head; and the societies exemplifying this exception are societies in which political headship has become relatively stable. Though in Fiji there is kinship through females, yet, according to Seemann the ruler, chosen from the members of the royal family, is "generally the son" of the late ruler. In Tahiti, where the two highest ranks follow the primitive system of descent, male succession to rulership is so pronounced that, on the birth of an eldest son the father becomes simply a regent on his behalf. And among the Malagasy, along with a prevailing kinship through females, the sovereign either nominates his successor, or, failing this, the nobles appoint, and "unless positive disqualification exists, the eldest son is usually chosen." Africa furnishes evidence of varied kinds. Though the Congo people, the Coast Negroes, and the Inland Negroes, have formed societies of some size and complexity, notwithstanding that kinship through females obtains in the succession to the throne, yet we read of the first that allegiance is "vague and uncertain;" of the second that, save where free in form, the government is "an insecure and short-lived monarchic despotism;" and of the third that, where the government is not of mixed type, it is "a rigid but insecure despotism." Meanwhile, in the two most advanced and powerful states, stability of political headship goes along with departure, partial or complete, from succession through females. In Ashantee the order of succession is "the brother, the sister's son, the son;" and in Dahomey there is male primogeniture. Further instances of this transition are yielded by extinct American civilizations. Though the Aztec conquerors of Mexico brought with them the system of kinship through females, and consequent law of succession, yet this law of succession was partially, or completely, changed to succession through males. In Texcoco and Tlacopan (divisions of Mexico) the eldest son inherited



the kingship; and in Mexico the choice of a king was limited to the sons and brothers of the preceding king. Then, of ancient Peru, Gomara says "nephews inherit, and not sons, except in the case of the Yncas:" this exception in the case of the Yncas having the strange peculiarity that "the first-born of this brother and sister [*i.e.*, the Ynca and his principal wife] was the legitimate heir to the kingdom"—an arrangement which made the line of descent unusually narrow and definite. And here we are brought back to Africa by the parallelism between the case of Peru and that of Egypt. "In Egypt it was maternal descent that gave the right to property and to the throne. The same prevailed in Ethiopia. If the monarch married out of the royal family the children did not enjoy a legitimate right to the crown." When we add the statement that the monarch was "supposed to be descended from the gods, in the male and female line;" and when we join with this the further statement that there were royal marriages between brother and sister; we see that like causes worked like effects in Egypt and in Peru. For in Peru the Ynca was of supposed divine descent; inherited his divinity on both sides; and married his sister to keep the divine blood unmixed. And in Peru as in Egypt there resulted royal succession in the male line, where, otherwise, succession through females prevailed.

With this process of transition from the one law of descent to the other, implied by these last facts, may be joined some processes which preceding facts imply. In New Caledonia a "chief nominates his successor, if possible, in a son or brother:" the one choice implying descent in the male line and the other being consistent with descent in either male or female line. And in Madagascar, where the system of female kinship prevailed, "the sovereign nominated his successor—naturally choosing a son." Further it is to be noted that where, as in these cases, when no nomination has been made the nobles choose among members of the royal family, and are determined in their choice by eligibility, there may be, and naturally is, a departure from descent in the female line; and this once broken through is likely for several reasons to be abolished. We are also introduced to another transitional process. For some of these cases are among the many in which succession to rulership is fixed in respect of the family, but not fixed in respect of the member of the family—a stage implying a partial but incomplete stability of the political headship. Several instances occur in Africa. "The crown of Abyssinia is hereditary in one family, but elective in the person," says Bruce. "Among the Timmanees and Bulloms, the crown remains in the same family, but the chief or head men of the country upon whom the election of a king depends, are at liberty to

nominate a very distant branch of that family." And a Kafir. "law requires the successor to the king should be chosen from amongst some of the youngest princes." In Java and Samoa, too, while succession to rulership is limited to the family, it is but partially settled with respect to the individual.

That stability of political headship is secured by establishment of descent in the male line is, of course, not alleged. The assertion simply is that succession after this mode conduces better than any other to its stability. Of probable reasons for this, one is that in the patriarchal group, as developed among those pastoral races from which the leading civilized peoples have descended, the sentiment of subordination to the eldest male, fostered by circumstances in the family and in the gens, becomes instrumental to a wider subordination in the larger groups eventually formed. Another probable reason is, that with descent in the male line there is more frequently a union of efficiency with supremacy. The son of a great warrior, or man otherwise capable as a ruler, is more likely to possess kindred traits than is the son of his sister; and if so, it will happen that in those earliest stages, when personal superiority is requisite as well as legitimacy of claim, succession in the male line will conduce to maintenance of power by making usurpation more difficult.

There is, however, a more potent influence which aids in giving permanence to political headship, and which operates more in conjunction with descent through males than in conjunction with descent through females—an influence probably of greater importance than any other.

HERBERT SPENCER.

*(To be continued in the next Number.)*

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

No incident in the month's history will be looked back upon with more satisfaction than the arrangement which has been made with the Boers. The satisfaction is obviously not without alloy. The extrication of one's self from the consequences of a blunder must necessarily be accompanied by regret that the blunder was ever perpetrated. While we rejoice that a just and honourable way has been found out of our embarrassments in the Transvaal, we cannot forget the many shameful circumstances which landed us in them. We cannot forget how many lives, alike of brave Englishmen and brave Dutchmen, have been sacrificed as a consequence of political incompetency. This is not a party question, and perhaps that is the worst of it. If either the Conservative Secretary who was first responsible for annexation, or the Liberal Secretary who ratified, confirmed, and accepted annexation, if either Lord Carnarvon or Lord Kimberley had shown caution and foresight, we might have found some comfort in thinking that an evil destiny had put the wrong man into power at a critical time. Unfortunately we cannot fall back upon this. What Lord Carnarvon weakly did, Lord Kimberley weakly adopted. Nor must we forget that Mr. Forster and Lord Brabourne are just as responsible as anybody else. The upshot of it is that the country must feel that neither the statesmen of one party nor the other have anybody of sound doctrine in the region of colonial policy. In a more robust time Lord Kimberley would have suffered penalties for the series of blind acts of impolicy through which he has led the country. This kind of thing has gone out of fashion. Lord Kimberley will remain in the Cabinet and continue to administer affairs which it has been proved at such bitter and painful cost to his countrymen that he does not understand, and in connection with which he has led us through so many dire vexations to the edge of what might easily have become a still more dire catastrophe.

This, however, has been avoided—the catastrophe of prolonging an admittedly unjust war. No small honour is due to the Ministry, or to that portion of it which insisted on counsels of justice, moderation, and common sense, for accepting plain truth when it was forced upon them. There were plenty of difficulties ahead, but it is a comfort to know that in the last resort there are men at the head of affairs who will not allow themselves to be driven, even by the passion which is naturally excited by military repulse, to take their eye off the real and essential facts of the situation. The real and

essential facts in the Transvaal were that an Office had been misinformed; that Governments had made a mistake; that persistence in the mistake would load us with new embarrassments in the Transvaal, and might possibly kindle a conflagration throughout South Africa. The Boers, who were only struggling for reasonable objects, comported themselves as reasonable men might be expected to do. Sir Evelyn Wood, the highest representative on the spot, much liked and trusted by them, showed a spirit to match. The result is that we have at last a good chance of relieving ourselves of a thankless and unprofitable burden, which a sensible and rightly informed policy would have prohibited us ever from undertaking.

In the East of Europe the two notable events of the month are the death of the Czar and the development of the Greco-Turkish dispute. As these are in a manner organically connected, we may conveniently examine them together. The shock of horror which the news of the assassination of Alexander II. sent through Europe was keen, but not perhaps as keen as might have been expected. This was from no lack of human sympathy with the violent ending of the Czar, but because the public mind had been prepared for the event by a series of outrages, many of them far more destructive of life than that which carried him off, and by a knowledge that General Melikoff had rather driven Nihilism inwards than eradicated it. There is no stamping out such deeply seated evils as those. They must be plucked out if they are to be removed, and they must be plucked out by the root. The root of these horrible diseases which undermine empires is to be found in the misery and the disaffection of a people. Socialism, a great German political writer has observed, means suffering. Nihilism admits of the same definition. The desolating influence of wars, and constant additions to the oppressive burden of an intolerable taxation; the concentration of power within the limits of a narrow official circle, the absence of representative legislation, the violent localization of wealth, the appalling contrasts between squalor and luxury, the impunity and licence given to extortion, and cruelty of all kinds; these furnish the real explanation of Russian Nihilism. Greatly to his credit the late Czar emancipated the Serfs. But that was only the first link in a long chain of reforms which he should have endeavoured to accomplish, and which he never took in hand. It was a step which redeemed some millions of men from miserable and grinding servitude, but it did not make them heirs of political liberty. No one doubts that Alexander II. might have been personally inclined to crown the edifice. But his environment was hostile to such a step. The generals, and diplomatists, and officials—the whole aggregate of the Russian privileged classes in fact—were violently opposed to any such concession. A man of

irresolute though not unamiable temperament, the late Czar was a reformer only in name. Had he granted a Constitution to his subjects twenty years ago, all might have been well. Other innovations and improvements would have followed, and the remotest regions of the Empire would have commenced to shake off the outer husk of barbarism. Instead, he yielded himself completely to the counselors who surrounded him, and his reign became a chequered pageant of military display. In Central Asia the Russian army were engaged almost incessantly, and at enormous cost of blood and treasure. The struggle with Turkey was one of the most wasting to which an empire, even as great as that of the Czar, had ever submitted. There was not a household in any portion of his dominions that did not feel the drain of men and money to which the State was constantly exposed. Such a policy as this converted the emancipation of the serfs into a boon as little substantial as those of Tantalus. It was the ostensible promise of a happier age—the *auspicium melioris ævi* which was never destined to be fulfilled; the sudden flash of light which enabled the captive to see the terror of his dungeon, but which illuminated for him no kindly way of escape.

Who can wonder that the result of all this was that desperate attempt on the part of the masses to establish by secret agents their own rights, which is known as Nihilism? It was felt, as indeed was the case, that things were rotten to the core; it might be an experiment worth making—whether terror and assassination would not extort that for which justice and mercy pleaded in vain. The new Czar will in all probability act differently from his father. He has begun by recalling General Skobelloff. It may be taken for granted that he will not refuse the petition of his people, and that in a very few weeks he will proclaim a constitution. But what will this gift be worth? and what will be the position of the Czar if beyond this he refuses to go? The constitution, it is understood, will consist of a central representative chamber at St. Petersburg, the members of which are elected by the provincial assemblies. In these latter the Government have in almost every case a majority, therefore the effect of the new constitution will be to give the Russian people the semblance, but not the reality, of representative government. It is certain that this cannot and will not be accepted. What then will the new Emperor do? Will it be possible for him, however liberal and enlightened his wishes, to advance on the road of reform as swiftly as his subjects may deem necessary? If it is not, can he be pronounced safe from the doom of dagger and dynamite? Of course, the most drastic measures will at once be taken to repress Nihilism; but this cannot be done so long as men are found who will face the risk of any kind of death or

torture if they can only be instrumental in destroying the chief representative of a hated system. Alexander III. ascends his throne at a dark and troublous hour. The dangers which turned the life of his father into one protracted agony will be felt by him also, and the ceremonial congratulations which greet his accession will have in them the ring of deadly irony.

These are considerations which must exercise some influence upon the external policy of the new Russian monarch. He cannot hope safely, or for any length of time, to occupy himself with salutary reforms at home. There are many forces which may attract him to a policy of adventure abroad. He is the recognised champion of the Slavonic race. He is the head of a great empire surrounded by formidable, and as they may show themselves to be, aggressive enemies. He is the husband of a wife who is the sister of the King of Greece, and who is known to be enthusiastically devoted to the Hellenic cause. Between Philhellenism and Panslavism there exists a traditional and intelligible jealousy. But nothing is more certain than that if the Greek question is opened, so will be the Slavonic, and *vice versa*. The two act and react upon each other in a manner which it is impossible to prevent, and with results which it is impossible to foresee. The moment that Greece makes an incursion into Thessaly, we shall hear of the revival of the movement for the consolidation of Bulgaria and East Roumelia, and Albania will be once more in a state of commotion. If the Hellenes begin to plunge the South-East of Europe into confusion by making war on the Turks, the Slavs will in due course follow their lead. It is simply a question of precedence. But whichever view we take of the contingencies of the future there is good ground for fearing that the prospect that awaits Alexander III. at no distant date is one of war, and if Russia becomes directly or indirectly involved in any hostilities, it may be vain to talk of localising them within any given area.

Upon the hypothesis that war between Turkey and Greece could be prevented there would be no reason for taking such an alarmist view. But the last hope of the prevention of this struggle has almost now disappeared. The diplomatic proceedings at Constantinople, which are only not formally at an end at the present moment of writing, have always lacked earnestness and reality. The Turks have never indicated any intention or wish to make an offer to the Greeks which they could be reasonably hoped to accept. The Greeks have consistently adhered to the frontier line traced by the Berlin Conference last year. A compromise between these two diametrically antagonistic proposals would have been, we believe, possible. But, as a matter of fact, no step in the direction of such a compromise has ever been taken. On the contrary, whatever advance has been made has been in a direction totally opposite. The

Porte has offered less and less—less even than it was prepared to concede in the month of October last. The idea that Greece could accept, and that Europe could authorise Greece to accept, Crete, with the most meagre strip of Thessalian territory, as an equivalent for Thessaly and Epirus, cannot be seriously considered. The Porte, therefore, persistently displaying this attitude, Greece has fallen back more and more upon the proposals of the Berlin Conference. It is now certain that Greece has done this with the connivance, if not with the encouragement, of one or more of the European Powers. The ambassadors may perhaps yet, merely for the sake of appearances, offer a suggestion which they will express a hope that both Greece and Turkey will see their way to accepting. But it will certainly be refused by one or each, and it will be put forward with the belief that it will be refused.

War, therefore, it can scarcely be doubted, is inevitable, and it is inevitable because there has never existed on the part of the European Powers any really unanimous determination to prevent it. England and Italy have thrown their influence into the scale of peace. Russia, during the lifetime of the late Czar, declined to be drawn into any discussion with Germany and Austria which might act as the provocative of military strife. But there is no reason to believe that either Austria or Germany—and the two in matters of foreign policy mean one and the same thing—have ever been particularly zealous on their side for peace. The general relations subsisting between the Kaiser and the late Czar rendered it extremely improbable that, so long as these occupied their respective thrones, there would be any outbreak between the two countries. All that has changed now, and the whole of the Balkan peninsula bristles with points at which Russian interests on the one hand, and Austro-German interests on the other, might come into collision. In Servia, or in matters relating to the navigation of the Danube the causes of war might at any moment declare themselves, while over and above this there is the probability, we might perhaps say almost the certainty, of a complication between Greece and Turkey, followed, as that is sure to be, by events which will raise the whole Slavonic question in the South-east of Europe.

A session before Easter which will have witnessed in addition to the carrying of the two Coercion Bills and the introduction of the Irish Land Bill, a formal debate on the subject of Kandahar, the settlement of the Supplementary Estimates, the passing of the Mutiny Bill, the Budget, the advancement of several important private Bills, and the discussion of some weighty motions brought forward from both sides of the House, cannot from a parliamentary point of view be called unproductive. It would have been more satisfactory if it had

been found possible to transact all this business without having recourse to extraordinary measures for preventing obstruction in the House of Commons. What, however, it is necessary to point out is that these extraordinary measures have not had an extraordinary effect. In other words, the object of urgency was not to check freedom of debate, still less to enable the Government to rush their Irish Bills through the House. It aimed at nothing more than the assimilation of the conduct of Irish to that of other business. A state of things had arisen under which any Irish proposal that did not command the unanimous approval of the Home Rule members, was sure to be pertinaciously resisted. The parliamentary tactics of the followers of Mr. Parnell were clever in conception and successful in execution. It was necessary to meet them with some counter demonstration of parliamentary strategy. Otherwise, no term could have been assigned to the period that the Coercion Bills would have absorbed. Mr. Gladstone made his urgency proposals; the Speaker supplemented them with his new rules; they were applied to the consideration of the Irish measures, which the public opinion of the House recognised as of immediate necessity, and they were applied on no other occasion. They were not employed in the case either of the Protection Bill or the Arms Bill before it was manifest that time was being wantonly and mischievously wasted. The very circumstances of their adoption, unsatisfactory as they were, are a guarantee that no minister will hereafter threaten the House with them upon ordinary occasions.

Events have at least proved the more than doubtfulness of the assertion that the effect of urgency is to place the House in the hands of a dictator, whenever a powerful minister wills that this shall be done. Mr. Gladstone anticipated that the Supplementary Estimates would be vexatiously delayed in Committee. He therefore announced that he should proclaim them urgent. What happened? The Opposition refused to support him, and instead of gaining as he had done on previous occasions a majority of something like 6 to 1, he obtained a mere majority of 84. Mr. Gladstone's motion was therefore on this occasion condemned by the immediate result. It might, however, easily have been that the ultimate result would have justified it, and there are some who will argue that as a matter of fact it did justify it, though not in the manner which the Prime Minister would himself have chosen. If the obstruction which Mr. Gladstone had feared had come about while the Supplementary Estimates were under discussion, and it had been shown that without urgency the Government could not transact the necessary business of the country by the specified time, the demand for urgency must again have been made, nor could the Opposition have taken upon themselves the responsibility of refusing it. Again, it may be said that it was the consciousness of



this contingency as imminent which prevented any obstruction from being offered, and that Mr. Gladstone had, so to speak, only to mention the dreaded word to secure for it the full effect. On that hypothesis, too, the abortive vote of March 14 may be thought to have vindicated itself. Technically, the issue of the whole proceeding was to put Mr. Gladstone and the Government in the wrong, and Sir Stafford Northcote and the Opposition in the right. The event showed that the Conservative view was the true one, and that the necessary estimates could be got through without any artificial machinery. But how was this event brought about? Sir Stafford Northcote and the Conservative leaders, it is notorious, did what Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal leaders could not have done. They made a successful appeal to the Irish obstructives, who had publicly announced their intention of blocking the estimates, and to that appeal a favourable response was forthcoming. It was the second indication which the past month has afforded—the issue of the Coventry election being the first—of an alliance between the Home Rulers and the Conservatives. The arrangement may or may not be durable—may or may not be destined to exercise an important influence upon the Irish Land Bill. All that we now certainly know is that, in this instance, it was followed by an effect quite dramatically successful.

If, therefore, obstruction is to be regarded as a permanent weapon of Parliamentary warfare, the use of which ordinary feelings of partisanship may at any moment prompt, it is clear that urgency cannot be effectual to meet it. Urgency can only work when the spirit of party is in abeyance, and the House of Commons presents the unwonted spectacle of one united and homogeneous body. The general question of dealing with needless and factious delay, and placing some limit upon the intolerable flow of talk, has yet to be settled. The problem which the Government and the House have to take into consideration, is not so much the prevention of obstruction, as it has been perfected by the Irish members, but the prevention of the prolongation of debates whether on the first or second reading of a Bill or in Committee. The Prime Minister has promised that the whole of this matter shall be dealt with when opportunity permits. The business of the House, and not only its business, but the businesslike aptitude of its members—the gift of something sensible, or even valuable to say, and the desire to say it—has increased to an extent that could never have been contemplated when the present standing orders of the House of Commons were drawn up. As political interest is quickened, political intelligence developed, and political knowledge extended, this will be increasingly the case. Sooner or later the Government must apply themselves to its treatment. It may be possible, and in the opinion of some

competent judges it will be desirable, to select from the urgency rules of the Speaker a few—such as those which relate to motions for the adjournment, to speeches on the first reading of a Bill, and to the arrangement of proceedings in Committee—which might be incorporated into the ordinary laws of the House of Commons. It might further be found practicable to limit the length of speeches delivered in Committee; while perhaps the most feasible suggestion of all is that in the case of Bills of second-rate or chiefly technical importance much time might be saved, and no danger of any kind incurred, if some of the work that they involve was delegated to Select Committees. These, however, are considerations for the future; though it is upon some such lines as those just indicated that any scheme of ordinary and adequate reform will have to be shaped.

The Government have no reason to complain of their treatment by any section in the House of Commons during the last three months. The strain placed by ministers upon the more advanced section of their followers has been of unexampled severity. Only the deepest confidence in the earnest vigour of Mr. Gladstone and the sincerity of his Cabinet could have induced them to vote as steadily as they did for two successive instalments of coercive legislation. Though the ministerial majority in the House of Commons is as compact and numerically as powerful as ever, it has temporarily lost some of its elasticity and enthusiasm. In the constituencies the same phenomenon may be observed in a more intensified form. The truth is that, though Ministers have succeeded in giving effect, thus far, to a policy which is disliked by all Liberals, and cordially detested by all Radicals, they have not been able to do so without paying a price. There is still every disposition, in the House of Commons, at least, to trust in the Government, and we cannot doubt that the moral courage which they have shown in bringing to a conclusion the odious and unjust war in the Transvaal, will strengthen and confirm this feeling. But the fact remains that whereas Mr. Gladstone obtained his majority expressly, amongst other purposes, that he might take a new point of departure in his Irish policy, he commenced in the old fashion with Coercion. The Liberal party, we are bound to believe, were honestly persuaded that Coercion was necessary. But the conviction was reluctantly forced upon them, and the support which they gave to the Act for suspending Habeas Corpus and disarming the Irish people was profoundly distasteful. Under these circumstances, it is not to be expected that any number of men, whose Liberalism was worthy the name, should be quite satisfied with the outlook. That they have not violently rebelled against the régime is, as we have said, only a proof of their confidence in the Government, and their desire to afford Mr. Gladstone and his

colleagues every chance of fully redeeming the pledges which they gave on their accession to office. But the influences of the past will make themselves felt in the future, and will render the task of the Government in the management of their Land Bill far more difficult than had they introduced that measure at the beginning of the session. Before Parliament is adjourned for the Easter Recess the measure will have been introduced. Upon the character which it first reveals, and upon the modifications made in it during its passage through the House of Commons, depends not only the fate of the Bill, but of the Government. If a strong Coercion Bill is followed by a weak Land Bill, the Liberal majority in the country and in Parliament will gradually disappear. A series of elections like those of Wigan and Coventry will follow, and the strength and greatness of the Government will have gone. Thus far, with respect to Ireland, Ministers have held their followers in the House of Commons together; but they have not gained any new ground. They have, if anything, lost ground. There is still abundance of time for them to retrieve their disadvantages. But it is essential that they should exactly understand their position both inside and outside the House of Commons. It is for them, in a word, to consolidate their party, and to show the Opposition that their satisfaction at the course of events is premature and unwarranted by facts.

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IMPRESSIONS OF THE IRISH LAND BILL.—I.

IN the preparation of an Act of Parliament of such importance as the Irish Land Bill, two entirely distinct questions require to be considered: firstly, the terms upon which the existing disputes and controversies between the Irish landlords and their tenants are to be compromised; and secondly, by what rules are the contracts of owners and hirers of land to be regulated for the future. The former is that which taxes the ability of the Ministry and attracts more public attention, as dealing with the immediate interests of existing individuals; but the latter is perhaps of greater importance to the public, as affecting for a future indefinite period the mode in which property in land may be dealt with and enjoyed.

The most important feature of the proposed legislation is that the legal relation of the owners and hirers of land is regarded from an altogether novel point of view, and a new legal principle is introduced the ultimate development of which it is impossible to predict. The peculiar nature of the proposed enactments naturally arises from the exceptional existing relations of landlords and tenants in Ireland, who, although upon the strict legal theory merely owners and hirers of land, occupy a position of an entirely different nature.

The relation of landlord and tenant (or rather owner and hirer) is, in accordance with the accepted legal theory, expressly adopted by the Irish Land Act of 1860, based upon a contract between the parties by which the owner of the land concedes the possession of the land to the hirer for a definite period in consideration of an annual payment, which for many purposes is considered as representing a proportion or aliquot part of the annual produce of the land itself. It is obvious that the actual relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland cannot be made to square with the legal theory of the hiring of land, and that the logical and necessary consequences of the doctrine of contract are precisely the causes of the present agitation, and constitute the evils which it is now proposed to remedy.

The peculiarity of the existing system in Ireland turns upon two facts, both foreign to English ideas, and therefore not easy for

Englishmen to apprehend: (1) that the great majority of Irish tenants from year to year have never entered into any express contract, but have held their farms for generations, paying what rent they could be made to pay, and that, although by the theory of English law holding under implied contracts, they would under any other system be considered as customary, not contractual tenants; and (2) that, in consequence of the legislation of 1870, actually, although not technically, the tenants are themselves owners of an indefinite portion of the value of the holdings which they occupy.

The legal difficulties certain to arise from the latter fact were foreseen by the authors of the Act of 1870, and were attempted to be evaded by declaring the tenant entitled to "*compensation for improvements*" and "*damages for disturbance*," statutory rights which were to remain dormant during, and to come into existence only upon, the determination of the tenancy; but, as the logical consequences of any legal rule can never be escaped, the tenant became, by whatever name the legislature chose to call his newly acquired rights, the owner of an interest in the land which he could and did sell and mortgage. The interest thus granted by the legislature to the tenant was, however, subject to the qualification that, inasmuch as it arose from the contract, express or implied, by which he had stipulated to pay a specific rent, the acquisition of such an interest in the land could not affect the amount of the rent payable during the continuance of the tenancy.

The legislation of 1870 having failed to effect the results desired, it became necessary to introduce a measure further to amend the law of landlord and tenant in Ireland; and in considering the nature and extent of the concessions to be made, it was resolved to grant the full demands of the tenants as expressed in the well-known alliteration of "fixity of tenure, free sale, and fair rent." It is easy to assert in general terms that such and such rights should be conceded to tenants, but it is difficult to draw up a clear and intelligible Act amending the existing law in the manner proposed. It is needful for such a purpose to form a distinct conception and frame a clear definition of the legal relation in which the parties are henceforth to stand to each other, and when this has been done, to develop and express in separate sections the logical consequences which follow from the first general principle upon which the Act is founded. The first necessity, therefore, in framing the Bill was to ascertain to what class of legal obligations the relation of landlord and tenant should thereafter be referred.

It is evident that no amount of ingenuity could strain any theory of contract so as to cover the proposed legislation, the necessity for which arose from the inapplicability of the inevitable doctrines of contract to the state of things existing in Ireland. There was also

an unwillingness on the part of many openly to transfer the property in the land from the landlord to the tenant, and thus reduce the former to the position of a mere rent charger. The view taken by the authors of the present Bill may be easily discovered from the nature of its provisions. They evidently based the equity of the tenants and their claim to the rights conceded by the Bill upon the admitted fact that the Irish landlord was originally the owner of the holding, in a wholly or partly unimproved condition, and that the tenant had by his labour increased or created its agricultural condition by improvements which, under the Act of 1870, he was entitled to consider as his own property; and had further, himself or his successors, continuously resided upon the holding for an indefinite period. This is precisely the condition of things under which the originally precarious estate of the copyholder ripened into acknowledged ownership; but the legislator of the nineteenth century is more cautious in dealing with the rights of landowners than were the judges of the so-much-decried feudal period. Tested by modern ideas, the former is now entitled to credit for vigour in recognising these facts as constituting the tenant a part owner at least of his holding; for public opinion requires, in spite of the advocates of peasant proprietary, that the landlord should still, in theory at least, continue to subsist, for certain indefinite, social, and beneficent purposes, although shorn of all practical power.

The tenant having been recognised as a part owner of his holding, it was considered possible to establish and define the legal relation of the landlord and tenant upon the supposition that their interests constituted a species of partnership, or, to use the phraseology of the civil law, a quasi-partnership; that is, a something not a true partnership, but which, from its general resemblance to a partnership, might fairly be treated as such. The difference of the legal relation arising from a contract of hiring, and one founded upon an agreement to form a partnership, is obvious, and no jurist had ever conceived the possibility of regarding the relation of landlord and tenant exclusively from such a point of view. It is true that the authors of the Code Napoléon do speak of the landlord and tenant as being quasi-partners, but a reference to the passage will show that such expressions are illustrative of certain details only, and that this conception of their relation is excluded from the detailed logical deduction of their respective rights and obligations. A careful examination of the first two parts of the proposed Bill will show that its provisions are solely framed upon the assumption of a quasi-partnership, a form of legislation radically dangerous, both because it is essentially contradictory to existing and unrepealed law, and because it is impossible to anticipate to what extent this latest theory may logically be developed.

It is here right to state that in the object, scope, and practical result of the proposed Bill in the case of existing yearly tenancies we entirely concur, and we believe that the faults which may be imputed to it are referable not to its exceeding, but rather to its falling short of, the legislation which the exigency of the circumstances requires. Our criticisms are exclusively directed to the effect which its enactments must produce in the case of future hiring of lands.

The theory of the Bill, and the logical consequences of this theory as developed in its sections, can be easily understood if we consider the landlord and tenant to be partners in the farm, the landlord having contributed the land in a more or less unimproved condition, and the tenant having contributed certain unascertained capital and labour represented by his compensation for improvements, and also having an undefined right to occupy, measured by the amount of his contingent damages for disturbance. Such a partnership may be conceived as dissoluble at any time at the will of either party, or, as is often the case in actual partnerships, as continuous for a definite period. This quasi-partnership differs from a real partnership in one essential point: in the case of a mercantile or manufacturing partnership, and upon its dissolution, all the assets of the firm are realised by sale, and the proceeds of such sale divided between the partners in accordance with their respective rights; but in this quasi-partnership the substratum of the partnership is land, which is the property of the landlord, and therefore upon the termination of the connection the farm cannot be sold, but the value of the tenant's interest in his holding must be paid to him either by the sale of the tenant's interest or directly by the landlord. It must, however, be added that this mode of winding up a partnership is of not unusual occurrence in mercantile conveyancing.

The most remarkable proof of the influence of the theory of partnership in the framing of the Act lies in the provisions contained in the first section. It is manifest that if this section were omitted the tenant would have a clear right to sell his interest to whom and as he himself pleased, and the section which professes to enact that the tenant may sell his interest, so far from giving him the power, restricts his power of sale by the introduction of exceptions and provisions wholly inconsistent with the ideas of the common law. The reason of this is the existence of the elementary rule of partnerships, that no partner can by the sale of his share introduce into a partnership a third party objectionable to the remaining members of the firm. The subsequent section carries out the same doctrine, being, in fact, nothing else than one of the provisions in ordinary use in partnership deeds; and to the same idea that, in addition to the legal, a species of personal relation exists between the landlord and the

tenant must be referred the remarkable enactment contained in sec. 7, § 6.

The landlord's share in the partnership being represented by the land farmed by the tenant, any variation in the value of the land must be followed by a readjustment of the rent considered as the share of the profits allocated to the owner of the land in respect of his contribution to the general funds of the concern. Such alterations in the rent payable by the tenant are inconsistent with any form of tenancy founded upon contract solely, and it is to be remarked that the alterations in the rent are made with reference to the letting of the land extending over periods of not less than fifteen years, and that the principle of the Civil Law, by which a deficient crop gives the tenant a right to a demand for a reduction of the rent, a doctrine founded upon the theory of an implied warranty of annual value, is thus excluded.

Upon the determination of a tenancy by the act of the landlord, or if the tenant desire to retire from the occupation of the holding, the dissolution of the connection is worked out by the tenant drawing out the value of his interest by either a sale to a third party, or by being purchased out by the landlord, and upon such occasion the accounts between the parties are taken, and their equities adjusted.

Such appears to be the theory upon which the Bill has been framed. It is not the object of this article to consider or criticize the details of the scheme, or the machinery by which it is proposed that it should be carried out, but rather to inquire how far, if at all, the view of the relation of landlord and tenant adopted by the authors of this Bill, equitable and consistent with the facts existing in Ireland, but novel as a juridical theory, can be applied to tenancies to be created in the future. By the Bill itself a distinction is drawn between present and future tenancies, and it is manifestly intended that the rights of "present tenants" should, for manifest reasons, be greater than those to be enjoyed by "future tenants." The only substantial right, however, upon the face of the Bill granted to present and refused to future tenants is that of initiating proceedings for the fixing of a "fair rent." But by the thirteenth section the right to apply to the Court to fix a judicial rent is given to all tenants where proceedings are taken by the landlord to recover possession of the holding, a crisis which can be easily produced by the tenant not paying his rent. Subject to this exception, and assuming that where the word "tenant" is used without any qualification it includes all tenants, both present and future, the rights and position of both classes of tenants will be practically identical. Many tenancies future in fact must be construed to be present for the purposes of the Bill, because whenever a landlord, in exercise of his right of pre-emption, and not at the request of the tenant, or as a bidder in the open market,



purchases the interest of a present tenant, any subsequent letting of the land for a period of fifteen years will create a "present," not a "future" tenancy. The rights now proposed to be granted to tenants being founded upon certain peculiar antecedent facts and special equities, it is worthy of consideration whether a future tenant, who comes into possession of the holding under wholly different circumstances, has any claim to be placed in a similar position. Upon reference to the forty-fourth section, a "tenant" means a person occupying land under a "contract of tenancy," which is itself defined as "a letting of land for a term of years, or for lives, or for lives and years, or from year to year," terms which include tenants holding under-leases, or agreements for a definite time, at a fixed rent. That this was fully understood by the persons who framed the Act, appears from the introduction of the forty-seventh section, which is introduced to except leases existing at the date of the passing of the Act from its operation; there is, however, no section similarly excluding from the provisions of the Act subsequent leases for any term, whether for thirty-one years or a greater period. All future leases of lands to which the Act applies, with the exception of leases of holdings valued at £150, in which the tenant contracts himself out of the Act, and lands held under judicial leases, will be overridden by the provisions of the Act, and almost all tenancies, whether present or future, will be regulated by an invariable law of status as defined by the clauses of this Bill.

In considering the application of the principles of the Bill to the case of a future letting, the difficulty of their application is tested if we suppose ourselves to have to deal with a specific and selected case. The owner of land in hand at the date of the passing of the Bill, such a holding for example as a home farm, or a landlord who subsequently to the passing of the Bill has *bonâ fide* and for full value in the open market purchased out an existing tenant, is desirous of letting these lands to a solvent tenant. In such a case the owner in actual possession holds the lands free from any claim for improvements or equities arising from the prolonged possession of a tenant. He, in fact, under the circumstances, if there ever was a tenant of the holding, is the assignee of the interest of such former tenant, or, to use the ordinary form of expression, all the interest and equity of the former tenant are merged in the fee; and the proposed tenant has not, nor pretends ever to have, expended any capital in the improvement of the land in question, nor indeed has any special connection with the premises. Under these circumstances the owner lets to the proposed tenant the lands in question for a definite term at a fixed rent. By virtue of such a bare contract of hiring what claim can such a tenant have to be treated as a quasi-partner? His possession is referable solely to his agreement, and his specific agreement gives him no right to aught except possession, subject to

the payment of a definite rent. It is to be remembered that if an incoming tenant contract to pay the full market value of premises in the form of an annual rent, the value of his tenancy must be nil. A tenant's interest can fetch a substantial price in one or other only of the following cases: (1) if there is an unnatural competition for the possession of land, or (2) if the rent to be paid by him is less than the market price. If such a tenant fall behind in the payment of his rent, and the landlord take proceedings, and not unnaturally, as the thirteenth section expresses it, to compel the tenant to quit his holding, upon what grounds could the tenant claim a right to sell, or to compel the landlord to purchase, an interest which would be absolutely valueless save for the unreasonable competition of third parties or the previous liberality of the landlord himself? Nor again, under such circumstances, could the tenant claim a right to apply to the Court to fix the judicial rent of the holding. Why should a future contract of pure and simple hiring create the reciprocal rights which are incident to a contract of partnership? The mode in which this remarkable result has been arrived at is not difficult to discern. The object of the authors of the Bill was to introduce a scheme by which the conflicting rights of landlords and tenants might be composed, and a dangerous political dispute compromised. The Ministry considered, as it were, the respective rights asserted by both landlord and tenant, inquired into the circumstances of the case, and having investigated the claims of the Irish tenants, whether legal, equitable, or moral, pronounced an award or compromise which has been embodied in the proposed Bill. A measure such as that with which we are dealing is purely a political measure, and not a considered act of law reform. Its general provisions have been, and will be again and again, criticized from the lawyer's point of view, but in dealing with questions such as the Irish Land question, the intervention of the lawyer is more injurious than beneficial. The object to be attained is the compromise in any reasonable manner of a logically insoluble controversy, in which technical legal rights are all on one side, and coarse natural justice and the public necessity are upon the other. The primary object is to close a burning question, and the consideration of the remote logical results of the measure are on such occasions too often unfortunately adjourned for future consideration.

It might at first seem possible that an Act which proposed to settle the Irish Land question should be confined to the existing tenancies, and that the rights and wrongs of existing tenants having been acknowledged or redressed, the future dealings with lands should be left to the existing law. But the difficulty of working an Act drawn upon such lines, and the certainty of its failure, will be appreciated by any one who attempts to define and distinguish "present" and "future" tenancies. Of the tenancies created every year, which from the legal point of view must be considered

as new tenancies, a large proportion are in truth and fact merely continuations of former tenancies. This is obvious in dealings under the Ulster tenant right. An existing tenant agrees to sell to a purchaser, and, upon payment of the purchase money to the outgoing tenant, the purchaser is accepted by the landlord as the tenant of the farm. In this case there is no assignment of the old tenancy by the outgoing to the incoming tenant; the interest of the former is absolutely extinguished, and the latter enters into a new contract, and that this is the legal aspect of the transaction is obvious from the fact that the outgoing tenant is relieved from all liability as to future rent. Again, nothing is more common than that upon the marriage of a farmer's daughter, the father, daughter, and son-in-law arrive at the agent's office, and by some consensus of the parties, indefinable by the lawyer, the son-in-law gets into a farm in lieu of the father-in-law. In these and similar cases the former tenancy is determined and a new one substituted; indeed an assignment with its legal consequences would not meet the views of the parties; yet the object and effect of the transaction is to transfer the possession of lands with its incidents from the old to the new tenant. The necessity of preventing the evasion of the objects of the Act by regarding as the creation of future tenancies transactions which in truth are only assignments of existing tenancies is the explanation of the sixth section, and possibly the justification of the entire of the forty-fifth section. But it appears to have been overlooked that even at the date of the passing of the proposed measure there may be letting of lands to which the principles of the Act cannot apply, and that subsequently to that date the number of such lettings must indefinitely increase. As lands become discharged from the equities and rights of present tenants, either by the purchase by the tenant of the landlord's interest or by the landlord buying out the tenant, the number of cases in which land must be dealt with upon the ordinary principles which flow from the fact of absolute ownership must rapidly increase.

This objection to the frame of the Bill can be easily understood by the consideration of an analogous case from which the disturbing element of a political question is eliminated. If it should appear that certain legal relations defined by the existing law to be partnerships be ascertained to be in truth contracts of hiring; if it should appear that the property, the substratum of the business, is exclusively owned by a sleeping partner, and the managing partner pays an annual sum for the use of the capital without accounting for the annual profits—it would be but right to enact that such transactions should thenceforward be treated as pure cases of hiring, and governed by the rules incident in such obligations. But if in such a case it be enacted in general terms that henceforward all partnerships should be considered hirings, a legal difficulty the converse of the former

would immediately arise; in lieu of the former one caused by treating hirings as partnerships another would be substituted, viz. that which must follow from treating pure partnerships as contracts of hiring, and fresh legislation would be requisite to curtail the excess of the general enactment.

It can scarcely be supposed that the present Bill is intended as a permanent and perpetual code regulating the relation of the owners and hirers of land, and that, irrespective of the existence of the acknowledged facts upon which the equitable claims of the tenants are founded, the free hiring of land is to be permanently forbidden, and the legal relations to arise from such transactions perpetually stereotyped after one invariable fashion. If such be the intention of the framers of the Act, all experience as to the working of such legislative attempts teaches us that it will be infallibly defeated; the supreme authority of Parliament may deprive one of his property and transfer it to another, but it can never prevent property being dealt with in the mode which the exigencies of modern society require. It is as much beyond the power of the legislature to declare that contracts of hiring shall henceforward be regulated upon the principles applicable to partnerships, as to enact that square pegs shall fit into round holes, or that equilateral shall possess the qualities of right-angled triangles. Statutes of such a nature are immediately assailed and curtailed by every device which the ingenuity of the legal profession can discover, and in the end, by means of fictions and other contrivances, their provisions are practically abrogated. Any legislation which professes to regulate the future relation of the landlords and tenants in Ireland must recognise the existence of distinct classes of property in lands, to which one invariable system is inapplicable, and which must be dealt with upon different principles.

1st. Existing yearly tenancies, or existing tenancies less than yearly tenancies, which, though in legal theory contractual, are in truth customary tenancies. To all such the principles embodied in the Bill can be reasonably and beneficially applied.

2nd. Existing leases which by the forty-seventh section are expressly excluded from the operation of the proposed legislation, and which upon the termination of the lease will fall into the subsequent class.

3rd. Lands now unlet, or which afterwards by the operation of the Act may be discharged from the equities arising from the existence of a tenancy, and as to which it is submitted the theory of the Bill is inapplicable.

As to the last class, the important question must be considered, and ultimately decided by Parliament, whether the political and social exigencies of the situation require that in this case also the freedom of dealing with the land by contracts of hiring should be for ever and absolutely prohibited.

ALEX. G. RICHEY.

## IMPRESSIONS OF THE IRISH LAND BILL.—II.

I SHOULD not like to attempt any confident criticism of the details of the Land Bill till the meaning of it is thrashed out on the second reading, but I note some first impressions.

No one can doubt that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have approached the subject in a very comprehensive and liberal spirit. Practically, the Bill seems to concede that which I and many others have long thought to be the only practical measure that is now possible—the three F's. The Gordian knot, involved in the question who has and who has not a fair claim to these privileges, is cut with great boldness by giving them to all yearly tenants, whether they came in with pre-Celtic Fenians or whether they are recent settlers, and whether they are large or small tenants. As regards the small tenants, at least, I think this is decidedly the best course. It would be impossible to do abstract historical justice in each case. Possibly an ancient Irishman may now be without land, while a modern Saxon has it. But the present holders are the mass and heart of the Irish people, and to satisfy them is the best chance of peace for Ireland.

Recognising, then, thoroughly the broad merits of all this part of the Bill, the obvious criticism is, why is it made so difficult and obscure to the lay understanding? If the three F's are to be granted, why not say so in so many words? I hope that the difficulty is merely the fashion of lawyers, or at most that the provisions are a little wrapped up only to make them more easy to swallow. I trust that there is nothing about the Bill of the character of those diplomatic documents which different parties construe differently, according to their wishes and interests.

Of the three F's—Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rents, and Free Sale—the last two are directly enough conceded. Fixity of tenure, which seems naturally to come first, is not directly conceded; but, as I understand it, the tenant may, "from time to time," apply to have a fair rent fixed, and then has fifteen years' fixity; after which, I suppose, he may again apply, and so on *ad infinitum*. If this is so, it amounts to absolute fixity of tenure; but one cannot quite see why the Bill should not directly say so. There may be cases in which there may be no dispute about the rent, and where that question must be somewhat unnecessarily raised to secure fixity.

Assuming, then, that the three F's are conceded, the great difficulty lies in the question, "What is a fair rent?" It must be admitted that the Bill (sect. 7, cl. 3) is somewhat vague on this point. No doubt it would be better if it were possible to lay down a

rule to be judicially applied. But, though I may almost say that my life has been devoted to the attempt to solve this question in the case of tenants with some status-tenure, and I have long paid particular attention to the Irish phase of the subject, I am free to confess that I do not see my way to any positive rule generally applicable to the present circumstances of Ireland. I believe that the course which the Government propose as the prominent feature of the Bill, to create a dictatorship to solve the question of fair rents, is the best that is possible. No doubt the thing must be done by a sort of equitable rule of thumb; but after all there is a sort of consensus of the country that some estates are fairly rented, some rack-rented; discreet and capable dictators may arrive at a just mean, and then taking into consideration the improvements and the circumstances of each tenant, his privilege, as indexed by the scale of disturbance, and all equitable considerations, they may do a fair if rough justice.

The greatest difficulty will, I think, lie in this, how are excessively bad seasons and great variations in values to be provided for? If we have another potato failure, or American butter and bacon, reduce the Irish articles to the position of drugs, are the tenants who from misfortune are unable to pay to be ruthlessly sacrificed, or are we to import the principle of the Disturbance Bill of last year and of the Roman and most other laws, and to say that in case of excessive failure the landlord is to share the loss with the tenant? The Bill contains no such provision, and perhaps after what passed last year the Government may be slow to propose it. Yet without it either the rents must be fixed very low to cover all risks, or another failure might lead to wholesale evictions for non-payment of rent and to a renewed war of classes.

If the whole risk of seasons is to be borne by the tenant, then I think the fifteen-year term is not only not too short, but is a great deal too long. We know that even among Scotch farmers there is a reaction of feeling against their nineteen-year leases; they are unwilling to bear all the risk for so long.

The view to which I incline is this: that the dictatorship of the Commission is good for a crisis, but should be temporary, and not permanent. When a fair rent has once been settled, or when by acquiescence, say for ten years, landlord and tenant have accepted the existing rent, their future adjustments might be regulated by a rule such as we have adopted in India, viz. that the rent shall be raised or lowered (on the scale of the existing rents) in proportion to changes in the productive powers of the land (not brought about by the tenant) or in the value of produce. In that case changes might be made as it were wholesale, with reference to general changes affecting whole districts, and I would allow an adjustment where necessary

much oftener than once in fifteen years—say after five years. Prices would be struck annually like the County Fiars prices in Scotland. I would also provide for remissions similarly carried out in case of extreme failure of crops. I hope, however, that most good landlords will prefer to retain the pleasant and amity-breeding function of giving voluntary remissions in bad times, and that only in case of harsh evictions will judicial intervention be necessary on that subject.

Free sale is put in the forefront of the Bill, and is given in a very broad and liberal way. The only part of this arrangement which I confess puzzles me much is section 12, creating an extraordinarily complicated mode of dealing with the case where the landlord raises the rent after a sale of the tenure by a tenant. The simple course might seem to have been to let the new purchaser step into the shoes of the old tenant, and stand or fall by his rights and privileges. But it is otherwise ordered. If the landlord (not having given notice before the sale) raises the rent the purchaser may sell again forthwith, and the landlord must reimburse him for the depreciation of selling value caused by the rise of rent. As I understand this provision, the effect is to give the new purchaser the equivalent of absolute fixity of rent, for the landlord cannot raise the rent without making himself liable to pay the full capital value of the addition. I should very greatly like to see all complications got rid of by fixity of rent, attained by any means. But, besides what seems the inequality of putting the new purchaser in a better position than the old tenant, there is the obvious difficulty that, as this section stands, the landlord may, and in his own interest is almost bound to give notice of increase of rent on every occasion of the sale of a tenure, for if he lets the sale pass without that notice his right of future increase is gone. I cannot help thinking that this would be an unfortunate complication.

A very important change proposed by the present Bill is the putting large tenants on nearly the same footing as small ones. Except in regard to compensation for past improvements, the large tenant was almost excluded from the benefit of the Act of 1870. He could get no more than one year's rent and no more than £250 in all as compensation for disturbance, and every tenant above £50 could, and in practice generally must, contract himself out of the Act altogether. By the present Bill, in regard to the concession of the three F's, no distinction is made between large and small tenants; compensation to large tenants for disturbance is enlarged to three years' rent without any limit of amount; and no man whose holding is valued at less than £150, say £200 rent, can be contracted out of the Act. I have no doubt that some means of giving security to large capitalist tenants for the capital they put into the soil is

one of the crying needs of the day, but it seems to me that the case of tenants of this class, whether in Ireland or in England or Scotland, stands on a totally different footing from that of the small Irish tenants. The claim of the latter does not rest solely on economical grounds, but to a great degree on history and tradition and the popular belief in a status-tenure. They are the people of Ireland, conquered, but never wholly expelled from the soil. The large farmer, on the contrary, is a comparatively new-comer who has supplanted the original people in parts of the country; he is the creature of pure contract; his claim rests on purely economical grounds. I confess it seems to me somewhat risky to mix up the case of such farmers in Ireland with that of the ordinary small farmer. If you do, and make such concessions, how can you resist the claim of the English tenant from year to year equally to have the three F's? It may be that it would be a good thing to give this to him, but I must say I should prefer to see the case of the large farmers separately dealt with for all the three kingdoms, and in Ireland to maintain the distinction set up by the Act of 1870.

It is right to say that there are two important provisions which may in practice much limit the claims of large tenants. By sect. 7, cl. 8, when an application is made by the tenant for a judicial rent, the Court *may, if it think fit*, disallow such application where it is satisfied that the holding has theretofore been maintained and improved by the landlord. This provision is, however, of a very permissive character, and there are, I take it, many cases where improvements have been made partly by the landlord and partly by the tenant to which it would be difficult to apply it. Again, when we have studied the Bill and get near the end, there crops up among the supplemental clauses at the conclusion a very important provision for which nothing preceding had prepared us. That is sect. 47, which provides that holdings under existing leases for more than one year shall be regulated by the lease, and not by the provisions relating to tenancies contained in this Act. That seems absolutely to shut out every man who has accepted a lease, long or short, and that not only during the currency of the lease, but at its termination; for there is a provision to save tenancies which would have been subject to the Ulster custom on the expiration of the lease, from which it seems we must infer that non-Ulster holdings under lease are to be subject to right of re-entry and all the rest of it according to the usual terms of leases. As regards thirty-one-year leases, and the liability of the tenants at the end of that time and of some other tenants created upwards of fifteen years after the passing of the Act, to become "future tenants," with compensation for disturbance, but no right to a "judicial rent" and to fixity, it is perhaps enough to say "sufficient for the day." But as respects shorter leases, it does seem



to me that while the provisions of sect. 47 may be suitable enough to large tenants, it will come very hard indeed on small tenants on those estates where periodical leases have been given of the nature of what we call a "settlement" in India; that is, to fix the rent and other incidents for a certain period. We have always been preaching the advantages of leases and the wrong-headedness of Irish tenants who will not accept them. Will it be possible to maintain that of two adjoining estates with similar tenants, on one where the tenancies are yearly the tenants are to have the three F's in full, on the other where leases have passed they are to have nothing?

As regards large tenants, though most of those in Ireland may come under the clause saving leases, the principle seems to remain that if any tenant, however large and however recent, should now be holding on from year to year, he acquires complete fixity and all the rest; and there is the example to English farmers who generally do hold from year to year.

Coming now to the latter part of the Bill, the purchase clauses no doubt aim at what would be far the best solution of the whole question if general effect could be given to them. And they are also what may be called a sort of *sugaring* of the Bill to the palate of all parties in Ireland. All are inclined to praise that as the best part of it. I observe that the proposals of wise and moderate Irishmen almost always eventuate in a liberal subvention from the British Treasury; and Mr. Parnell and his friends also much favour such an arrangement as a step preliminary to the complete self-government which is to follow. For all, then, the idea that, for the purpose of buying up estates voluntarily offered and allotting them to tenants, three eminent Irishmen are to be allowed to put their hands deep into British pockets has great charms. I am afraid that they are rather too sanguine on the subject. Though, in some respects, the purchase clauses may seem somewhat dangerously without limit, still, as they now stand, they contain some very cautious provisions; and, if these are really acted up to, I do not think that, considering the long score of wrongs to Ireland, we can object. Not only must three-fourths of the tenants, both in number and in value, be willing and able to purchase their holdings, but (sect. 28) the Land Commission shall satisfy themselves, before purchasing an estate, that a re-sale can be effected without loss, and that the purchasers can work their holdings profitably. Moreover, to guard against what occurred in regard to many sales of Church lands (where the tenants merely used their privilege to assign over to a speculator), the tenants who purchase cannot re-sell till half of the advance is discharged, and cannot subdivide or sublet till the whole is paid.

It is manifest that these conditions can be fulfilled only on very good estates with very good, solvent, and rent-paying tenants. Such

estates will hardly be got for less than twenty-five years' purchase ; with Government in the market seeking for voluntary sales, more may not improbably be asked, but let us say twenty-five years' purchase. The present rent would be then four per cent. on the purchase money. The tenants who purchase are to pay five per cent. on their purchases, for interest and sinking fund, to clear off in thirty-five years ; but as to the original money paid by the Commission there is to be added, before re-sale, enough to cover all expenses, all losses (and there inevitably must be losses) on the holdings which tenants are not willing to buy, and all other risks, in order to fulfil the conditions of re-sale without loss, the tenants who purchase must pay something more than the five per cent., say five and a half or six per cent. instead of the present rent of four per cent. In other words, in order that their children or grandchildren may become peasant proprietors, they must consent for their own lives to increase their present payments by almost fifty per cent. This may be done to some extent in Ulster (where most of the Church lands were situated), but I confess to great doubts whether there are many estates out of Ulster where three-fourths of the tenants can and will do this. To say nothing, then, of the chance of home rule coming before the money is repaid, I am apprehensive that in regard to the purchase clauses one of two things will happen : if they are really acted up to strictly in their present form comparatively little advantage will be taken of them, and they will be little effectual ; if they are modified to meet Irish demands, or the cautionary provisions are liberally and luxly construed, then we shall get into great pecuniary complications, and the re-sales will *not* be effected *without loss*.

As I understand it, there is nothing new about the provision for advances to reclaim waste lands except the permission to advance money to companies. In this part of the Bill, both in regard to reclamation and to emigration, the Government seem to have greater faith in companies than most people have. If companies are found willing to spend their own money as well as that advanced to them, either to reclaim Irish bogs and mountains and settle small Irish farmers, or to carry impoverished Irish families to foreign lands, and they can give really sufficient security, by all means let them. I dare say we shall have the companies brought out by eager promoters and secretaries and directors ; but except from motives of pure benevolence I confess I should not like to embark as a shareholder in such companies ; and I should think there would be a good deal of difficulty about the security for the advances made to them, and the repayment, in case the enterprises are not financially successful.

With respect to emigration the whole scheme is comprised in one single-clause section of the Bill (26), and I find it difficult to

believe that it could be worked without more elaboration ; it looks rather as if this section had been thrown in by way of after-thought. Setting aside the question whether with our ever-increasing demands for labour we can spare the Irish, I have no doubt whatever that if poor Irish families could be settled in America as successful and self-reliant agricultural colonists, that would be a great benefit to them. But are they likely to succeed in that capacity? I assume that we do not desire artificially to stimulate the emigration of the better class of Irish farmers, such as the energetic Ulsterman with twenty-five or thirty acres of tolerable land ; the scheme is more designed to dispose of the poor people of the western coasts, who live in a way which seems to us most miserable, the men being migratory occasional labourers, and at home with their women and children untidy cultivators of small patches.

I very much fear that there could hardly be worse materials for colonists in a hard climate; they never have been conspicuous in that way, and it may be doubted if they ever will. They have neither the habits of continuous energetic labour nor much agricultural skill and knowledge. They live and thrive as they do on account of their singularly temperate climate on that west coast, with little frost in winter and no heats in summer. It is notorious that in all parts of America Irishmen are very apt to suffer much in health before they get acclimatised, and I can conceive no people less fitted to struggle on to independence in Manitoba (with its seven months of super-arctic winter and its five months of sub-tropical drought and heat) than these Western Irish. Since the system of making great grants to railways has put large tracts of land in America in the market, companies formed to acquire and dispose of it are numerous enough, but they want to deal with people with a little money. What I must say that I especially dislike is the proposal to advance money to the Government of Canada. It seemed to me that the proposal lately put forward by them was most excessively one-sided. They offered the land it is true, but for months past we have all been deluged with touting advertisements sent out by the Canadian Government to attract to Manitoba, &c., settlers to whom they offer land on the usual homestead terms—that, therefore, is no special concession. But they coolly propose that we should bear ALL the cost and risk of sending out Irish families, and should guarantee them against any burden from any who may be thrown on their hands, they, who want the settlers, not contributing one farthing, but only giving management and advice. To my view nothing can be more unsatisfactory than such political relations as those which subsist between this country and Canada. I would not make sacrifices to keep the Irish under the British flag there. I do not even see that there is any mention of security for loans advanced for emigration to Colonial

Governments. If there is difficulty how are we to get our money back? I do not like this at all. If we are decided to aid emigration, I believe it would be better to do it in the old-fashioned way by giving free passages and something in hand to people willing to go, and then letting them choose a career for themselves.

It will be seen that I think the former part of the Bill far more important and valuable than the latter. Despite the double ownership, I hope that very great benefits may flow from the settlement of the relations between landlord and tenant on the principles now proposed. True, it would be better to get rid of the double ownership; but that can be done only by either confiscating or paying for the rights of the landlords, and we are not at present prepared to do either. In this world we must take things stage by stage. The first stage in this matter is completely to disentangle and make clear the respective rights and claims of landlord and tenant; that, I hope, may now be done. The next stage—to commute and get rid of one of the co-proprietors—may follow another day.

Of the present proposed settlement I will only again say that I think it might be better if, instead of such general provisions with such considerable exceptions, it could be more clearly laid down that certain tenants have what we call in India *a right of occupancy* at a fair rent, while those not entitled to this privilege would be distinctly relegated to the class of contract tenancies. It might be better that the two classes should not be intermixed, and that the susceptibilities of English landlords should not be excited more than can be helped. The right of occupancy being settled, it would still remain to settle the fair rent; that is the crucial question on which all depends. I hope that by tact and firmness an equitable settlement may be made. Whether that will satisfy both parties or either party is of course the doubtful question. We must hope for the best.

GEORGE CAMPBELL.

## STATIUS.

THOUGH the extant Latin classics are but a small part of the whole literature of Rome and its provinces, and absolutely insignificant in comparison with the vast multitude of books which modern Europe has produced, they are extensive enough to be very seldom traversed with any completeness by a reader. The field of study is narrowed by academical requirements, for study of the classics apart from academical requirements can hardly be said to exist. Even the great writers are read only in part. How few are the scholars who have read, for instance, through the forty-five books of Livy, or the Epistles of Cicero, or even the Annals of Tacitus!<sup>1</sup> Writers who are not in the first rank are almost entirely neglected. Examiners make an occasional excursion into Lucan, or Statius, or Claudian, or Ausonius, to obtain what they are certain to find, pieces of "unseen" Latin for their papers; but to the ordinary scholar these writers are but names. And in no case is this neglect more complete than in that of Statius. Time was when he was ranked as next to Virgil; when one self-opinionated scholar (the elder Scaliger) even put him at the head of the writers of Roman epic. In more recent times he has been translated and edited in this country. Now it is difficult to find any one who claims even a superficial acquaintance with him. Yet there are reasons why his poetry will repay some amount of study.

In the first place, he claims our attention as a genuine product of the imperial system. The authors of the Ciceronian period shared a political life which, for all its tumults and corruptions, was not wanting in interest and vigour; and the chief of the Augustan writers show plainly enough in the midst of the adulation which disfigures their pages that they had breathed in their youth the atmosphere of liberty. And even in days when the living tradition of freedom must long since have ceased, there were those who handed on the sacred fire. Tacitus and Juvenal, and we may, perhaps, add Lucan and the Younger Pliny, were survivals of an extinct political system. But Statius and Martial were true children of the Empire. They were born within the cage, and, unlike some of the nobler of their fellow-captives, never beat their wings against the bars. They are *mansueti*, tame to the hand. They acknowledge with a sickening servility of gratitude the caresses of a master that was one of the most brutal and degraded of mankind. And their literary style

(1) I am told—I do not know with what truth—that Horace is now little read at Oxford. It is to be hoped that the schoolmaster will never allow him to be forgotten.

represents with an instructive fidelity the vices of the social and political system which they were contented to accept.

In the next place, the age of Statius in its literary aspect bears a remarkable resemblance to our own. The great public of readers which has made literature independent of patronage did not indeed exist. It may almost be said to be the product of this century. But there was a large class, just as there is in the London of to-day, which had leisure and means, and at least a superficial cultivation. In this class there was a very considerable literary activity, increased by the almost complete extinction of political life. The writers, perhaps, bore an undue proportion to the readers, though there were readers enough to make the cheap multiplication of books an important and remunerative trade. And there was an institution which in a way supplied the place which the publisher now fills as a middleman between the author and the public. The recitation or public reading gave the historian, dramatist, or poet an opportunity of canvassing the opinions of the cultivated class. It was often, no doubt, a vexation and a weariness, though in this, as in other things, we must make a large deduction from the vigorous invectives of the satirists; but it supplied an actual want, and did something to satisfy a taste to which the cumbrous and awkward writing of the day—only to be appreciated by comparing an uncial manuscript with a printed book—can have been but an imperfect gratification. On the whole, it is certainly true that literature in Rome was, for a period which we may calculate at about a century and a half, beginning with the accession of Augustus and ending with the death of Trajan, in a state of activity which can only be paralleled in the Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries, and in the Europe of to-day.

It is to a date somewhat later than the middle of this period, about 61 A.D., that we must assign the birth of P. Papinius Statius. Velia and Naples contended for the distinction of having been his birthplace. It is probable that he was a native of the first town, and transferred in early boyhood to the second, where his father certainly exercised the profession of a rhetorician and schoolmaster. His family claimed to be of some distinction, but it was poor, and had been compelled to drop for its children the usual badge of noble birth, the purple-edged robe and golden bulla. The elder Statius was what would now be called an *improvisatore*, and repeatedly won the prizes for verse at gatherings both in Italy and Greece. This success was equivalent to the university distinctions which nowadays commend young scholars to the patrons of educational preferment; and the versifier became the master of a famous school, frequented by the well-born youth of the neighbourhood, and even of Rome. It is interesting to find among the subjects of their studies, first of

all, the history of their own country; then the great Greek classics; and to note that prosody and versification were not neglected. Religious instruction was given in the shape of special teaching addressed to future flamens and augurs; the Salii learnt how to carry their sacred shields, and the keepers of the Sibylline Books the history of their mysterious charge—if not the secret of how it was to be manipulated. We may suppose that relaxation was found in the practical instruction of a class of Luperci—devotees of the foster-mother of Rome—the strokes of whose lash, as they ran naked through the city, were supposed to give the hope of offspring to despairing wives. The pupils, we read, learnt how to administer the blow by first feeling it; and the fear which, as the younger Statius tells us, they felt, proved the practical skill of the instructor.

The young Statius had thus the advantage of noble schoolfellows. Of “our young flock” he says:—

“One bears o’er Spain a delegated sway,  
And one o’er regions of the rising day;  
The restless Parthian this in bounds restrains,  
This Pontus rules, or Asia’s fertile plains.”

The most distinguished of them all was the future Emperor Domitian. But others rose to high place in the State. Some of these doubtless became the patrons of later days. Meanwhile he seems to have profited by his father’s instruction. The polite learning of a Roman consisted mainly in an intimate acquaintance with the mythology of Greece; and the *Thebaid* bristles, not a little to the weariness of a modern reader, with this kind of erudition. His education complete, he naturally went to seek his fortune, as a man of letters, in the capital. His time was chiefly given to the composition of his great epic, *The Thebaid*—which occupied him, as he tells us himself, for twelve years; but he also wrote from time to time some occasional pieces to which he gave the name of *Sylvæ*, and which are to us by far the most interesting portion of his literary remains. The name seems to have had a twofold signification; Quintilian uses the word in the singular of something like an improvisation, a rough production, given out on the spur of the moment, which might be corrected and polished at leisure; and Aulus Gellius, in the plural, of a collection of miscellaneous poems which might be compared to a forest containing trees of all kinds and sizes. The *Sylvæ* were written to order—not exactly improvised, but composed with a speed of which the poet has taken pains to inform his readers. Such at least was commonly the case, for some bear the marks of more careful preparation. The first piece in the first book celebrates the dedication of a colossal equestrian statue of Domitian. It had to be delivered, says the writer, on the morrow of the festival. The second is an ode on

the marriage of Stella, a poet of Patavium, and Violantilla. Statius appeals to the bridegroom to bear him witness that it was finished two days after it had been ordered. It was a bold venture, he says, with something between a boast and an excuse, for it consists of two hundred and seventy-two hexameters. Manlius Vopiscus gave a commission for a description of his villa at Tibur, and had it executed at a length of a hundred and ten lines in a single day; and Claudius Etruscus, son of a wealthy freedman of the Emperor, had sixty-five verses composed in honour of the new baths which he had built while the poet was dining with him. The last piece celebrates an entertainment which on the first day of the feast of the Saturnalia the Emperor had given to the people. It claims to have been written on the spot, and might have extended beyond the limits of the hundred and odd lines which it contains, if the poet had not yielded, he tells us, to the copiousness and potency of the Emperor's wine. The dedications, written, it must be confessed, in very indifferent prose, which are prefixed to the five books of the *Sylva* repeat the same explanation or excuse of hasty composition. Of these poems there are thirty-two in all. I have already drawn from one of them, the elegy on his father, some particulars of his family and education. The fifth of the third book also contains some interesting personal details. It is addressed to his wife, and is occupied with an earnest entreaty that she will consent to leave Rome and return with him to Naples. We learn from it that the lady's name was Claudia, that she was the widow of a musician, and, by inference, that she was older than the poet, as she was the mother by her first husband of a daughter, who was old enough to have been married and widowed. He reminds her of her sympathy with him in his work, her delight at the three prizes for poetry which he had gained at the yearly Games at Alba, and her vexation at his defeat in the more important quinquennial festival of the Capitol. He says—

“ You caught the sound with ever-watchful ear  
When from my lips the meditated verse  
In doubtful murmurs fell; you only knew  
My secret toil, and with your growing years  
Grew in my hand the tale of leaguered Thebes.”

He does not fear for her the temptations of Rome. That boast he will make, nor care though Nemesis herself should hear him. If he had been Ulysses his Penelope would have flatly refused her suitors without the subterfuge of a web woven by day and unwoven at night. But surely she must prefer Naples to Rome. If she had no other reason she must have one to which he skilfully appeals. She must wish to see her widowed daughter find a second husband; beautiful and young, a graceful dancer, and with her father's musical genius, she would be certain to find suitors at Naples. Vesuvius has not



done so much mischief as to have caused a lack of eligible sons-in-law. He is very eloquent on the attractions of the place.

"Mild are our winters, and our summers cool,  
Nor vexed by storms the idle sea that laves  
Our peaceful shores. Here Leisure sits at ease,  
Calm in unbroken rest and rounded sleep.  
Our streets no tumult know; no angry strife  
Needs Law for arbiter, but equal right  
Each deals to each, nor needs the sword of power.  
Why tell of gorgeous squares and splendid streets,  
Temples, and long arcades, with pillars set  
Innumerable, and that vast double bulk,  
The roofed theatre here, the open there?"

It was this poem that probably suggested the story, for which we have no other authority, that the poet, disgusted with his defeat at the Capitol, retired finally from Rome. The last piece of the *Sylva* is a lament over a little child, the son of a slave, whom he had bred and adopted. Readers of Martial will remember more than one piece of exquisite pathos, in which a similar love is lamented; and they will hardly think that Statius, who is in truth somewhat stilted and cumbrous in his expressions, has equalled his contemporary. The piece is unfinished; so also is the prose preface to the book; and so is the epic, the *Achilleid*, which he began as soon as *The Thebaid* was completed. Some commentator tells us that grief for the child's death hastened the poet's end. I am inclined to think that the silence of the younger Pliny favours the supposition that the poet died before the end of Domitian's reign. 96 is the year commonly given as the last of his life. If so, he met with the usual fate of Roman poets, and passed away in the prime of his life.

Some of the other poems may be briefly described. The description of Domitian's entertainment before mentioned gives a curious picture of the profuse expenditure by which the Emperors kept the Roman mob in good humour. It began with a shower of fruits and sweatmeats, walnuts, and figs, and dates, and other dainties, which it is not easy to identify. Then came the feast itself. Populace, knights, senators dined together; the Emperor himself. "What worshipper could ask," cries the poet, "nay, what god could promise such a boon? The Emperor himself shared our meal." No Roman entertainment could be complete without bloodshed: the speciality provided on this occasion was a gladiatorial combat of dwarfs. The adulation of which we have here a specimen disfigures in its grossest form the poetry of Statius. The second piece of the fourth book is an elaborate thanksgiving to Domitian for having accorded to him the privilege of a seat at his table. The theme transcends his powers. If he combined the gifts of a Homer and a Virgil, he could not do justice to it. "I seem to sit at meat among the stars in the

company of Jove, and to take the wine-cup from the Trojan boy. Can it be true that I lie here and look on thee, O Ruler of the Earth, great Father of a conquered world, the hope of men, the care of gods? Is it—can it be mine to look upon that face amidst the dishes and the wine, to look and yet to live?" But perhaps the most extravagant flattery that ever was written is to be found in the next poem, the *Via Domitiana*. One of the branches of the great Appian Road, that which led to Cumæ and Putcoli, had been injured by the inundations of the Volturnus. Domitian had caused it to be repaired, had raised it, and paved it with stone. Statius breaks into a rapture of praise. The friend of peace and terrible in war, he is more kindly and more powerful than Nature. "Wert thou the ruler of the starry heavens, thou, India, wouldst be watered with ungrudging showers, Libya would be rich in streams, and Hæmus would be warm." And the object of this extravagant adulation was not the magnificent figure of a Julius or an Augustus, but a miserable creature like Domitian, the very embodiment of cruelty and caprice.

It is refreshing to turn to a nobler strain in what is, perhaps, the best of the *Sylvæ*, the *Genethliacon Lucani*. The author of the *Pharsalia* had been one of the latest victims of Nero; his widow, Polla Argentaria, seems to have been a patroness of the poet, who, happening to be her guest on the occasion of her husband's birthday, was commanded thus to celebrate his memory. I have Englished what is perhaps the finest passage:—

"Here on the blest Elysian shore,  
Thy blameless spirit overmore  
Haunteth the quiet groves of light,  
Where, listening to thy stately song,  
The heroes of Pharsalia's fight,  
Catos and Pompeys, round thee throng.  
No dark Tartarean shades affright  
Thy noble soul; which, far away,  
Can hear the awful scourges smite  
The cowering shapes of guilt, and gaze  
Where Nero sees with pale dismay  
His mother's vengeful torches blaze."

In passing on to the poet's great work, his *Thebais*, an epic poem in twelve books, or the story of the Siege of Thebes by the Seven Chiefs, we come upon the only contemporary notice of him that exists. "Men love," says Juvenal in his seventh satire, "to hear that charming voice, the strains of the favourite *Thebaid*, when Statius has promised a reading, and delighted the city; so keen the pleasure with which he touches and subdues all hearts, so great the favour with which the multitude hears him; and yet, though the benches have been broken down by listening crowds, the poet starves till he sells to Paris his *Agave*, his unread play." Some critics have

detected in this notice a disparaging tone, which I do not myself, I confess, perceive. We may infer, perhaps, that the words seem to imply a treat which was given on more than one occasion, and that the *Thebais* was read in instalments. Of the *Agave*, a play on the same subject, it is to be presumed, as the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, we have no other knowledge, except it be the possible suggestion that the merits of the poetry were enhanced by the pleasant elocution of the reader.

It must be confessed that Statius was not very happy in the choice of a subject. The subject of an epic is, indeed, always a difficulty. Virgil had been singularly fortunate in finding a great legendary theme with which he had been able to associate a genuine national interest. "*Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem*," had been the key-note of his song; and it was a worthy employment of his genius to keep to the height of that great argument. But such subjects do not present themselves more than once or twice in a millennium. Great historical themes there were; but Statius had before him the *Punica* of Silviu*s* Italicus and the *Pharsalia* of Lucan, and must have been aware that neither was a success. The military exploits of Domitian were insignificant, and could not be made to bear anything more serious than the treatment which Statius gave to them in the occasional compositions which were crowned at the annual festival of Alba. The story of Thebes was at least safe, and Statius could not offend the susceptibilities of a jealous tyrant by selecting it.

A critic whose judgment on any matters concerning Roman literature is worthy of special respect has given it as his opinion that the *Thebaid* is the most "perfect in form and argument" of ancient epics. This completeness is indisputable; but it is the completeness of a faultless academical exercise, not of a work of original genius. He is careful not to omit any of the remarkable scenes, the action, or the episodes by which his predecessors had adorned or diversified their poems. But his adaptations and imitations are certainly not felicitous. They are often wanting in taste and propriety. They sometimes fall into the unpardonable fault of being ludicrous.

To take an instance. The high-wrought pathos and horror of the later books of the *Iliad* are relieved by the lighter interest of the Funeral Games of Patroclus, and Virgil with consummate art interposes a similar episode between the two supreme efforts of his genius, the story of the Love of Dido and the Visit to the Dwellings of the Dead. Statius, of course, must follow these illustrious predecessors, and devotes the sixth book of his epic to describing the funeral games with which the Argive army does honour to the memory of Archemorus. Dryden in his preface to his translation of the *Æneid* sharply criticizes this arrangement, and his criticism seems to be

perfectly just. The circumstances have a distinct air of absurdity about them. The Argive army on its march to Thebes is reduced to the greatest straits for want of water. They fall in with Hypsipyle, the famous Queen of Lemnos, who is nursing the infant son of Lycurgus of Nemea. She guides them to a stream, and the child, whom she has laid down upon the grass, is bitten during her absence by a serpent, and dies of the wound. The Argives console the father and her by a celebration of funeral games. It is this that calls forth—and not, it must be allowed, without reason—the ridicule of Dryden, who takes occasion to remark that this vaunted poem throughout is noted for want of conduct and propriety. The defence put forward by one of the translators of Statius that the episode is intended to relieve the gloomier scenes of the poem is beside the point, which is not the legitimacy of the episode, but the time of introducing it. It might be urged with more force that if the poet had, like Homer, reserved the games to the last, he would have had no person of distinction to enter for the competitions, as six out of his seven heroes would have disappeared. But he has certainly had recourse to a clumsy and ludicrous expedient.

He is scarcely more happy in his imitation of another of the famous scenes of the *Iliad*. There is no picture which the poet has touched with a more consummate grace and tenderness than that of Helen when she stands on the walls of Troy, and inquires the names of the great chieftains of the besieging host. In the *Thebaid* we have a similar scene, where Antigone surveys on the battlements of Thebes the advancing host of the Argives, and hears from her grandfather's charioteer their names and exploits. The imitation was itself sanctioned by the rules of literary art as antiquity understood them; but its execution is a deplorable failure. Instead of the few broad and simple strokes of Homer's picture we have a multitude of tedious details, in which Statius displays, as usual, his extensive knowledge of geography and legend, but which are wholly wanting in picturesqueness and interest. And when he introduces one or two longer narratives, these are curiously inappropriate to the occasion, the last things in the world that an old retainer would have told to a young princess of the house.

In the same book we have an opportunity of comparing the poet with his great Roman predecessor in the treatment of the machinery of his epic. All will remember the incident by which the peace is broken between the subjects of King Latinus and the Trojan strangers; how the Fury throws the tame deer of Silvia into the way of Iulus as he is hunting in the wood. It is a graceful and natural contrivance. We cannot say the same of Statius's adaptation of it. For the deer we have a couple of tigers, which are commonly so gentle that they wander harmless about the plain, but which the

Fury so enrages by a touch of her lash that they bound into the midst of the Argive host and tear two chieftains to pieces. Wounded by a shower of arrows they drag themselves back to the walls of the city to die, and the Thebans, who surely must have been aware that they were animals of uncertain disposition, and not unlikely to give some provocation, are wrought to incontrollable fury by the sight.

These instances might be multiplied indefinitely. If any one wishes to measure Statius by the standard of Homer, let him compare in detail (for my space does not permit me to do more than give the reference) the exploits of Hippomedon in the Ismarus in the Ninth Book of the *Thebaid* with the parallel passage in the *Iliad* which describes Achilles in the Simois.

The critic whom I have already quoted compares Statius to a miniature-painter whom the breath of a patron or some peculiar misapprehension of his own power has set on the production of a great historical picture. His great merit is in his style. That style has its faults—the faults of his age, an age which had lost its purity of taste. They are the faults, too, which we naturally expect to find in a writer who was conscious that his material was defective, that his subject had a conventional rather than a genuine interest, and who sought to make up for this want by the splendour of his expression. In that effort he succeeded, as far perhaps as it was possible for any man to succeed—far enough to show that he was a man of real poetical genius. His continual attempt to be effective produces the impression of laborious and awkward effort. He must often, in consequence, have been obscure to his own countrymen; he is certainly very difficult to us. But the splendour and brilliancy are there, and they sometimes make themselves felt with the happiest effect.

In description he is particularly happy, a point in which he exhibits an approach to modern habits of thought and expression which is more or less characteristic of his contemporaries of the Silver Age. In my first specimen of his manner I have the advantage of using the translation of the First Book of the *Thebaid* which Alexander Pope made at twelve years of age, and which some years afterwards he found “better than he expected,” and “gave it some corrections.” It is a description of Mercury:—

“The god obeys, and to his feet applies  
Those golden wings that cut the yielding skies;  
His ample hat his boamy locks o’erspread,  
And veil’d the starry glories of his head!  
He seiz’d the wand that causes sleep to fly,  
Or in soft slumber seals the wakeful eye;  
That drives the dead to dark Tartarean coasts,  
Or back to life compels the wandering ghosts.  
Thus, thro’ the parting clouds the son of May  
Wings on the whistling winds his rapid way;

Now smoothly steers thro' air his equal flight ;  
Now springs aloft, and tow'rs the ethereal height ;  
Then wheeling down the steep of heaven he flies,  
And draws a radiant girdle o'er the skies."

And here is another of the storms through which Polynices makes his way to Argos :—

"At once the rushing winds, with warning sound,  
Burst from the Æolian caves, and rend the ground,  
With equal rage their airy quarrel try,  
And win by turns the kingdom of the sky ;  
But with a thicker night black Auster shrouds  
The heavens, and drives in heaps the rolling clouds,  
From whose dark womb a rattling tempest pours,  
Which the cold north congeals to haily showers.  
From rock to rock the thunder roars aloud,  
And broken lightnings flash from every cloud.  
Now smokes with showers, the misty mountains sound,  
And floated fields lie undistinguished round.  
Th' Heraclian streams with headlong fury run,  
And Erasinus rolls a deluge on ;  
The foaming Lerna spreads above its bounds,  
And spreads its ancient poisons o'er the grounds ;  
Where late was dust, now rapid torrents play,  
Rush through the mounds, and bear the dams away :  
Old limbs of trees, from cracking forests torn,  
Are whirled in air, and on the winds are borne."

For the other versions I can only claim the merit that they are as faithful as I could make them. Here is a description of the Palace of Sleep :—

"Beyond the cloudy chamber of the Night,  
And the far Æthiop's land, a forest stands,  
Whose gloom no star of heaven can pierce. Below,  
Deep in the mountain's side, a cavern yawns  
With awful jaws. There Sleep hath set his halls,  
And Nature in her mood of sloth hath built  
The House of Careless Ease. Deep-shadowed Rest  
And dull Oblivion by the threshold crouch,  
And Indolence with slow unwatchful eyes,  
And Leisure in the porch and Silence sits,  
Speechless with folded wings. There never sounds  
Wild wind, or rustling bough, or cry of bird.  
Mute are the seas, though all the shores be loud  
With crash of billows, and the thunders sleep  
In voiceless skies. The river, as he flows,  
Gliding through cavernous rocks, deep sunk, is still ;  
Black are the herds about the banks, and all  
Couched low upon the grass. The year's new growth  
Is withered in its spring, and every herb  
Crushed down by some dark influence to earth.  
Within the hall the Fire-god's craft had wrought  
Sleep in a thousand figures. There he stood,  
Crowned Pleasure at his side, and then with Toil,  
That bowed his head to rest ; and now was seen  
Comrade of wine or love, or lay, a sight  
Guiltless of sorrow, side by side with death."

Here he challenges Ovid, who deals with the same subject in the Ninth Book of the *Metamorphoses*.

Nor is he powerful only in description. When his subject permits he can be natural and pathetic. We may find proof of this in a passage which describes how Atalanta, the mother of Parthenopæus, is visited with signs of her son's approaching death, and in another where the dying hero sends his last message of farewell to his mother:—

“Then, after sleep, by shapes of dread oppressèd,  
Barefoot, in mourner's fashion, and with hair  
Loose streaming in the wind, ere dawn of day,  
She sought cold flowing Ladon, if his stream  
Haply might purge the trouble of her brain.  
For all the watches of the night had crept  
Smitten with nameless terror, while she saw  
Spoils of the chase, her gifts to Dian's shrine,  
Slip from the walls, or seemed to wander lost  
In some strange place of tombs, from woods remote  
And the fair Dryad troop, or eager watchèd  
The triumph of return, the warrior train,  
The spear, the shield, the war-horse, but himself,  
For all her watching, saw not.”

This is the farewell:—

“I perish; haste, my Dorcons, comfort her,  
Saddest of mothers, who, if love and care  
Have aught of true prevision, knows to-day,  
By dream or evil sign, this fatal chance.  
But yet with artifice of kindly fraud  
Keep her in long suspense of hope and fear,  
Nor take her unprepared, nor when she holds  
Arrow or spear in hand; and, driven to speak,  
Then speak these words for me: ‘As I have sown,  
My mother, so I reap; a foolish boy,  
Unheeding thy command, I seized my arms,  
And spurned at peace, nor spared thy tender heart.  
Weep not, be rather angry, and let wrath  
Sting thee to life. Thy fears at least are past;  
No more from high Lycæus wilt thou watch,  
On every sound intent, and eager-eyed,  
To mark the dust-cloud of my homeward march.  
On the bare earth, death-cold, I lie; and thou  
Not here to close dim eye and gasping mouth.  
But take, O desolate mother,’ and he held  
A ringlet to the knife, ‘this little lock—  
Ah me! what wrath I had in days of old  
When thou wouldst comb it—take this little lock,  
Of all that was thy son this little lock,  
For this must serve for burial. But forbid,  
If at my funeral games some clumsy hand  
Abuse my arrows, and my dogs of chase,  
Dear comrades, they have served me, let them rest.’”

Though we find, as I have said, but one contemporary notice of

Statius, there is a fairly continuous catena of testimonies to his merit, beginning with Servius, the great Virgilian commentator of the fifth century, and Sidonius Apollinaris, the poetical bishop. Like Virgil and Lucan, he kept his place as a popular author, so far as any authors were popular, during the darkest times; nor did he need, like most of the great classics, to be, so to speak, resuscitated at the revival of letters. The most interesting notice of him is the well-known passage in the Purgatory of Dante. In the Twenty-first Canto Dante and Virgil are overtaken on their upward journey by a spirit who, after some questioning, reveals himself as the poet Statius, and who hears from Dante with the utmost reverence the name of his guide. He explains that he has been confined in the sixth circle, not for avarice, but, as the Purgatory seems to be arranged according to the Aristotelian philosophy of virtue being a mean, for its opposite extreme of extravagance, a vice with which, an influence somewhat unfair to the whole race of poets, he is credited on the strength of Juvenal's statement of his poverty. The famous eclogue addressed to Pollio, "*Magnus ab integro sectorum nascitur ordo*," had turned his mind to accept the Christian faith, though his conversion had been long kept secret—an act of cowardice and lukewarmness for which he had been punished by many centuries of Purgatory. Now happier than his master—who, having died before the era of Christ, had with his fellow-poets of Greece and Rome been hopelessly relegated to Hell, though but to its outermost circle, he is on his way, his expiation complete, to the home of Paradise.

The bibliography of Statius is not large. He occupies not more than thirty pages in the catalogue of the British Museum, while Ovid fills two volumes. The *editio princeps* appeared in 1470. The edition executed for the Delphin series was so bad that by one of the paradoxes of book-collecting it has become exceedingly valuable. The mass of it was sold as waste paper, and the few copies that got into circulation have now achieved the crowning merit of rarity. The standard English edition of Statius is that of Markland, which appeared in 1728. In Valpy's *variorum* edition Statius occupies four volumes. We can hardly expect to see him edited again—unless, indeed, if I may even hint at such a thing without seeming hopelessly frivolous to my scientific friends, the publication of unremunerative editions of the classics should be brought within the scope of the endowment of research.

ALFRED CHURCH.



## ENGLISH AND EASTERN HORSES.

### PART I.—EASTERN HORSES.

THERE is a general impression, which has gained, if not strength, at least a better chance of getting itself attended to since the death of Admiral Rous—an impression, I mean, that if we continue to breed in the same slovenly and short-sighted manner as has been common for many years past, Frenchmen, Germans, and Americans will, each and all of them, give us the go-by, and the pre-eminence of our English blood-stock become a thing of the past.

The influence of the Admiral at Newmarket was very great during his lifetime; and he was such an optimist in racing matters, that if the winner of the Derby had been defeated over the Cup course at Ascot a fortnight afterwards by a donkey, he would have attributed the defeat by no means to any degradation of our actual runners, but rather to a sudden and miraculous improvement in the rising generation of asses. So long, therefore, as he continued “monarch” of the turf, and of all the handicaps “which he surveyed,” we, *laudatores temporis acti*, could never obtain a hearing.

The doubts and questionings, however, which he tried to satisfy—or if not to satisfy, at any rate to silence—are now again in full operation. Such being the case, the high pretensions put forward some years ago by Captain Upton on behalf of Arabians in general, and the Darley Arabian in particular, followed up as they have been by Mr. Blunt’s article in the *Nineteenth Century*, invite those who have looked into such things to re-examine the whole subject very carefully. I must say at the outset (because I think both Captain Upton and Mr. Blunt open to many criticisms of detail) that I sympathize strongly with these gentlemen in their wish to refresh and re-organize our present breeds by a fresh infusion of Eastern blood, and believe that the scheme devised by Mr. Blunt is likely to be attended with excellent general results, though I do not think his Eastern colts will distinguish themselves at Epsom or Doncaster just yet. It is true that there are other methods, to which I, having similar objects before me, should resort in preference (I will mention them by-and-by). Still there can be no reason why distinct experiments, when perfectly compatible with each other, should not be tried at the same time; only Captain Upton and Mr. Blunt must really “moderate the rancour” of their philo-Arabism, and survey the whole question fairly and impartially.

The English thoroughbred horse, who, as a galloping machine, is still far superior to such Arabs as are brought against him, is not wholly of Arabian origin; nor are his excellencies attributable to Yemen

alone. He is compounded, to speak roughly, of Anatolian elements, of Barb elements, and of Arab elements, introduced in the order here given; and it is to the Barb element that I should assign the largest and most important share in his gradual development. If the horse styled the Godolphin *Arabian* (probably to distinguish him from the Godolphin *Barb*, a horse undoubtedly from Morocco, belonging to Lord Godolphin at the same time) came, as was then supposed, from Morocco to France in the first instance, the precedence of North Africa does not admit of a question. If, on the other hand, there is in existence a manuscript note proving him to be a Jelfan Arabian, as we learn from the paper in the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Blunt doubles, or rather quadruples, the strength of his case; but this manuscript note, whether it was written by the Paris costermonger out of whose cart the horse was bought for thirty shillings, or by the thief who stole him, as was supposed at the time—that is, some hundred and fifty years ago—out of the royal stables, is rather hard of digestion.

As we have said, both the Turk and the Barb came before the Arab in point of time; but, out of deference to Mr. Blunt, we will discuss his pets first.

Neither he nor Captain Upton seems to be sufficiently aware of the fact that during the forty-nine years that intervened between Childers and Eclipse, many men of high rank and large fortunes did their very best to seek out the finest Arabs anywhere within reach, and that in consequence Arabs claiming high character were introduced in scores. Besides which, instead of finding consorts among wretches not worth sending to an expensive English sire, these imported stallions were mated with the very best mares in the country. Narcissus, for instance, by Wilson's Arabian, who defeated in his day such antagonists as Flyflax, Pangloss, Dumplin (a winner of the whip at Newmarket), and lastly the renowned Engineer, was out of a sister to Woodpecker's dam. Now Woodpecker has been pronounced, and not without a show of reason, to be the best-bred horse in the *Stud-Book*. Signal, also, by the Damascus Arabian (foaled only a year before Eclipse), who won fourteen races out of nineteen over all sorts of courses, was also very high bred on the female side, his mother being a Cade mare, much the same in blood as the dam of Narcissus. Nay, what is still more striking, the famous Cypron, from whom we derive Hollyhock, Dumplin, Protector, Sejanus, and, above all, Herod—perhaps the most important horse in our turf annals—produced Princess to the superb Northumberland Arabian—a pearl of great price, hunted up by the Earl of that generation with as much zeal as the woman in Voltaire's tale hunted up the basilisk. (I cannot help pointing out to Captain Upton that Princess had very little merit, nor was a colt by Snap, of the Darley

Arabian line, any better. The *Stud-Book* shows clearly, in the meantime, that in neither of these cases can *Cypron* be held responsible for the failure.) These numberless Arabs were no doubt of considerable value when they were introduced, and traces of high quality, derived from them, are perhaps discernible in such horses as the much-enduring Longwaist by Whalebone, and Laurel—if not the best, certainly the stoutest and soundest of the great Blacklock clan, who were connected, the first with Wilson's, the second with the Damascus Arabian; but still they none of them produced any appreciable effect upon the general mass of our blood-stock, and they left, as they found, the second or modern turf empire portioned out among the descendants of the Byerly Turk, the Darley Arabian, and the Godolphin horse from Morocco—if from Morocco he came. The Darley Arabian retains (his *certain* male descendants having ceased to carry on the line here<sup>1</sup>) two principal claims upon our gratitude: first, as the ancestor of *Cypron*; and secondly, as the sire, if he were the sire, of Bartlett's Childers, the reputed brother of Flying Childers, and the actual progenitor of Eclipse. That Bartlett's Childers was own brother to Flying Childers I do not believe; that he was got by the Darley Arabian is probable enough, though the evidence thereof is unsatisfactory (see *Stud-Book*, vol. i. p. 420). There is, in truth, something ridiculous in citing vague "gentlemen of honour" to prove this point, instead of applying to the contemporary Squire Childers, or the contemporary Squire Childers's stud groom, or even to Bartlett himself, who was running horses, unless I am mistaken, in 1735; whereas Mr. Cheney's "gentlemen of honour" responded, the *Stud-Book* tells us, to his appeal in 1727. Besides which no explanation is given, as in the case of Snake and other sires of celebrity, why his owner never even tried to train the one brother of the most marvellous running horse that ever was foaled. How weak this filiation of Bartlett's Childers was felt to be I think may be discerned from the hesitating attempt to insinuate that Shakspeare, an undoubted male descendant of the Darley, and not Marske, was the true sire of Eclipse. For this no reason is assigned, except that Eclipse was, like Shakspeare, a chestnut, although by parentage he was bound to be bay. Regulus, however, his maternal grandsire, was a chestnut, and Regulus's dam a grey mare, and I can see no reason why his chestnut colouring and his white legs, &c., should not have come down to him through that descent. If we declare him to be the son of Shakspeare, we have to go in the teeth

(1) Messenger (about the last of them) went to the United States, and has had a good deal to do, I believe, with establishing the breed of trotters in that country. His own trotting powers were noticed whilst he was in training as considerable for a horse meant only to gallop, Lord Grosvenor offering to bet that he could accomplish fourteen miles within the hour. He also has done, I understand, good service in his more natural vocation, that of propagating race-horses.

of the *Stud-Book*, and of the fact that Marske, whose reputation had fallen low, gradually raised his covering price, in consequence of Eclipse, from half a guinea to one hundred guineas per mare, and, what is more, justified the rise by begetting such horses as Shark, Pretender, Masquerade, *cum multis aliis*, in the later years of his life.

It is, therefore, as the progenitor of Herod in the female line that the Darley Arabian is now most interesting to us—most certainly interesting that is, for the second title put forward on his behalf is not free from doubt. He must have died, I think, before the fame of Flying Childers had established itself. He was foaled in March or April, 1700, as we learn through a valuable letter written from Aleppo in December, 1703, by his purchaser. A portrait, certified to be his by the then existing Mr. Darley, was to be seen at Aldby Hall, in Yorkshire, about the beginning of the present century, and may be there still for anything I know to the contrary. This portrait was then engraved, and no doubt many people are familiar with it. In the engraving—to my rather ignorant eyes—he looks more like a well-bred English horse than the conventional Arab, such as Napoleon's Marengo, who represents the race in books about the Equidae. In shape he is long, low, and level; in colour a light bay, with bay legs also, unless my memory fails me; his head is rather large; and the only two things that struck me much—and here I must again frankly confess that, although I have paid a good deal of attention to the history of horses, my judgment as to any particular horse is not worth much—were, first, the power of his loins, and, secondly, an unusual strength and muscular development about the thighs and the upper part of the hind legs. He is led by a groom, and is trotting slowly, apparently with rather high and bold action. As he was foaled in 1700, he must have been twenty-one at the date of Childers's avatar on the English turf, and was probably dead when the second and last victory over Chanter in 1722 was achieved. The time and manner of his death is not, so far as I know, anywhere recorded; but had he been alive and in form after 1720, and still more after 1722, colts and fillies of his begetting would have poured into Newmarket between 1727 and 1730, which does not appear to have been the case. If Bartlett's Childers were Childers's own brother, he may possibly have been the elder of the two, and that may explain their not training him; at any rate a colt by Bartlett's horse wins a race in the North before any of the Flyer's own progeny make their appearance. The earliest of the Darley family whom I can find noted down is Whistle Jacket (not the Wentworth Whistle Jacket, of course). This earlier Whistle Jacket won a plate for five-year-old horses at York in 1712. Some, however, of the *nominis umbræ* credited to him in the *Stud-Book*, such as Dædalus, "the very swift horse," Cupid, Lord Lonsdale's mare, &c., &c., may have been earlier

still. On the whole, with the exception of Flying Childers, there was nothing astonishingly good among his sons and daughters. No other of them equalled Brocklesby Betty, True Blue, Chanter, Fox, Bonny Black, or Bobsey, the luminaries of that time; and accordingly, though Captain Upton and Mr. Blunt always speak of him with bated breath, as if Saturn<sup>1</sup> had clothed himself in the limbs of a semi-divine courser once more, or the god Boreas visited Betty Loedes as he visited the mares of Anchises long ago, he was during his lifetime one among several other Eastern horses of repute, and apparently attracted no particular attention till it was too late.

As a founder of our blood stock he cannot be ranked, in my judgment, with the Godolphin Arabian for a moment, though this, no doubt, is owing more or less to the fact that he had no such opportunity of distinguishing himself in the stables of an obscure Yorkshire squire as he would have had under Lord Godolphin, a man of wider influence, inheriting the tastes of his father, the well-known minister—

“ Whose pride was in picquet,  
Newmarket fame and judgment at a bot.”

Mr. Blunt must not suppose that I have any desire to underrate his favourite breed. I am quite ready to say ditto to Colonel Hamilton Smith, accepting, under his tuition, the Arab as, upon the whole, the first among Eastern horses; but even in the interest of Mr. Blunt's own scheme it is better not to overstate the claims or exaggerate the value of his darling Kohlans.

Captain Upton, in his passionate desire to vilify every other family of horses, becomes absolutely wild and unreasonable; and though Mr. Blunt is less open to remonstrance on this point, the manner in which he puts aside the Byerly Turk, appropriates the Godolphin, and ignores all the earlier Barbs, is not a little irritating to my Yorkshire constitution.

Besides which, he seems to have accepted Captain Upton's ignorant determination to believe that the excellence of the Arab is an excellence of immemorial antiquity, and that his Kohlans are *thoroughbred* in a sense which does not apply to our own blood stock; the fact being, as far as we can gather from history, the Arabs, who were camel-riders when Cyrus conquered Lydia and when Xerxes invaded Greece, possessed no horses, or at any rate no horses known to fame, till much later. Their studs are of more recent origin than those of North Africa, and the Barbs themselves are less ancient than the Turks, especially the white Turks, who constituted a distinct breed as far back as the time of Sesostris.<sup>2</sup>

(1) “Talis et ipse Jubam cervice effudit equinā  
Conjugis adventu pernix Saturnus, et altum  
Pelion, hinnitu fugiens implevit acuto.”

(2) See *Les Premières Civilisations*. Par Victor Le Normant.

These white Turks seem really to have been *thoroughbred* in the first and most natural sense of the word—that is, they were apparently developed and improved at great cost and by assiduous care through many generations, under the watchful superintendence of powerful dynasties, out of the primeval wild white horse of Asia, without intermixture or any adulteration of blood whatsoever.

The Arab breed, on the contrary, is, like our own, an “eminently artificial breed”—so at least we learn from Colonel Hamilton Smith. It seems to have been built up out of a combination derived in part from the original bays, in part from the original whites, in part from an original black family native to Turkestan, probably also with some admixture, greater or less, of the original dun, the only wild tribe certainly absent being the pyebald tribe. As to the duns, I have said *probably*, because I am not here supported by the high authority of Hamilton Smith; but as, unless I am mistaken, there is no wild chestnut race, I should be inclined to think that the duns and the bays must have coalesced to develop that colour. Besides this there were, in the last century, dun Arabs, or at any rate Eastern horses called Arabs and described as dun. There were also a considerable number of dun racehorses. Brilliant, on whom, as our readers will recollect, Scamp Esmondo and the Rev. Mr. Sampson lost their money to young Warrington in the *Virginians*, when Juson won the Royal Plate at Huntingdon, was one of them; and a half-brother to Highflyer another. It is odd, however, that Mr. Thackeray, who must have taken some trouble to obtain the exact particulars of the Huntingdon Plate, should wilfully go wrong as to Brilliant’s pedigree. The Rev. Mr. Sampson would have been shocked to hear anybody declare that Brilliant was by Cartouch out of Miss Langley, and would have said to his biographèr, anticipating Mr. Tennyson, “Turf me in all, or turf me not at all.”

In the fourth century we learn that two hundred Cappadocian horses were sent into Arabia to raise the character of the native breed, and it is to them (they were probably akin to the Cilicians) that the white Arab owes, I should say, his start in life. The bays, however, and blacks may have passed through Egypt under the “Shepherd Kings,” or some of them may have come direct from tribes akin to those conquerors of Egypt, out of Palestine and Western Asia. The duns were probably derived from the immense Median cavalry establishments near at hand, where the horses were uniformly of that colour, and the chestnuts, as I have said, from some intermixture of these several varieties. Mr. Darley’s Arabian, therefore, so far as I can see, was not in Captain Upton’s sense of the word *more thoroughbred* than our own Eclipses and Hambletonians, and less so than many of the Turks who preceded him. The Arabs, like us, assisted no doubt in a high degree by the fine air and dry healthy

soil of their wide-spreading deserts, have extracted high qualities out of these various combinations; nay, very likely they would have been gainers still, if the brown and white galloway of Thibet, apparently a most active, sure-footed, and enduring animal, had become incorporated into the firm of Kohlan & Co. As it is, I know of no horse really thoroughbred except the white Turk.

The renowned Highflyer, himself a blood-bay, and apparently all Eastern, did, through some strange exceptional peculiarity of constitution, beget one or two piebald colts or fillies. Whether in the reign of James or Elizabeth any of the famous Italian piebalds were imported I do not know. There is an "old Vintner mare" in the *Stud-Book*, for whose sixteen quarterings I cannot answer. She was, I think, a remote ancestress of Highflyer, as of other well-known racers, and may possibly have had some of that Italian blood in her veins. The race is of very ancient standing and was highly distinguished, but sent forth animals fitter, I fancy, for state and show than for the Beacon course.

It is odd that in Lord Beaconsfield's wild and wondrous tale of *Alroy* it is stated, "The finest horse in the world is not the Arab, but the white Anatolian."<sup>1</sup> This, I believe, in ancient times was actually the case; at present, however, these horses are not sought for, if even they still exist.

The tributary steeds which Assyria sent to Egypt in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. belonged apparently to this branch of the Equidæ; and the horses of Rhosus, as described in the tenth book of the "Iliad," were, I have no doubt, of the same lineage. It is true they came nominally from Thrace, but the Thracian horses were not white. They were brought into Thrace by a remote Oriental people, mythically identified with the Centaurs, and belonged rather to the piebald stock.<sup>2</sup> But Homer was an Asiatic Greek, and, unless I am in error, he simply conjured up before the eye of his imagination the finest horses that he knew of, viz. Lord Beaconsfield's white Anatolians, idealised and glorified. They are thus described by Dolon to his captors—

"No steeds like these mine eyes have seen,  
So tall, so noble in their form;  
More white are they than snow, I ween,  
Nor swifter moves the storm."

Old Nestor is even more enthusiastic in his admiration of them when they are brought into the Achaean camp—

"What steeds are these? for lo! they shine like the sun's morning beams,  
Such coursers never have I seen, not even in my dreams."

(1) This was written before the lamented death of that eminent man.

(2) "Maculis quem Thracius albis  
Portat equus bicolor."

Putting aside, however, their beauty, the word *μεγίστους* in Dolon's speech is not unimportant for us, as bearing upon the average size of our running horses in 1700, who are disparaged as mere ponies by Admiral Rous. From the contemptuous manner in which Bishop Hall, at the close of the sixteenth century, speaks of galloway racers, "even though they be sprung from Rouncival or Trancheffe," it is obvious that they were not then in fashion; and since it is to the descendants of Dolon's "great-sized steeds" that shortly after the Bishop's time we are indebted for the first drops of Eastern blood, I believe, in spite of what Admiral Rous may have thought or said, that the D'Arcy white Turk and the long list of his kinsmen were good-sized horses, resembling rather the so-called Wellesley grey Arabian than Mr. Darley's marvel, and that the majority of our running horses never were galloways. I do not know that it signifies much, since many of our turf champions have been of low stature. Even as late as 1787, Meteor, perhaps the best son of Eclipse, was hardly more than 14 h. 2 in.; and Whalebone is described, somewhere about 1820, by a distinguished German naturalist, as a very small horse—more like an Arab than any English racer he had ever met with. On the other hand, we know that Sampson, foaled in 1745, stood 15 h. 2½ in. (though it is his muscular power, not his height, which is always taken notice of); that Atlas, foaled in 1751, was of gigantic size; that Careless, his chief opponent, was also remarkable in that respect; that Eclipse was 15 h. 3 in.; Shark and Highflyer each 16 h.; Sorcerer, 16 h. 1 in.; Hambletonian, 15 h. 3½ in.; so also were others whom we yet accept as the representative horses of their time—taller, perhaps, than many of their contemporaries or successors (than Meteor, or Waxy, or Whalebone, or Dr. Syntax, or Little Wonder for instance), but not so much taller as to excite astonishment or call for any particular remark. Nay, to go a little further back, it is difficult to imagine Captain Byerley, jack-boots and all, cancoling on a pony in front of the Cleveland or Flemish masses of flesh which supported his admiring troopers; and also we must observe that such names as the "Bald Galloway," "Green's Galloway," "Mixbury and Tantivy, Galloways of very high form *at light weights*" (in other words, incapable of doing themselves justice against their opponents under the usual racing imposts), have no meaning unless they had tall antagonists to overcome. Did Admiral Rous ever reflect that the give-and-take plates for horses of fourteen hands, &c., so common of old, must have been instituted for the purpose of giving this galloway class a chance against antagonists of greater stature and a longer stride?

To return, however, to the history of my white Turks. Their next appearance in history after the tributaries of Egypt and the captured



steeds of Rhesus, of these Anatolians, is in the army of Xerxes. They were then, beyond all question, the finest horses in the world. It was from their ranks that were selected the sacred coursers who drew the chariot of the sun. They also supplied, from century to century, the private studs of the Great King. Cilicia, a country extending at that time both to the east and the north-west, beyond its more recent limits, was set apart for their production. The tribute exacted from the province in question consisted of 360 white horses annually, besides 500 talents in money. Of this money-tribute, however, 140 talents were retained in the country itself (the only instance, I believe, of such an appropriation), in order to keep up this noble breed in undiminished purity and power. It was, no doubt, from the highest class of these Cilician whites that Xerxes selected his champions to run against what we should now call the "Thessalian cracks," and the result was that the unhappy Thessalians were beaten out of sight—*αἱ ἐκ κράτισται τῶν θέρταλων ἄπο τῶν μήδων ελείποντο πολὺ*. Beaten out of sight is perhaps a phrase more likely to have occurred to a victorious Persian than to a defeated Greek. There is a sort of plaintive cadence—a dying fall—in the words *ελείποντο πολὺ*, which leads one to fancy that the informant of Herodotus had put his money on his native colts—perhaps to the extent of what was then called in Thessalian sporting circles *α πίθηκος* (or monkey)—and had been refused time by some Jew book-maker in attendance on the Persian host. Anyhow, whether he won or lost, his description of these white Anatolians shows that they ran like true blood-horses—with that living power and strength of endurance which nothing but high blood can give. When, therefore, we turn to our earliest racing traditions, and find at the far end of all pedigrees such names as the Byerley Turk, Place's White Turk, the D'Arcy White Turk, the D'Arcy Yellow Turk, Honeywood's White Turk, the Lister Turk, and the like, we need not be ashamed of such ancestors for our existing stocks. Nay, if there be a horse qualified to dispute with the Godolphin the first place in our turf genealogies, it is the Byerley Turk, through Partner and all the Partner horses and mares, through King Herod, Highflyer, Woodpecker, Sir Peter Teazle, Haphazard, Sultan, Bay Middleton, and the like; the Byerley Turk, and not the Darley Arabian.

Owing, I suppose, to the old Duke of Newcastle, who is, I believe, solemnly cursed every year by the philo-Arabists for suppressing Markham's Arabian (just as the entomologists are understood to consign to a hot future, at stated intervals, the gentleman who, by turning marsh into corn-lands, extinguished the large copper butterfly, "the glory of Britain," as they pathetically observe), the Arab, for a time, was under a cloud. In this respect the Duke may have done

us much mischief. Still, pompous as he was, he contrived to impress his contemporaries with a belief that his judgment in horseflesh was unrivalled, and it is neither the Turk nor the Arab, but the Barb whom he selects to describe in glowing terms as the noblest of his kind. This opinion of his, however, might not have been of very great practical importance, had it not happened that in the reign of Charles II. Tangiers for a time became a British possession. This little fact is generally somewhat slurred over by the writers of Turf treatises, who, in their zeal for the nobler animals, are apt to put aside, rightly perhaps, the history of "that unfeathered two-legged thing, a man." Nevertheless, the fact remains, and the consequence was that royal mares and quasi-royal mares, procured by the great horse-breeding houses in emulation of the King, came over from North Africa at once. For all practical purposes a royal mare is a Barb mare, and it is through them that our racehorses really began to be. Sires alone—and till these Moorish mothers poured over, high blood was almost confined to sires—will not create a national thoroughbred stock. That this stock of ours was afterwards improved and enriched from Arabia is quite certain, but in its essence it is of Barb rather than of Arabian origin, and not a bad origin either.

Colonel Hamilton Smith says of these Barbs "that they are an ancient and renowned race, nevertheless greatly improved by the Moslem conquest, and therefore in every respect the nearest ally in blood to the Arabians, *and superior even to them in some qualities.*"

Ancient and renowned they certainly are; much older in truth than the Arabians. Ten thousand Libyan charioteers were enrolled in the army of Xerxes to support his 80,000 horsemen mounted on their Median duns, at a time when, as far as we can judge, the Arabs had no horses at all, but only camels. Passing through Greece, we find in Sophocles's Pythian St. Leger (no doubt a real event, and borrowed by the poet to give effect to his tragedy), as described in the *Electra*, two chariots from Cyrene, and "two Lybians skilled to guide the pliant car" through the most famous cities in Hellas. Argos, Athens, and the like, contented themselves with sending one a piece, and in the actual contest, just as, no doubt, it had happened shortly before the representation of the play, these wiry galloways of the desert make the running, as we should call it, at the top of their speed, in order to "pump" the clumsy underbred brutes who were brought out against them. Leaving Pindar on one side, though the horses of Arcesilaus, and even of Hiero, through Carthaginian merchants, may possibly have been collaterally akin to the Curwen bay and Thoulouse Barbs, we pass into Italy.

It is well known that Maharbal, perhaps the most dashing cavalry officer that ever lived, kept urging Hannibal to make a rush upon

Rome after the battle of Cannæ, whilst the numbing effect of that terrible overthrow was still heavy upon his enemies. Hannibal hesitated, and the opportunity was lost. "You would have supped in the Capitol within five days," said the brilliant Carthaginian Hussar, "but on different men the gods bestow different gifts; to you they have given the generalship which wins victories, but not the energy to profit by them when won." Now Cannæ must be more than three hundred miles from Rome as the crow flies, and if Muharbal knew that his Numidian "drinkers of the wind" could accomplish that distance, moving through an enemy's country, and with much to think of besides mere pace, in four days (for the city had to be surrendered, and the supper cooked afterwards), he could rely upon their staying powers with a confidence which the Colonel of the Blues in the year of grace 1881 might well envy. Improved, or not improved, by subsequent Arabian intermixtures, they were no plebeians even then.

A third argument for the excellence of the African running horses, in times before any Kohlan is known to have flourished, we can deduce from what may perhaps be called an old Roman racing-calendar here subjoined:—

APPONO INSCRIPTIONEM, QUAM ES SCHEDIS PEIRESCIANIS DEPROMPTAM  
PUBLICAVIT EXCELLENS ANTIQUITATIS VINDEK. JAC. SPONIUS, EA SIC  
SE HABET:—

II. Praemist Et C.T.

Occupavit Et. Cit. C.C.C.V.

Introjugis Vicit.

Sanipo Canis X.

Aegypto Pe I.

Pegaso Afr. I.

Eutono Afr. I.

Adirla Afr. I.

Dromo Hisp. I.

Hiluro Afr. I.

Maue Afr. I.

Aquilin Afr. I.

Pegaso Afr. I.

Cotyno Afr. I.

Sica Afr. I.

Passer Afr. I.

Lupo Afr. I.

Silvano Afr. I.

Lucin Afr. I.

Eutono Afr. IV.

Pyral Afr., S.E. IV.

Pardo Afr. IV.

Romulo Lae. V.

Rapale Afr. V.

Baetio Afr. VI.

Canun Afr. VI.

Daedul Afr. VI.

Gaetul Afr. VI.

Alcimo VI.

Hiluro His. I.

Smaragd Afr. I.

Drauco Afr. I.

Aranio Afr. I.

Exact Afr. I.

Pesto Cir. I.

Pugio Afr. I.

Andre Afr. I.

Roman Gal. I.

Candid Afr. I.

Abax, The XX.

Arcad Aet. XVI.

Lupo Hisp. XXII.

Sagit Afr. XI., XII.

Aiaee Afr. XXX., XXII.

Aether Afr. XXX., XXX.

Ingon Ing. XXIX.

Argo Aph. XXX.

Victore Afr. XXXII., XI.

Luuce Afr. XXVIII.

Cirpato Afr. I.	Thelo Afr. I.
Meliss Afr. I.	Arione Afr. I.
Dedicat Mav. I.	Helio Afr. I.
Parato Afr. I.	Herbino Rev. II.
Ballist Afr. VIII.	Palmat Afr. II.
Androm Afr. VIII.	Passer Th. II.
Spicuto Gal. VIII.	Calta Afr. II.
Romulo Afr. VIII.	Pugio Afr. II.
Lupo Afr. VIII.	Excell
Palumb Afr. VIII.	Aracin
Romulo Afr. VIII.	Callid
Glaphyro Sph. VIII.	Aquila
Balist, XIII., III.	Preul
Memno Lac. XI.	. . . .
Barb. Afr. I.	Hilar
Callid Cyr. I.	

Palmas Sibi Complevit,  
C. Callid, Af. Ballist, Af.  
Quos Equos. C.

This list of horses is copied from a note of Gronovius's on one of Lucian's dialogues. He had extracted it from the work of some learned commentator on ancient inscriptions, Sponius, of whom I know nothing beyond the name. I have not been able to consult his book. Had I done so, I doubt whether I should have been able to learn more than is to be learnt from the inscription itself, which seems to be a fragment. Fragment, however, or not, it proves all I require, by showing that in the chariot-races of imperial Rome it was to Africa that the Sir Joseph Hawleys and Lord Falmouths of the day looked for the materials of success.

The absence of Arabs among these recorded winners may possibly be accidental. I am not citing the document to disparage them, but only to show that the Barb possessed special racing qualities of his own before the Mussulman conquest of Morocco—before the Kohlans of Yemen, even if then in existence, were valued, or, apparently, so much as known.

What these Barbs are in their best form may be judged of by the following extracts from Colonel Hamilton Smith's admirable monograph on the Equidæ: "They are of great beauty with more power than the Andalusians; they are of every colour, but chestnut and black are considered the best bred." (This seems to indicate some difference of origin as compared with Arabs, since in Yemen chestnut, to say the least, would not be *preferred* to white, still less to blood-bay, and black is hardly as orthodox a coat for a horse there as for a pulpit or an evening party here.) "The Moors (again differing from the Arabs) do not ride mares, nor do they mount horses until after they are four years old." (I wish we could say the same.)

A special variety of the North African horse is described a little

further on, as follows: "On the sandy plains south of Atlas are the 'Shrubat ur Reeceh,' or Drinkers of the Wind, reared by the Mograbins of the West. They are brown or grey, shaped like greyhounds, destitute of flesh, or, as Mr. Davidson terms it, 'a bag of bones,' but their spirit is high, and their endurance of fatigue prodigious. These horses are not mounted till they are *seven years old*, and are fed mainly on camel's milk and a few crushed dates; yet under such scanty food, apparently not intended for horses, they retain a vigour which more natural food would hardly bestow upon them, and hunt the ostrich 'with unrelaxing speed.'" One of these drinkers of the wind is celebrated by a native poet, whose ode General Daumas quotes in his "Horses of the Sahara." I have translated part of it, which may perhaps be of interest to my readers:—

"My steed is black, my steed is black,  
 As a starless and moonless night,  
 He was foaled in wide deserts without a track,  
 He drinks the wind in flight,  
 So drunk the wind his sire before him,  
 And high of blood the dam that bore him;  
 Like the gazelle's his over-quivering ears,  
 His eyes gleam softly as a woman's, when  
 Her looks of love are full,  
 His nostrils gape, dark as the lion's den,  
 And in the front of battle he uprears  
 The forehead of a bull.  
 His flanks, his neck, his shoulders, all are long,  
 His legs are flat, his quarters close and round,  
 Snake-like his tail shoots out—his hocks are strong,  
 Such as the desert ostrich bear along,  
 And his lithe fetlocks spurn the echoing ground.

"His flesh is as the zebra's, firm, he glides  
 Fox-like, whilst cantering slow across the plain,  
 But, when at speed, his limbs put on amain,  
 The wolf's long gallop, and untiring strides,  
 Yes, in one day he does the work of five,  
 No spur his spirit wakes,  
 But each strung vein and sinew seems alive,  
 At every bound he makes;  
 Over the pathless sand he darteth, straight  
 As God's keen arrow from the bow of fate,  
 Or like some thirsty dove, first of the flock,  
 Towards water hidden in a hollow rock."

So far as our own breed is concerned, the mares from Tangiers constitute the one element without which our existing form of race-horse could not have been built up. Arabian mares, as Mr. Blunt tells us, and he is confirmed by Colonel Hamilton Smith, were not then within our reach.<sup>1</sup>

(1) See the story of the sold mare tracked by her former owner till she was about to be put on board ship, and then poisoned lest she should become a treasure to the Giaour.

It may, therefore, be said that our racehorse has been formed out of Turk and Barb in his earlier, out of Arab and Barb in his later development; and it is obvious that even if the pompous old Duke of Newcastle had not mischievously intervened against the Arab we should still have been obliged to get our blood mares almost entirely from Morocco, though fine Arab stallions might have come in (if Markham's "small bony animal" had defied criticism) and been common in England some seventy years before Mr. Darley's great achievement. With regard to stud-horses also there are many Barbs of much importance at the back end of our four-footed genealogies. I need only mention the Curwen bay Barb, the Thoulouse Barb, the St. Victor Barb, the Taffolet Barb, the Layton Barb, and Mr. Massey's black Barb. The last is worth noting on account of his colour, and also as being in all probability connected with the famous Bonny Black, through Black Hearty or otherwise. (See Old Ebony in the *Stud-Book*, vol. i.) In more recent times Coquette, by the Compton Barb, figures conspicuously in the pedigree of that very valuable horse Catton; her blood through him has been transmitted to the descendants of the Flying Dutchman, Voltigeur, and others, now making themselves a name both in England and France.

The great question, however, after all, at this stage of my argument (it has already been touched upon), is that of Barb *versus* Arab in *re* Godolphin. This horse was believed at the time to be a Barb. He was called Arabian, I fancy, to distinguish him from the Godolphin Barb proper—a rival of no great importance, it is true, but still occurring in the *Stud-Book* as the sire of thoroughbred colts—and in Lord Godolphin's possession together with if not before his great contemporary. I do not know how long after his leaving France the latter horse became junior partner in the firm of Hobgoblin & Co. Mr. White, who makes many mistakes even in his own special departments, always writes about us miserable bipeds with as much indifference as if he were a Houbynym discoursing upon Yahoos. He says that in all probability he was one of the horses presented to Louis XIV. by the ruler of Morocco; but as the Godolphin, whether Barb or Arab, was certainly foaled some years later than the 1st of September, 1715, we fear that when the colt, afterwards Hobgoblin's junior partner, was born there flowed between him and the King what Mr. Bromley has well called the "unjumpable Styx." Anyhow he was bought, we are told, out of a cart at Paris for thirty shillings, brought over here without a pedigree or other certificate, and presented to Lord Godolphin, who discovered his value accidentally when Hobgoblin refused to cover the famous Roxana. Beyond this we learn nothing but that the sporting men of the time who knew him by sight accepted him as a Barb, partly, perhaps, from being somewhat larger than the average Arabian (he stood fifteen hands), partly, I suppose, from his appearance, and partly, no doubt, as

coming from France—a country in which imported Barbs were common, imported Arabs not. Whatever may be the case with Mr. Blunt, armed with his surprising manuscript note, Captain Upton acquiesces in the received tradition, and accordingly, full of zeal for his beloved Yemen, pronounces the Godolphin family to be “a very poor one.” This only shows how much truth there is in the old theological dogma that belief is, after all, mainly a matter of the will. For every impartial person must, I should say, understand at once that never since horses were first tamed by the Shepherd Kings, some four or five thousand years ago, can there have been an effect produced by any single animal so sudden, so decisive, and so marvellous. When I tell the reader that he was the sire of four first-class runners, Lath, Dismal, Regulus, and Mirza, no one of whom, unless I am greatly mistaken, ever met with defeat; that I defy Captain Upton to name any other sire in the *Stud-Book* of whom the same can be said; that coming nearer to our own time, besides his direct male descendants through Matchem, we are indebted to Godolphin blood for the dam of Eclipse, the dam and grandam of Highflyer, the dam of Dorian, the dam of Woodpecker, the dam of Brilliant, the dam of Potatoes, the dam of Whalebone and Whisker, the grandam of Sir Peter Teazle, the grandam of Hambletonian, and the great grandam of Waxy, &c., &c., I think it little to say that so over-zealous an advocate as Captain Upton can never be accepted as an infallible judge. Somewhere about 1780, it appears to me, the search after Eastern horses began to languish, and then gradually died out. One reason was that the aristocratic importers found, let them work never so hard, they could not equal that “first regimental charger” on which Captain Byerly of the Boyne, otherwise obscure, has ridden into everlasting renown, or the Paris cart-horse, or the Turkey merchant’s unhoped-for treasure from Aleppo. I regret this, because the very highest specimens of Barb and Arab, like the very highest specimens of our English race-horse, must be few and far between. Had our wealthy breeders persevered, other accidental wonders, once and again, might have fallen into their hands, and even short of that, valuable qualities would have kept infusing themselves into horses of every description, together with an unfailing flow of Eastern blood.

To show how much accident has to do with such matters. There was an aged Eastern screw, belonging to the surgeon of the 90th regiment at Zante in 1828. He was a flea-bitten grey, standing somewhere about 15 h. 2 in. Turk, Barb, Arab, or a mixture of all three, nobody knew. He was not regularly trained, and far from being in racing condition, he was therefore naturally thought nothing of at first. But to the astonishment of the military mind, when races were established there under high Newmarket superintendence, neither thoroughbred chargers from home, nor Barbs and

Arabs, many of them horses of merit belonging to the Greek gentlemen of the place, had the shadow of a chance with him ; he scuttled away from all competitors in the most unexpected style, and may, for aught I know, have been a second Godolphin in disguise.

Before leaving this part of the subject, I may as well say one word about the "Wellesley Grey Arabian," the last Eastern sire who has produced any decided effect upon our race meetings. He was, according to Colonel Hamilton Smith, "A Persian horse of fine character, crossed probably with high-bred Arabs and Turcomans." He was at any rate much larger than the ordinary importations of the kind, as he possessed "the size and substance of an English hunter." What chance he had of propagating a number of winners I do not know, but he did propagate some, notably "Fair Ellen," whose own performances were not contemptible, and who afterwards turned out a really good brood mare. The exploits of her children, Dandizette, Lillas or Babel, winner of the Oaks in 1826, the Exquisite, second for the Derby in 1829, and Translation, are accessible to anybody who chooses to take down the necessary calendars. I shall therefore pass on, merely observing in conclusion that not only Fair Ellen, but also many of the half-Arabs of the last century, unlike their kinsmen of to-day, possessed decided *speed*. Alert, by the Vernon Arabian, was a very smart colt ; and Chub, by the same sire, won the only quarter of a mile sweepstakes, one of 300 guineas each, at the Houghton meeting of 1782, that has come under my notice.

I have now given as accurate a sketch of Eastern horses, so far as they are connected with our turf, as seems to me necessary ; I have only to add that my object in doing so has by no means been to discourage Mr. Blunt, whose intentions I hold in great respect, and in whose schemes I take the strongest interest, but simply to point out that other Eastern horses, besides those from Arabia, are equally or all but equally deserving of attention. If, whilst Mr. Blunt busies himself about his true-bred Arabs, we could see established other studs in emulation of his—one for instance directed to a development of the highest Barb blood attainable, both from the Northern and Southern parts of Morocco ; a second again to show what can be made of Anatolians, Turcomans, and Persians ; a fourth to cultivate the fine white breed from Soudan and Bruce's Dongola blacks, if these latter yet survive—the country would, I am sure, be greatly benefited by these experiments, and owe their authors much gratitude ; only I think it right to add, that, in my judgment, any such experiment will have to be undertaken for its own sake, and as a labour of love. A money remuneration will come late if it comes at all.

FRANCIS HASTINGS DOYLE.

(To be continued.)



### THE LARK ASCENDING.

He rises and begins to round,  
He drops the silver chain of sound,  
Of many links without a break,  
In chirrup, whistle, slur and shake,  
All interwoven and spreading wide,  
Like water-dimples down a tide  
Where ripple ripple overcurls  
And eddy into eddy whirls ;  
A press of hurried notes that run  
So fleet they scarce are more than one,  
Yet changeingly the trills repeat  
And linger ringing while they fleet,  
Sweet to the quick o' the ear, and dear  
To her beyond the handmaid ear,  
Who sits beside our inner springs,  
Too often dry for this he brings,  
Which seems the very jet of earth  
At sight of sun, her music's mirth,  
As up he wings the spiral stair,  
A song of light, and pierces air  
With fountain ardour, fountain play,  
To reach the shining tops of day,  
And drink in everything discerned  
An ecstasy to music turned,  
Impelled by what his happy bill  
Disperses ; drinking, showering still,  
Unthinking save that he may give  
His voice the outlet, there to live  
Renewed in endless notes of glee,  
So thirsty of his voice is he,

For all to hear and all to know  
That he is joy, awake, aglow,  
The tumult of the heart to hear  
Through pureness filtered crystal-clear,  
And know the pleasure sprinkled bright  
By simple singing of delight,  
Shrill, irreflective, unrestrained,  
Rapt, ringing, on the jet sustained  
Without a break, without a fall,  
Sweet-silvery, sheer lyrical,  
Perennial, quavering up the chord  
Like myriad dews of sunny sward  
That trembling into fulness shine,  
And sparkle dropping argentine ;  
Such wooing as the ear receives,  
From zephyr caught in choric leaves  
Of aspens when their chattering net  
Is flushed to white with shivers wet ;  
And such the water-spirit's chime  
On mountain heights in morning's prime,  
Too freshly sweet to seem excess,  
Too animate to need a stress ;  
But wider over many heads  
The starry voice ascending spreads,  
Awakening, as it waxes thin,  
The best in us to him akin ;  
And every face to watch him raised,  
Puts on the light of children praised,  
So rich our human pleasure pipes  
When sweetness on sincerity pipes,  
Though nought be promised from the seas,  
But only a soft-ruffling breeze  
Sweep glittering on a still content,  
Serenity in ravishment.

For singing till his heaven fills,  
'Tis love of earth that he instils,

And ever winging up and up,  
Our valley is his golden cup ;  
And he the wine which overflows  
To lift us with him as he goes,  
But not from earth is he divorced,  
He joyfully to fly enforced ;  
The woods and brooks, the sheep and kine,  
He is, the hills, the human line,  
The meadows green, the fallows brown,  
The dreams of labour in the town ;  
He sings the sap, the quickened veins,  
The wedding song of sun and rains  
He is, the dance of children, thanks  
Of sowers, shout of primrose-banks,  
And eye of violets while they breathe ;  
All these the circling song will wreath,  
And you shall hear the herb and tree,  
The better heart of men shall see,  
Shall feel celestially, as long  
As you crave nothing save the song.

Was never voice of ours could say  
Our inmost in the sweetest way,  
Like yonder voice aloft, and link  
All hearers in the song they drink :  
Our wisdom speaks from failing blood,  
Our passion is too full in flood,  
We want the key of his wild note  
Of truthful in a tuneful throat,  
The song seraphically free  
Of taint of personality,  
So pure that it salutes the suns  
The voice of one for millions,  
In whom the millions rejoice  
For giving their one spirit voice.

Yet men have we, whom we revere,  
Now names, and men still housing here,  
Whose lives, by many a battle-dint  
Defaced, and grinding wheels on flint,  
Yield substance, though they sing not, sweet  
For song our highest heaven to greet,  
Whom heavenly singing gives us now,  
Enspheres them brilliant in our blue,  
From firmest base to farthest leap,  
Because their love of earth is deep,  
And they are warriors in accord  
With life to serve and pass reward,  
So touching purest, and so heard  
In the brain's reflex of yon bird :  
Wherefore their soul in me, or mine,  
Through self-forgetfulness divine,  
In them, that song aloft maintains,  
To fill the sky and thrill the plains  
With showerings drawn from human stores  
As he to silence nearer soars,  
Extends the world at wings and dome,  
More spacious making more our home,  
Till lost on his aerial rings  
In light, and then the fancy sings.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

## HAS OUR VACCINATION DEGENERATED?

Does vaccination as practised in Great Britain afford as much protection from the subsequent occurrence of smallpox as it did in the days of Jenner? In other words, has the protective power of our vaccine virus, which has now for the greater portion of a century been transmitted through tens of thousands of human beings, become impaired by the process. Considering that we appear to be entering upon another of those epidemics of smallpox from which London has hardly been free for the last dozen years, this is a very important question. If you ask it of the chiefs of our Vaccination Department, whose faith is unquestioningly accepted by the vast majority of the medical profession in England, they will answer "No." If you refer to the literature of other nations you will receive an opposite reply. Thus, a commission, presided over by Dr. Marinus, appointed by the Belgian Academy of Medicine to inquire into the subject, published an elaborate report in 1857, one of the conclusions of which was that "humanised vaccine becomes gradually enfeebled through its successive transmissions, without, however, altogether losing its preservative property." In the same year the well-known Dr. Simon, then Medical Officer to the Privy Council, published another report upon smallpox and vaccination even more exhaustive, in which he says:—"Successive experiments by M. Bosquet, Dr. Gregory, Mr. Estlin, Professor Hering, and Dr. Steinbrenner have established, I think, beyond all possibility of reasonable doubt, that certain original properties of the vaccine contagion have very generally declined after its long successive descent from the cow." He dwells with some emphasis upon the greatly increased susceptibility to re-vaccination which had progressively manifested itself in the Prussian army from 1813 to 1836, and he makes this admission:—"Post-vaccinal smallpox may depend to some considerable extent on a primary incompleteness of that specific change which vaccination should have excited in the system, and such incompleteness may have depended on an inactive, degenerated state of the vaccine contagion;—these would seem on analogy reasonable inferences from the facts I have stated." The facts, however, he adds, do not constitute proof, though they amply justify suspicion. He pertinently points out that the practical question is, "assuming that from 1800 to 1840 every year's vaccination had included a certain proportion of infants who eventually (say fifteen or twenty years afterwards) became resusceptible of smallpox—has this proportion progressively increased?" The object of this paper is if possible to answer that question.

The facts which to Mr. Simon's mind amply justified suspicion, "did not amount to proof" because they were all physiological facts, and their conclusiveness depended on the adoption or rejection of certain medical theories as to the relations of cowpock and smallpox. The proofs that I shall submit are based on no theories, but upon bald statistical records. Large amounts of statistics have been accumulated on the subject during the past century, but they have almost all been directed to an illustration of the comparative mortality of smallpox in vaccinated and in unvaccinated persons, and the operation of various degrees of vaccination in modifying the disease. They have never, so far as I am aware, been examined collectively and comparatively with a view of ascertaining whether the protective effects of vaccination are unimpaired or enfeebled. The fact that they have been collected for reasons quite apart from their bearing on this question makes them the more reliable, and what I propose in this paper is to examine a number of the statistical records to be found in the literature of the subject from the beginning of the century onwards, with the view of ascertaining what answer they give to the question with which I started.

In London, during the ten years 1870—9, out of every million inhabitants 4,779 died of smallpox. Now of 2,677 deaths from that disease recorded in the hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board during the years 1876—9, 1,008, or 37½ per cent., occurred in vaccinated persons. If, therefore, we assume the same ratio to have prevailed throughout the 4,779 deaths, 1,804 deaths must have occurred in vaccinated persons in the ten years in every million inhabitants. It has been estimated that our population is vaccinated to the extent of ninety-seven persons out of every hundred, which would give 1,859 deaths to every million of vaccinated persons, but for the sake of safety and of round numbers let us simply say that the experience of the metropolitan hospitals and the returns of the Registrar General show that in London during the decade 1870—9 over 1,800 deaths from smallpox after vaccination occurred in every million of vaccinated inhabitants. As statistics of many thousand instances of post-vaccinal smallpox recorded show 1 death to have taken place to about every 10 cases, we may take it that during the ten years 18,000 cases of the disease occurred in the metropolis to every million of the vaccinated population. Now the deaths from smallpox constituted a little over 20 per 1,000 of the deaths from all causes in London during the decade. In former times, in consequence of the large proportion of unvaccinated persons, that ratio was enormously exceeded. In England and Wales, during 1800—9, it was 64 in every 1,000. in the succeeding ten years it was 42, and in the next it was 32 per 1,000. The chance of exposure to infection therefore must have been much greater, and a very large number of

persons had already been vaccinated, so that had anything like the same amount of smallpox prevailed among the vaccinated population it could hardly have escaped notice. During the first ten years of this century, however, it was an article of almost universal belief among the medical profession that vaccination, except in the rarest instances, prevented smallpox altogether. Blinded by this theory, it is conceivable that many trivial cases of smallpox in vaccinated persons may have been overlooked; but putting mere illness out of the question, had there been anything like a mortality from post-vaccinal smallpox of 1,800 in every million vaccinated persons between 1800 and 1810, or between 1810 and 1820, it is inconceivable that the fact of the frequent occurrence of such cases should have altogether escaped observation. Let us now turn to what statistics we have upon the point during the earlier years of vaccination. In Copenhagen, then a city of over 100,000 inhabitants, where vaccination was universally practised from a very early period, not a single death from smallpox was registered during the thirteen years 1811—23. At the London rate for the last ten years 234 deaths from post-vaccinal smallpox should have occurred. In Annsbach, in Bavaria, when the population amounted to 300,000, and was thoroughly vaccinated, not a single death took place from smallpox during the nine years 1810—18. According to the London death-rate from post-vaccinal smallpox during the last ten years, there should have been 486 deaths. Between 1804 and 1813, 2,671,662 individuals were vaccinated by qualified persons in France, and according to official reports only seven of these are known to have taken smallpox. A much greater number of these cases were vaccinated during the earlier than during the later portions of that period, but assuming the vaccination to have occurred at the rate of about 300,000 a year it would give something equivalent to one year's observation of 13,000,000 of people, among whom, according to our recent London experience, there should have occurred 23,400 cases of smallpox, one-tenth of them fatal. Let us turn now to English experience.

Jenner published his discovery in 1798, and in 1802 a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into his claim for a national reward, after hearing all that could be said by the enemies of vaccination, seem to have lighted on only two cases in which smallpox had occurred after vaccination properly performed. In 1806 the Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Institute admitted the existence of such cases, but characterized them as "very rare," and stated that when they did occur "the disease had generally been so mild as to lose some of its characteristic marks, and even to render its existence doubtful." In 1807 the College of Surgeons reported in the same sense. In 1811 two cases of well-marked

smallpox occurred, one in a son of Earl Grosvenor, and the other in a son of Sir Harry Martin, who unquestionably had both been efficiently vaccinated. The National Vaccine Establishment carefully investigated the cases and published an account of them in their report for the year. The reporters mention that the case of Mr. Grosvenor was the severest case occurring after vaccination which had yet been submitted to them, and they add that they were led to believe that "since the practice had been fully established no deaths from smallpox had in any instance occurred after vaccination." Again, in the eight years ending 1817 there had been vaccinated at the National Vaccine Establishment in London and its vicinity 34,369 persons, or about 4,300 a year. If we assume this average number to have been vaccinated all through the period the result would afford a field for observation equivalent to 154,000 individuals for one year. According to the London rate of the last decade there should have occurred in that number 277 cases of post-vaccinal smallpox and 27 deaths. As it was, although smallpox had been constantly prevalent—more than twice as prevalent as it was during 1870-9—only four of the entire number were known to have contracted the disease, and in all four it was in a mild form. Of course, other cases may have escaped notice, but had they occurred at anything like the modern rate it is inconceivable that such a statement could have been made without contradiction. It was not till after vaccination had been practised for fifteen or twenty years that epidemics of post-vaccinal smallpox, occasionally proving fatal, began to be recorded, and even so late as 1825 the occurrence of twelve deaths in vaccinated persons in the London Smallpox Hospital created so much consternation that a special commission was appointed by the National Vaccine Board to inquire into the cause of such unwonted and alarming mortality.

From what I have said it follows, I think, either that the medical profession during the first fifteen or twenty years of the century must have been so incompetent, that statements emanating from its members are altogether unworthy of credence, or the percentage of vaccinated persons who on exposure to smallpox contagion were attacked by the disease was very much smaller than has been the case in recent times. I should here explain that the protective power of vaccination against smallpox manifests itself in two ways. In the first place, though a certain proportion of vaccinated persons after the lapse of a certain time become resusceptible to smallpox, if a million vaccinated persons and a million of unvaccinated persons are exposed to the same amount of smallpox infection a vastly smaller number of the vaccinated million will take the disease than of the unvaccinated million. The second mode in which the protective power of vaccination against smallpox manifests itself is this, that given the



same number of vaccinated and unvaccinated persons attacked with smallpox the number of fatal cases will be very much smaller among the vaccinated than among the unvaccinated. The facts already quoted bear on the first mode of manifestation of this protective power, and seem to show that, comparatively small as is the proportion of vaccinated as contrasted with unvaccinated persons who are nowadays liable to attack by smallpox, that proportion was notably smaller in the commencement of the century. The facts which I am about to discuss bear on the second mode of manifestation of the protective influence of vaccination, and show that, comparatively small as is the mortality of smallpox occurring in vaccinated persons nowadays, that mortality was very much smaller sixty years ago, and has been gradually increasing ever since; and here, happily, we leave as our groundwork for argument mere general statements, and take our stand upon the much more satisfactory and accurate basis of recorded statistics.

The first epidemics in which any large number of cases of post-vaccinal smallpox (*i.e.* smallpox occurring in vaccinated persons) are recorded occurred in Scotland between the years of 1819—23, and were recorded by Dr. Thomson, of Edinburgh, father of Dr. Allan Thomson, a late President of the British Association. That gentleman observed 1,500 cases, with only three deaths. It has been objected that these were really cases of chicken-pock, but the fact that chicken-pock cannot produce smallpox, while modified smallpox, however mild, can be inoculated and produce the well-known characteristics of that disease, afforded an easy discriminating test. In those days smallpox inoculation was lightly practised, and any one who takes the trouble to read the history of this epidemic will see that that test was freely resorted to. Beginning with the Edinburgh epidemic of 1819, observations on a large scale are recorded in France, Switzerland, Sweden, and at Copenhagen, and these I will take down to the year 1835. In France, then, we have record of 5,467 such cases, with 51 deaths. In Switzerland, between 1822 and 1832, 4,211 cases, with 92 deaths, are recorded. In Sweden, in the epidemic of 1824—27, 85,000 persons were attacked, "almost all vaccinated," and the mortality was "hardly 1 per cent.;" while in Copenhagen, in the epidemics between 1825—35, out of 3,093 vaccinated persons attacked, 66 died. Dr. Gregory's experience at the London Smallpox Hospital from 1826 to 1835 gave 915 cases of post-vaccinal smallpox, and 54 deaths. If we leave out the Swedish figures, which are rather vague, we find a total of 15,186 cases and 266 deaths, or a mortality of 1.75. The next group of statistics was collected by Dr. Marston, in the London Smallpox Hospital between 1836 and 1852. The cases were tabulated most carefully, and a minute analysis of those throws very great light on the relations of smallpox and vaccination, but for the present we

have only to do with totals. Dr. Marston, in his calculations, was in the habit of deducting from the mortality in every class deaths from what he called superadded diseases, such as pneumonia, erysipelas, or gangrene, and in his totals he included all cases said to be vaccinated, whether they bore marks of vaccination or not. The former practice has—I think properly—been discontinued in later observations, so that to render any comparison with them accurate, Dr. Marston's percentages must be corrected by the addition of the cases which he deducted; and as a large portion of the cases without cicatrices are cases concerning whose vaccination there is great doubt, and as the proportion of such cases varies enormously in the different groups, in order to institute an accurate comparison it is safer to take only the mortality in the cases with vaccinal cicatrices comprised in the different groups. Well, between 1836 and 1851, Dr. Marston observed 2,787 of such cases, the mortality in which amounted to 6·9 per cent. In 1851, the smallpox hospital in which his observations were made was transferred to a much healthier building, so much so that the mortality among his unvaccinated cases fell from 37·5, at which it stood during the first period, to 35·7 per cent., but notwithstanding this the death rate among 10,398 cases of post-vaccinal smallpox observed in 1852—67 amounted to 7·6 per cent. In the last decade, in nearly 15,000 cases, to which I shall again have occasion to refer, it had advanced to 9·2 per cent.

Now you may arrange the figures as you like, but you will find the same constant result, that the earlier the period you take, the smaller was the death-rate; the later the period, the higher it becomes. If you take out of the first batch those—and they amount to several thousands—recorded up to 1825, you will get a mortality of a fraction of 1 per cent., and if you take all the cases from 1819 to 1830, you will get a mortality of 1 per cent. Take again the old London Smallpox Hospital. Dr. Gregory gives two periods of his experience, commencing at 1826, and extending, each one, over seven years; and if we go to the figures of Dr. Martin, we get a third period of the same length. The mortality in the first batch of cases was 6·41 per cent., in the next 66·6 per cent., and in the last 7 per cent. The hospital was removed to another building in July, 1850, so that there is not another septennial period available for observation; but taking the last four years we find that the mortality had mounted to close on 12 per cent. The new building was much more spacious and healthy, and the death-rate for the first year of its occupation, which is all we have separately, went down to 6·1. In the period for 1852—67, which we have only in the gross, it had increased in vaccinated persons with and without marks (which in this portion of the comparison want of details compels us to group together) to 8·2 per cent.; while in the epidemic of 1871—2 it actually ran up to 15 per cent. Meanwhile the mortality of the disease

in unvaccinated persons has varied considerably in various epidemics, ranging from 25 to 38 per cent., and in the last decade mounting to about 45 per cent.; but while the increase in the death-rate of natural smallpox from the lowest to the highest point had not doubled itself, that in smallpox after vaccination had increased from 1 per cent. previous to 1830, to over 10 per cent. in the course of half a century.

To turn now to another branch of the subject. In publishing his first batch of observations (that for 1836—51), Dr. Marston by an analysis of his cases showed that the mortality in post-vaccinal smallpox bears a very distinct relation to the quality and amount of the vaccination as evidenced by the number and character of the vaccine scars. His analysis showed that of patients with one cicatrix over 9 per cent. died, of those with two marks 6 per cent. died, with three about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and of those with four and more only about 1 per cent. It showed, too, that in cases with good cicatrices less than half of the number died that died among patients with indifferent marks; and it showed that this held good, though not exactly in the same proportion, in the classes of good and indifferent cicatrices when these came to be subdivided by the number of cicatrices discoverable. In his second batch of cases, 1852—67, we find that the same general rule held good, but the mortality in each class of cases had increased, and if we pursue the inquiry in later groups of statistics, we find the same thing occurring. To illustrate this in the simplest manner, let us first take the results shown in three statements prepared by Dr. Marston. The first is the one so often referred to, giving the experience of the Smallpox Hospital for the sixteen years 1836—51, the last that relating to the sixteen years 1852—67, while the intermediate is from a table in an article published by Dr. Marston, in *Reynold's System of Medicine*, and gives the results of the same observations for the twenty years, 1836—55.

The results are all calculated on the same plan, deaths from "superadded diseases" being deducted, so that the figures being strictly comparable are interesting as showing the steady progress of the death-rate in the different classes of cases.

MARSTON'S THREE TABLES.

Number of Cicatrices.	Percentage of Mortality at Period		
	1836—51.	1836—55.	1852—67.
One . . . . .	7.57	7.75	13.81
Two . . . . .	4.13	4.70	7.71
Three . . . . .	1.85	1.95	3.03
Four . . . . .	0.74	0.55	0.86

In every line in this table, except that relating to four cicatrices,

it will be observed that there is a steady advance. That the second column of this excepted line shows a decrease is due to the small number of the cases dealt with, and the relatively large number of deaths deducted on account of superadded diseases. In carrying down our comparison to the last decade it becomes necessary—as I have already explained—to replace the deaths from superadded diseases in Marston's observations, and calculate the results on that basis. To enable the comparison to be made at a glance, I have drawn up the following table, showing the results in Marston's first group of cases (1836—51), in the same observer's second group (1852—67), and in 14,788 cases made up of 6,905 cases recorded by Dr. Seaton as occurring in the hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board during 1870—3, and 7,883 cases with cicatrices classified in tabulated statements, each comprising the results of several years, published in the reports of the Homerton, Hampstead, and Deptford Hospitals, for 1878, 1876—8, and 1878—9, respectively. Reports of other metropolitan hospitals contain additional statistics, but they are not so classified as to lend themselves to this analysis.

Arranging these cases, then, according to the number of cicatrices, we obtain the following results:—

Percentage of mortality in smallpox occurring in persons showing —	Period			No. of cases included in calculation for 1870—79.	Remarks.
	1836—51.	1852—67.	1870—79		
Cicatrices of Vaccination	6.9	7.6	9.2	14,788	* No details for these two classes for earlier portions of decade. Mortality stated is the mean of the mortality given by Seaton, and that for late epidemic in the two classes respectively.
„ 1 . . . .	9.2	14.8	13.65	*	
„ 2 . . . .	6.0	8.7	10.14	*	
„ 3 . . . .	3.6	3.7	7.4	2,539	
„ 4 or more .	1.1	2.0	4.83	1,886	
„ 1 or 2 . . .	7.9	11.3	10.29	8,994	
„ 3 or more .	2.4	2.8	5.8	5,278	
Percentage of mortality in smallpox or in un- vaccinated persons	37.5	35.7	41.6 <sup>1</sup>		

In glancing over this table the first fact that strikes one is, that whereas the death-rate in cases with three and more cicatrices in the last decade is more than double what it was in 1852—67, the mortality in cases with two cicatrices has increased less rapidly, and in cases with one cicatrix the mortality during 1870—9, though considerably above that recorded in Marston's first group of cases, was actually less than that shown in his second.

What is the explanation of this apparent anomaly? It is explicable in a very simple manner by a change which has come over

(1) Mean between Seaton's and Jebb's mortality.

the mode of vaccinating. For many years it was the practice to insert the vaccine lymph by means of punctures. Each puncture gave rise to a separate vesicle and a separate cicatrix. This, we find from the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee of 1833, was apparently the universal practice at that date, and it was the practice adopted and taught by Marston down to 1852. Latterly, however, the more certain and effective method of scarification has been adopted. Instead of introducing the lymph by a simple puncture, a comparatively large portion of skin is scarified, whereby a more extensive surface is exposed to the action of the virus, of which a larger portion is absorbed into the system. Each scarification, however, like each puncture, produces one vesicle only, and only one mark.

And now to the application of this fact to the explanation of the anomaly I have pointed out.

In a paper published in 1872 by a very able and accurate observer, Dr. J. B. Russell, of Glasgow, on nine hundred and seventy-two cases of small-pox observed by him in the municipal hospitals of that city, after a careful analysis of the modifying influence of various degrees of vaccination on the severity of the disease, that writer goes on to say—

“The number of vaccine marks can have no meaning, excepting so far as they indicate in a general way the quantity of lymph introduced into the system. It cannot be that the same quantity of lymph introduced into four spots successfully, confers more immunity than if introduced into one spot successfully, or that by dividing a cicatrix into four its productive value is increased. Hence, I am inclined to think that the local and permanent phenomena which would best indicate the quantity of lymph introduced, and consequently show even more striking relations to the mortality, would be the superficial area of good vaccine cicatrices. It seems evident from Marston’s description of his mode of vaccination that he would produce four good vaccine marks whose united area would probably little exceed one vaccine mark such as is left by the operation as practised at our public vaccine stations in Glasgow.”

The correctness and importance of the view thus urged by Dr. Russell is now generally admitted, and Dr. Bridges, in an official report recently laid before Parliament, mentions that the Vaccination Department has of late required as a test of efficient vaccination that the united area of the cicatrices should amount to half a square inch. Now if we look at the foregoing table in the light of these facts we find the apparent anomaly which presents itself in cases with one cicatrix in the 1870—9 group to be susceptible of the very simple explanation that the one cicatrix in that period really indicated a much greater amount of vaccination than it did in the periods comprised in Marston’s observations. This improvement was not confined to the cases with a single cicatrix, but doubtless extended to the other classes, and had it not been so each of the other classes would presumably have shown a still greater increase of death-rate. But what it concerns us to observe is this, that it is notably in the most amply vaccinated cases that the greatest increase has occurred,

and that the cases recorded in 1870—9 with four or more cicatrices show almost three times the death-rate of the total number of cases with and without cicatrices recorded in the years 1819—35, and four times the death-rate of all the vaccinated cases recorded previous to 1830.

But I have already said that another mode of classifying cicatrices was adopted by Marston and those who have followed him, that, viz., into good and bad. Such a classification, when carried out by the same person in cases occurring about the same period, is doubtless very valuable. But for purposes of comparison of the observations of one physician with those of another, or even of observations made by the same physician at distant periods of time, it is by no means so trustworthy. For whereas the number of marks is a matter which admits of no difference of opinion, their goodness or badness is a matter which depends very much upon the idea of the observer.

In dealing with the question of mortality in cases classed according to the quality as well as the number of the cicatrices, I must confine myself to figures the particulars of which are set out with sufficient minuteness to enable a detailed comparison to be made. I therefore take only 7,883 cases recorded during the past decade, 4,283 of them observed in Homerton Hospital in 1871—8, and 3,600 in Hampstead and Deptford Hospitals from November, 1876, to the end of 1879; and as the latter group is composed of cases of a later date than the former I shall analyse them separately. The result is set forth in the following table:—

TABLE SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF MORTALITY AT DIFFERENT PERIODS IN CASES OF POST-VACCINAL SMALLPOX CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO NUMBER AND CHARACTER OF VACCINAL CICATRICES:—

In cases with	Marston's 1st Group, 1836—62.	Marston's 2nd Group, 1852—67.	Homerton, 1871—78.	Hampstead and Deptford, Nov. 1876 to Dec. 1879.	Remarks.
Good Cicatrices .	4.53	1.8	3.32	5.29	
4 " " . .	.99	.87	1.5	3.37	
3 " " : .	3.74	1.41	3.0	5.4	
2 " " . .	1.44	1.84	3.2	4.78	
1 . . . . .	5.73	3.22	3.9	8.0	
Indifferent Cicatrices	10.86	12.24	11.1	10.41	
4 " " . .	1.51	3.1	5.5	*	* Cases with 3 and 4 marks classed together in Deptford Hospital Report.
3 " " . .	3.45	5.6	7.7	*	
3 or 4 " . .	2.61	4.33	6.9	6.68	
2 . . . . .	9.29	13.5	10.9	11.57	
1 . . . . .	13.75	22.66	15.8	11.0	
Percentage of marks classed as good to total cases with marks	63.33	44.4	37.96	36.75	

If the reader casts his eye over the last three columns of this table he will observe that in every class with good cicatrices the mortality has progressively increased. This increase is most remarkable in the most amply vaccinated cases—the cases with three or four good cicatrices—where in 1877—9 the mortality is more than thrice what it was in 1852—67. In the cases with three or four indifferent cicatrices the increase of mortality shows itself in a less marked degree; and it is only in the cases with one or two indifferent cicatrices that the disturbing influence of the substitution of the practice of vaccination by scarification for vaccination by puncture, which I have already explained, becomes manifest. But if we refer back to the first column of the table we find that the figures there appear not to accord with those for the later periods. On closer examination, however, it becomes evident that the apparent discrepancy results from a different standard of “goodness” having (doubtless unconsciously) been adopted by Marston during the two periods 1836—51 and 1852—67.

During his first period Marston embraced in his class with good cicatrices 63·3 per cent. of his total cases exhibiting marks, and in his second only 44·4 per cent. Either then—as in his cases with cicatrices, in his second period he shows less than half the death-rate recorded in his first period—we are driven (if we assume the standard taken to be the same) to admit that the protective virtue of the operation had doubled itself in the latter period—an assumption contrary to everything we know regarding vaccination—or we must conclude that the standard of goodness taken in the two periods was not the same.

Now if we take one hundred cases of smallpox in persons vaccinated with marks arranged in order of merit from “very good” to “very bad,” we should, according to all experience, find the mortality gradually increase in proportion to the evidence of inefficient vaccination as afforded by the badness of the vaccine marks. If then we divide the one hundred as Marston did in his first set of observations at case No. 63, classing all up to that number as good, and all below it as bad, we should show a much higher percentage of mortality in each class than if we drew the line at the 44th case, as he did in his second group of observations. To render, therefore, accurate comparison between any two hundreds of the same set of observations possible, the line of demarcation between good and bad must be drawn at the same point, and the same rule holds good when different groups are contrasted. Had the line of demarcation between good and indifferent cicatrices in the Homerton and the Hampstead and Deptford cases been drawn at the 44th case in every hundred, as in Marston’s second group, instead of at the 38th and 37th respectively, the increase in the death-rate in the two batches

of cases would have been shown to its real extent, and in every case the rates of mortality would have been increased. As it was, the more careful selection of the "good" cicatrices in the cases included in the last two columns of our table was not sufficient to obscure the increased death-rate. In contrasting Marston's first group with his second, however, the comparatively high mortality which occurred between the 44th and 63rd case in each hundred, and which in his second group is thrown into his "indifferent" class, in his first group is included in the "good." The result is to give to the words good and indifferent in each group entirely distinct meanings, and completely to obscure in the class with good cicatrices the increase which, according to analogy, must have taken place. That that increase did occur without one exception when we dealt with the cicatrices classified by number only we have already seen.

And now to come to another branch of our inquiry. Jenner was distinctly of opinion that lapse of time from the performance of vaccination did not lessen the protection afforded. His experience was with lymph comparatively recently taken from the cow, and it seems to me that the records of the earlier part of the century justify Jenner's conclusion. But as years rolled on and post-vaccinal smallpox was recognised as a common disease, it began to be laid down as a rule that in a certain proportion of cases the protection afforded by vaccination wore out in the course of time, and revaccination was in consequence advocated. Now if our vaccine lymph is degenerating, we should expect that its protective effects should of late years have shown themselves still more temporary than in the earlier days of vaccination before that degeneration had made so much progress. We should expect that among vaccinated children, where vaccination has been recent, both cases of, and deaths from, smallpox would have become much more common than was formerly the case. And this is precisely what we do find. At p. 437 of the Report of the last Select Committee on Vaccination I find particulars of 2,347 cases of post-vaccinal smallpox observed in the Hampstead hospital in 1870—1, set out exactly as I want them, and I shall therefore add them to the cases given in the tables contained in the reports already specified of the Homerton and Deptford hospitals and the Hampstead hospital for a different period. By doing so I get 11,322 cases of post-vaccinal smallpox, including 1,398 occurring in children ten or under, and 1,221 deaths, including 138 among these children. The necessary details as to earlier experience on this point are afforded in two large groups of observations, the 3,839 cases (including 3,093 after vaccination) recorded in Copenhagen in 1824—35, and Marston's first group of cases observed in 1836—51. These records embrace 6,187 cases of post-vaccinal smallpox, includ-



ing 145 in children of ten or under, and 334 deaths, including nine in these children. Reduced to percentages the results are:—

	Ratio of cases of children of 10 and under to total cases of post-vaccinal smallpox.	Ratio of deaths in children of 10 or under to total deaths from post-vaccinal smallpox.	No. of observations on which percentages are based
Period 1824—51	2·1	2·7	6,187
Period 1870—9	12·4	11·3	11,322

I have no materials for comparison in the case of younger children, but that, even since the latest improvements have been engrafted on our system of public vaccination, cases of and deaths from smallpox in young persons are much more frequent than at one time was the case, may be gathered, on the one hand, from the fact that, according to Dr. Bridges' report, in the latter half of 1877 and in 1878, 238 cases of smallpox in vaccinated children under five years old, 13 of them fatal, were admitted into the hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and, on the other, that among the 6,187 cases above referred to, only 12 cases and 2 deaths of children under five are recorded.

To sum up then: the facts which I have brought together in this paper seem to me to show beyond possibility of doubt—

(1.) That the protection against smallpox afforded by the vaccine lymph in use in this country, though still great, has become much less than it was when the lymph had undergone comparatively but a few transmissions through the human subject.

(2.) That the number of cases of smallpox occurring now per million of vaccinated persons is very much greater than that shown in the records of vaccinated populations in the earlier part of the century.

(3.) That the death-rate in recorded cases of post-vaccinal smallpox has progressively increased in all cases, with and without marks, from 1·75 per cent. in 1819—35, to over 10 per cent. in 1870—9, and in cases with marks from 6·9 per cent. in 1836—51, to 9·2 per cent. in 1870—9.

(4.) That this increase in mortality has been most remarkable in the best vaccinated classes of cases, the death-rate in cases with three or more cicatrices in 1870—9 being twice what it was in 1852—67; and the death-rate in cases with three or more good cicatrices in 1876—9 being thrice what it was in 1852—67.

(5.) That the proportion in which vaccinated children are attacked and cut off by smallpox has alarmingly increased, being many times

greater during the last decade than it was thirty or forty years earlier; and

(6.) That while the death rate in smallpox occurring in unvaccinated persons has varied in the different groups recorded, and was exceptionally high during 1870—9, the progressive advance of mortality in post-vaccinal smallpox is not be attributable to epidemic influence, being equally observed in successive groups of cases in which the mortality from natural smallpox shows a diminution.

Having thus answered the question with which I started, I must postpone to another occasion the consideration of the theoretical aspect of the subject and the remedy for the state of matters which has been disclosed.

CHARLES CAMERON.

## THE FORTUNES OF LITERATURE UNDER THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

THE value of literature, as a part of expression, unquestionably depends upon the social conditions under which it is practised. However differently, in particular cases, the balance of indebtedness between the author and his age may be accounted, society does determine somewhat his mental characteristics, and still more the limits of his experience; his work is a reflex of the social life in which he shared. If it fortunately happens that the authors and the people of a country think and feel about the same objects in ways not so dissimilar as to make them unintelligible to each other, and thus possess an essential bond of union, literature becomes an expression of national life, a permanent embodiment of the national spirit. The literature of England answers most nearly to this idea of a national literature; and therefore M. Taine, as he himself says, chose to write of it, because it best illustrates and supports his theory that a nation's life—the character and circumstances of its people and the special social movements of its successive ages—determines, by a force akin to natural law, a specific literature. If he had chosen to write of American literature, how ill would it have served his purpose! Perhaps M. Taine would reply that we in America are not a literary people, that we have no national literature, and that what literature has flourished among us is of a leaf and fibre sprung from foreign soil; in such a reply, indeed, there would be much truth.

Certainly our literature has been, to a remarkable degree, remote from the national life. There has been but slight mutual obligation between our books and our politics or our society. Even among men of genius, who are usually more withdrawn than others from the influence peculiar to their time, and are either indifferent to them or masters over them, our men of genius seem peculiarly isolated. Their temperaments, in so far as these were the result of past human experience working secretly through the subtle channels of hereditary descent, were born of a civilisation far different from our own, a civilisation religious, colonial, and local, not secular, self-sustaining, and national. These men fashioned the treasures of our literature by their own creative force and artistic instinct, with but slight obligation to their country either for the material of their work or for the knowledge of their craft. Engrossed with their own unshared powers and qualities, they stood aloof from the nation and its concerns. They set out on the eternal search for beauty and truth, guided, like all the greatest, by the elemental principles in human nature, like voyagers on strange seas, steering by the pole star, borne

on by trade wind or gulf-stream ; but their ships were unfreighted with a public hope. Or—since voyagers is too venturesome a name for them—say rather, they joined the company of pure artists, who, illuminating the spirit of man rather than the spirit of their age, acknowledge the lordship of no country, but belong to the race—the men who gather within themselves, ~~and~~ into a star of intenser light, the scattered and obscure rays ~~thence~~ <sup>thence</sup> a lamp of beauty to the feet of every man. Amid that company how should they hear the axe ringing in the lonely wilderness of the Genesee, or catch the joy on the face of the adventurous explorer on hard-won mountain peaks, with the promised land spread out westward before him? Some unreal Hiawatha-echo did penetrate even there ; some prospect of an Astoria, with its natural marvel and human hardihood (less prized than the ruinous, legend-haunted Alhambra), was caught sight of ; a spell of romance was woven about the Hudson, and a mysterious beauty evoked from the wintry life of Puritan dwellers by the shores of Massachusetts Bay ; but to the America present before them it is scarcely too much to say, our men of genius were well-nigh deaf and blind. There is something startling in this spectacle of the gifted and trained mind absorbed in its pursuit of imaginative delight, heedless of the humble muscle which was meanwhile building up a great nation ; seldom, in literary history, has there been so complete a sundering of the changeless work of men's spirits from the work of men's hands which, however transmuted, still no less endures.

Our men of genius were isolated in yet another way. Underived and solitary genius has frequently not only stimulated and delighted its contemporaries ; it has gathered about itself a band of disciples, has kindled zeal, deepened conviction, hardened intellectual strength, so that on its eclipse its battle with darkness went on in the victory of younger men, men not of genius, but of culture. Among us literature has had no such continuous tradition ; where the torch fell, it was extinguished. Irving, it is true, had imitators, who came to nothing ; but our fiction does not seem to be different because Hawthorne lived, no poet has caught the music of Longfellow, no thinker carries forward the conclusions of Emerson. These men have left no lineage. They are not connected with their countrymen even by the secondary tie of calling into being a body of literature with power to enter effectively into the nation's life, to shape the character and determine the expansion of its thought. We have not earned the right to claim these men as a national possession by any important contribution to the growth of their genius, nor have they given us that right by anything distinctively national in their work or their influence ; ushered in by Donatello and Evangeline, they find a welcome at the hearthstone of every lover of the beautiful, but, except for the accident of birth, there is little reason why the welcome should be warmer in America than in England.

Men of culture, whose work makes up the larger portion of any literature, are much indebted to circumstance and opportunity. In America they have been, as has been seen, without a literature of virile power; they have also been without a society vigorous enough to stamp an image of itself in letters. In the days of Queen Anne and the first two Georges, the wit, sense, and malice of a cultivated society expressed themselves with such intelligence that the age, although one of high political excitement and of great consequence to the institutions and civilisation of England, is yet mainly known as a literary age. The society from which American men of culture took their bent was civilised in other ways than that at Twickenham, but it was so inferior to it in its sense of the value of literature to life, in active, keen intelligence, and in consummate mastery of the art of speech, that it was incapable of any similar literary expression. The lack of such a society as the wits of Queen Anne moved in, sent our men of culture to attend in English drawing-rooms and at English dinner-tables. This resort to the old world was natural, and, indeed, inevitable. The Revolution made us an independent nation, but in literature we remained a province. At the beginning of the century it was sneeringly, yet truly, said that the Americans let Europe make their fashions and their books for them, as if our women were without taste and our men without mind. We developed ancient English political ideas, and, with our ears intent upon the future, we put ourselves under the sway of the ideas to come, democracy and its unrevealed forces; in literature, on the contrary, we sought neither to disestablish nor to amend the English tradition. We kept not only the unchangeable standards of good literature, but so possessed were we by the social spirit and tastes of the mother-country that we kept also the subject and the style in which the peculiarities of a nation manifest themselves if at all. Thus Irving, our first great man of letters, deriving his culture from social life abroad, taking his style from Addison and Steele, and interesting his readers in sketches of English rural life or in foreign legend, came to leave (in Mr. Lowell's phrase) "a name either English or Yankee." So, too, Ticknor, Alston, and their successors were moulded by the foreign influence; the foreign standard of education and literature became firmly established, and has not yet yielded its ground.

" You steal Englishmen's books and think Englishmen's thought,  
 With their salt on her tail your wild eagle is caught;  
 Your literature suits its each whisper and motion  
 To what will be thought of it over the ocean."

What Mr. Lowell wrote of his generation has not ceased to be true of our time. To-day American authors make their reputation by English criticism, and American magazines are rivals for English pens. In these later years, however, our strongly marked national

life has given rise to a domestic literature (if I may so term it) having to do with ourselves and our own concerns; it reflects, it is true, the ruder elements of our civilisation—our rough life on the border, our vulgar life abroad, our homely middlo-class life in the East—and it is usually embodied in fugitive and imperfect forms, but sometimes, as in the work of Mr. Howells and Mr. James, in forms of exquisite finish. This literature, whatever its defects, is the product of our own soil, and unsheathes a green blade of hope. In England some of it has met with a sort of criticism—as if, being American, it were absolved from old-world canons of excellence and free to indulge whatever extravagance, nonsense, or immodesty it pleases, if only a flavour of the soil be kept—that shows clearly enough that English taste is no longer definitive for us, and in this fact there is also a sign of promise. But if we except this younger and less perfect literature, it would seem that the nation has contributed but little more to culture like Lowell's, adorned by dignities and graces that are the acquirements of laborious years, than to genius like Hawthorne's, aureoled by its own effluence. If humour be left out of the account, it is broadly true that whatever is characteristically American in our men of culture as a class has been overborne, checked, blighted, deadened by the mastering spirit of the English tradition.

This state of things is, however, neither dishonourable nor disheartening. The existence of a powerful foreign influence has never proved innate and pervasive feebleness in the men who receive and assimilate it. It shows an unsatisfied craving, a need of human nature making itself imperatively known and seizing with avidity on what it requires; it shows, in a word, the incompleteness of native culture. Thus the young men of England in one age resorted to Italy, in another to France; that great age of Queen Anne was woven warp and woof, English sense, strength, and grossness with French taste, skill, manner, as well in the Court as in the literary sets; in each age the foreign influence supplemented native culture, but did not displace it; transformed and refined, but did not destroy it. The uninterrupted, though lessening, ascendancy of the English tradition in American literature indicates not only that our civilisation is of English descent, and that we rightly claim a share with Englishmen in the honour of their literary past, as is too often and too boastfully said; it indicates that our national life has not provided nutriment for intellect, that our men of culture have submitted to be Anglicised as their only resource for remedying this defect in our civilisation—a defect, to adapt a phrase of Mr. Arnold, in the sense of the value of intelligence applied to literature.

This does not involve our being an illiterate people. On the contrary, we are, as a nation, anxious for literary fame. We are grateful to our men of letters. We honour their works among the

noblest ornaments of the Republic. The illustrious names in our literary annals are familiar in our households and ready on our lips. The grief that was felt at Irving's death, men of his generation say, was only less than the mourning over Washington. The loss of Bryant revealed undiminished admiration for the pursuit of literature. From what does this popular feeling spring? Is it rooted in a perception of the civilising power of literature, in an adequate comprehension of the great offices that are discharged by literature, as a mode of refined amusement, as a treasury of knowledge about the things of the mind, as a bond of sympathy with humanity, as an open access to the fellowship of the great? Something of this conception there is; but the popular desire for literary fame springs, there is too much reason to fear, from a jealous national pride, and is rooted in the thin soil of national vanity. But, whatever its cause may be, this popular appreciation of success in literary pursuits encourages literature, and we are, besides, a reading people. Why, then, in spite of these two favourable conditions for literary production, are we deficient in the sense of the value of applying intelligence to literature?

The answer is obvious. In the great work of furthering civilisation—that multiform and complex result of many powers working toward the one final end of harmonising the best in man's nature with the normal conditions of human life—in this great work where the nations are enlisted each in the service of some few of these many powers, and make progress each along those lines which are either indispensable or most expedient for itself, it has fallen to the lot of our people to be penetrated by the value of two great ideas, and we serve these with all our strength and with all our heart; the ideas, namely, of democracy, as a means of securing the well-being of great multitudes of men, and of the economy of labour, as a means of lessening human toil and increasing the share of material goods that the ordinary man will obtain. These two ideas, belief in the power of democracy to lift the masses into a life of larger freedom and more active intelligence, belief in the power of the utilisation both of natural forces and of human ingenuity to increase the comfort of life, control our civilisation, and subordinate to themselves all other ideas in which a civilising power lies. We are not Greeks secure of our liberty and our bread and wine, interested in the things of the mind, in beauty, and wisdom; our interest, for better or worse, is to make sure the welfare of those engaged in the humble occupations of life. To this task we are irrevocably committed; in achieving it man can afford to lose much else that is also valuable.

Let us consider the influence of these two great ideas upon our literature successively. Democracy created the common schools for a public defence against popular ignorance. The common schools gave rise to a great reading class; they made us, indeed, a nation of

readers. This great class is eager for information, teachable, sensible of the uses of books for amusement and instruction. It is endowed with the tastes and attached to the standards that naturally belong to a class accustomed by its democracy and Protestantism to rely above all things upon private judgment; that is, to trust decisions of which the validity is limited by a narrow experience. Curiosity is its most noticeable characteristic. It is curious to know what is going on in the world, to learn the manners and customs and the aspect of distant lands, and the events that take place in them, to understand mechanical processes and the scientific explanation of natural phenomena; and these interests, the variety and relative force of which may be measured with considerable accuracy by the contents of *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (still more by the columns of our Sunday newspapers), are unduly stimulated by the multiplicity of books consequent on modern facilities for travel, the diversity of our industrial development, and the exhaustless variety of scientific experiment and enterprise. This great reading class is curious, too, but in a far less degree, to know biography and history; here its curiosity stops. It does not care to reflect, to generalise, to frame rational conceptions of theories, or to perfect a rule of living; in other words, it has no curiosity about ideas. The same class in France, the readers among the French people, are interested in the ideas of speculative politics; our public is indifferent to them, for it has a complacent satisfaction with our institutions as they are, and is possessed by a Conservative instinct. The ideas of rational religion, too, our public hears of, for the advocacy of them is loud-voiced and aggressive; but the public shrinks from them. It does not escape from them: they have lessened the vehemence with which hereditary ideas in religion are held, have increased tolerance, and have made men easy in holding vague notions and content with half-convictions; but they have discredited religious discussion, and have failed to enter into the national life with the disintegrating and destroying power of continental rationalism. The curiosity of our public enlarges mental horizons and multiplies mental activities; but it does not penetrate to the spirit, it does not vitalise thought, or result in wisdom. It is a curiosity about facts, about concrete things, the things of the world; it is not a curiosity about the things of the mind, about ideas.

The second obvious characteristic of our great reading class is its fondness for sensation, its desire for strong, pungent, and unusual effects—the analogue of the barbarian's delight in glaring colours. An acute observer of large experience has lately told us—and any news-stand will bear out his testimony—what is the imaginative literature on which our least cultivated reading class feeds—tales of romantic adventure on the high seas, of ruffianism on the border, of impossible deeds, and ridiculous successes. But what is



the case with the reading of the higher class, the class that is the best product of the common schools, that reads Dickens, Macaulay, Poe, and even, sometimes, Carlyle? Is not one reason why Dickens is more popular than Thackeray with this class his lack of temperance, which led him to caricature rather than portray, which led him at times to discolour and distort human nature? Is not one reason why Macaulay is so widely read the fact that his rhetoric deals with the raw pigments, the contrasts, exaggeration, and untruth that belong to sensationalism, and that in his hands discolour and distort history? Are not Poe's tales attractive because of the thrill they send along the nerves, the shock of surprise they give, their terror, their hideousness, their evil charm? I say nothing of the marvellous genius, too little acknowledged, by which the greatest master of fantastic romance contrived to give real and lasting interest to such monstrosities; but I think Americans must reply that the fascination of his tales over the popular mind is so great as it is, not because of his genius, but because (so to speak) he created discoloration and distortion in an unreal realm, and thereby left work as utterly false as the sensation-mongers of our lowest reading class. Carlyle is a thinker, but he is among the first to be read by that small portion of the public which has a nascent and fitful interest in the things of the mind; and he is read by them and by others of larger culture because he wields a Thor-hammer, because when he celebrates the dignity of work he is thinking of the labours of Hercules, because when he adores heroism he has in mind Valhalla warriors, because even when he exalts the virtue of silence he raises a din of words. Here, too, I say nothing of the truth that is in him, but is not one great source of his power the fact that he uses the sensational manner, that he discolours and distorts truth? These great men of letters, in whose work imagination has so large a share, hold reality with a slackened grasp, and this commends them the more to readers of imperfect culture, which is, perhaps, most surely tested by such delight in illusion as characterises our great reading class. The taste of our public, in imaginative literature, errs by departing from the real; it also errs by departing from the beautiful. To say this is to say that our public, discontented with reality and contented with ugliness, has no conception of pure art or the attempt to evolve the beautiful out of the real; it does not reject pure art (for the highest privilege of pure art is that it gets itself acknowledged wherever there is a spark of feeling or a ray of mind), but it does not require art to be pure. To sum up, the curiosity of our public leaves the mind too opaque to ideas, its fondness for sensation leaves the spirit too impatient of truth, too tolerant of what is gross and rude. There is little need to add that the patronage of such a public will not of itself give rise to any valuable speculative or imaginative literature.

The second great idea of which mention was made, the idea of economizing labour as a means of material progress, has developed the characteristic national virtues, resolution, enterprise, ingenuity, industry, and has wrought out vast and beneficent results. What is praiseworthy in its work is familiar to all. In respect to literature, its most obvious influence has been to lessen the amount of intelligence in the service of literature. It has had the giving of the prizes that men are prone to think the great prizes of life—riches, power, and the social consideration that comes of these; it has drafted off the intelligence of the country in pursuit of them, and has discouraged literature as it has discredited other modes of human activity. In doing this, however, it has created wealth, and one great function of wealth is the encouragement of literature. How has wealth discharged this function in America? In other countries wealth creates a body of cultivated intelligence in the community, a class of men such as Mr. Arnold addressed upon equality, and which he described—"The large class of gentlemen as distinct from the nobility, with an abundance among them of serious knowledge, high accomplishment, and refined taste." In England this class has been built up mainly from the younger branches of the aristocracy, from the universities, and from the owners of hereditary wealth amassed in the commerce of the last two centuries. We, in America, are glad that we have no aristocracy; we are accustomed to sneer at the possessors of wealth inherited from the commerce of two or three generations ago—the blue blood; we have universities, scores and hundreds of them, but it will be as well not to inquire how they fulfil their function of forming a body of intelligence such as Mr. Arnold describes. What is the class that our wealth has produced,—not the men engaged in useful employments, but the men relieved from engrossment with business, who have opportunities for the indulgence of liberal tastes? What is the nature of this class? It is a class of seekers after material comfort, a class that satisfies the senses with no ulterior end beyond securing gratification, devoted to luxury and the display of it, a sensual class. Abroad, its members have Paris for their Mecca; their home and national goal of pilgrimage is New York.

The wealth of to-day has not given us a body of cultivated intelligence; nevertheless there is such a body among us; there are individuals, many of them, with the characteristics of the English class. They have come from the wealth of past generations, from the families of the elder clergy, and from those self-made men who have acquired liberal tastes which are either the result of a university education or the equivalent of one. But they do not constitute a distinct and coherent class. They do not naturally gravitate toward a centre like London or Paris, as the intellect of England and France gravitates. They are scattered throughout the country and

among suburban towns. They have little social communication with one another. Their very ability limits their culture, for in their isolation it tempts them to indulge idiosyncrasies of taste, to be excessive here and defective there, because they lack the companionship of other equally active minds to restrain their excess and repair their deficiencies. They have no means of knitting themselves into a society, of making themselves felt as a body of intelligence ought to make itself felt. Some years ago Mr. Arnold complained that the cultivated class in England was similarly made up of isolated members who formed "no powerful body of opinion," and were "not strong enough to set a standard up to which even the journeyman work of literature must be brought if it is to be vendible." He was comparing the English class with the French Academy. But the English class is not further removed from the French Academy in point of consistency, stability, dignity, and effective force, than our cultivated class is removed from that of England in the same respects.

Out of this deficiency results another—the lack of a body of right criticism. It is safe to assert that there are not a half-dozen organs of critical opinion in America for which a respectable author would care in the least. The habit of our critics is to give a synopsis of the work under review, to correct its errors of print or of statement, and to make it known to the world. This may be a very useful or even indispensable service, but it is not criticism. Criticism educates rather than informs. Were there among us an effective body of cultivated intelligence, it might recall and invigorate this misdirected and feeble criticism, for it is the natural office of such a body to receive impressions from the higher critics, to modify its standards of taste in consequence, and to apply these modified standards to current literature or to require their application by others. Without such a body criticism is seldom a mode of advancing excellence. There is no need to dwell upon this. Let any one compare secondary criticism abroad, its vigour of thought, its various culture, its range of information, its compass of reflection, its sense of how many different considerations limit any judgment, with secondary criticism in America, and the poverty of the latter will be only too plain. The worst mischief of all is that the great reading class is left, without the restraints of higher criticism, to the mercy of its own narrow interest in ideas, and to its own false taste, and is abandoned to the license of the authors who know the trade of pleasing it too well. The people is teachable, but no teacher is found for it. Yet, in an age of stable democracy and of unstable religion, literature has a tenfold value for the people. Few realise how true it is that the time is at hand when the ideals of life must be enforced by literature, or not at all. The moral health of the community depends, in a rapidly increasing degree, upon what it reads; for this reason there

are few things which thoughtful Americans need to observe more closely than the drift of our literature toward permanently low standards.

These facts, that the main body of American literature adapts itself to the demands of an imperfectly educated public, that the cultivated class in America exerts no considerable influence upon the popular taste, and, furthermore, produces no separate literature markedly its own, and, thirdly, that American criticism is so inferior as scarcely to deserve attention, will determine, in the main, the immediate future of American literature as an expression of national life. If these conditions of development continue unchanged, America must be indebted, in the next generation, to the influence of foreign taste and foreign thought upon her men of letters, and to the origination power of whatever isolated men of genius may be born to her, or else she will produce no worthy literature. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that these conditions of literary development are rivetted upon the nation. There are several forces at work to counteract the present drift. Our great reading class has created public libraries, which have for one of their highest functions the amelioration of the popular taste. The able acquirers of wealth have endowed many academic and collegiate institutions, and the West, deeply sensible of the value of education, has provided for its higher branches perhaps too generously; these seats of learning, however rude and imperfect now, will become hearths of culture. The gross, indolent, newly enriched class, if its wealth continues in the same families, is likely to give place, in the next generation, to a class of rudimentary and, in some instances, even of liberal culture. Foreign influences will, as in the past, repair the defects of native standards. Men of genius, should they arise, will work their unforeseen changes. The idea of material progress, too, must yield somewhat its commanding position, as a larger body of men acquires the means of leisure for the higher occupations and enjoyments of the mind, and thus literature, relieved from the excessive competition of business pursuits, will enlist more servants. Something may be hoped, also, from the intelligent attempt, now being made in New England, to form a true literary taste in the children of the common schools; it is possible that such a taste may be bred into our people by means of the public school and public library—instruments equal in power to the Dionysiac Theatre, and vastly greater in their range of power. All these considerations blended together justify a larger hope than at first seemed rational: but the revolution that these influences may bring about will be slow and difficult.

I have referred, with scarce intelligible brevity, to that great function of literature—the keeping alive the tradition of the ideal life. It is this function that literature in America has discharged

most inadequately. Emerson and Hawthorne alone, the first in a wider, the second in a far narrower circle, have been spiritual teachers of their countrymen. This failure is a symptom of the chief danger in American social life ; it seems to show that the idea of democracy will result, as its opponents have always predicted, in a debasement of the social ideal. Democracy has given to America political liberty, social equality, and a fair field for all who wish to win the prizes of life ; but this is an imperfect gift. It is much to have secured these advantages ; but, although they have contributed to the greater cleanliness, hopefulness, and industry of ordinary human life, there is something yet lacking. The main characteristic of the social life they have developed in this country is its homeliness ; the main characteristic of the social life towards which civilisation works is beauty. If democracy has exhausted its virtue in creating a homely life ; if it tends to make men contented with less perfection than they are able to reach ; if it results in undervaluing the best in man's nature ; it is, to that extent, at war with civilisation ; at war with the attempt to reconcile the best in man's nature with the normal conditions of human life. Democracy holds the future in its fee, and will work out the destiny of the children of the masses, and decide what is to be the lot of him who is born into the world's struggle for life with only the capacities of the ordinary man ; but if, in doing this, it reduces the highest to the level of the commonplace, it is out of harmony with that natural law, hitherto approved by reason, which tends to preserve the most perfect types at the cost of the less perfect. In order to avoid such an issue it is necessary for the people to learn that political freedom, social equality, and a fair field are not all the blessings at which society should aim ; that, by themselves alone, they are not even the most valuable things in life, but are merely essential conditions of blessings which they make possible ; it is necessary that the people should cultivate a sense of the value of other civilising powers—beauty, literature, manners—of whatever goes to civilise the life of men's hearts and brains. The practical ideal of life, that which the ordinary man actually strives toward with hope, at least, of partial success would then be modified, and the homeliness of social life in America might then give way to the beauty of a highly civilised life. The development in America of such a highly cultivated people as were the Athenians, is as little to be hoped for as the appearance of such a highly cultivated class as were Queen Anne's men of letters ; but American civilisation must realise something of the Athenian ideal if it is to produce a national literature worthy of respect. For, after all is said, the defects of American literature, as an expression of the nation's life, are due, when the last analysis is made, to the social ideal ; its hopes for the future depend upon the probability of a radical change in that ideal.

The fortunes of literature in America may have a value for Englishmen beyond that of an example of the influence of democratic institutions upon an important department of human activity. The English type of civilisation has already been modified by the American type in several respects, and may approach it still further, perhaps most nearly in this matter of popular literature. It is a significant fact that the peculiar literature of the American public has already stolen its unnoticed way to the mother-country, as is evinced by the comparatively great circulation in England of such popular magazines as Harper's and Scribner's monthlies. It may be that, as the provincial universities become established and extend their influence, and as the special education of women assumes more importance, the standards of culture will become more diverse and the principles of the ruling criticism will become less restraining; it is probable that the more general education of the people in the common schools will create a reading class endowed like our own, demanding a special literature on which the hold of the higher criticism will be slack almost to feebleness. It is not possible that there should be a decline in the vigour of the English genius; but perhaps, in the modification of old classes under the influence of modern life, the line of demarcation will be too sharply drawn between the middle class, of irresistible power in determining the national life, and the cultivated class in which the higher civilisation survives. Two dissociated literatures may arise, one of the people, the other of real culture, but the former of vastly the greater power. It is enough to suggest such far-off contingencies for whatever consideration they may meet among men who remember that popular instruction is now, more and more, by books and not by sermons, by newspapers and magazines, not by prayer and praise. Meanwhile the great fact remains, that the English race on either side the ocean has hitherto, if the whole range of life be taken into account, best solved the problem of securing the welfare of the ordinary man; the further working out of that task in England and America is of vast consequence to mankind. It may be that the social ideal is to be debased; but, if literature is worthy of its great office as a spiritual teacher, if it has regenerative force, a new ideal may arise, as I believe it will, the ideal that George Sand placed before the French peasant with faith in his final accomplishment of it, the ideal of the life of that "happiest of men, who, having the science of his labour and working with his own hands, earning welfare and liberty by the use of his intelligence, shall have time to live by the heart and by the brain, to understand his own work and to love the work of God." The fortune of literature in America, in lending little effective aid towards this result, may yet be retrieved; the fortune of literature in England, let us hope, will need no retrieving.

GEORGE EDWARD WOODBERRY.

## COMMERCIAL UNION FROM A CANADIAN POINT OF VIEW.

MR. GEORGE ANDERSON, M.P., stated in an article contributed to the *Contemporary Review* a few months ago, that he had been informed on reliable authority that certain American statesmen of no mean influence were about to move in the matter of Canada, and to make it a prominent feature in the policy of the Garfield Administration. Mr. Anderson further stated that he had before him two published letters, written by Mr. Wharton Barker, an eminent banker and politician in Philadelphia, the chief supporter of Mr. Garfield as President, one of which was addressed to Mr. Garfield prior to his election, and the other to the late Senator Brown, of Toronto. The subject of these letters was what has been termed "Commercial Union" between the United States and Canada, and, after citing some extracts from both letters which are placed in juxtaposition, Mr. Anderson points out that "the cloven foot of Monroism is scarcely veiled at all." It is not my intention to discuss at present the alternative, which, in the opinion of Mr. Anderson, ought to be offered for consideration as the only means of counteracting the proposal, which some propagandists in the United States have suggested. That alternative is what is termed "Imperial Confederation," and to prevent misunderstanding I may be permitted to express my opinion that it is even more impracticable than the "Commercial Union," which has very unnecessarily alarmed Mr. Anderson, and possibly may alarm others in the United Kingdom. I confess that I deprecate the discussion of "The Future of the Canadian Dominion," which is the title adopted by Mr. Anderson. At the present moment the future of Ireland or even of Great Britain itself might with as much propriety be made the subject of speculation. It cannot be affirmed with truth that there are any persons in Canada numerous enough to be ranked as a party who are discontented with the political institutions which they enjoy. If there were it might be expected that some voice would be raised in the freely elected Parliament of the Dominion to give utterance to such discontent. I venture to express the opinion that the Constitution of Canada, as settled by the British North America Act of 1867, amended possibly hereafter, in accordance with enlightened public opinion, is as likely to last as any other established Government in the world. I readily admit that contingencies might arise and lead to the disruption of the subsisting connection, but as none of these are at all probable, I deprecate the discussion of "the future of Canada." I cannot but regret Mr. Anderson's remarks on the subject of Canada's financial position.

They are obviously calculated to create distrust, and are not justified by facts. Mr. Anderson cites two cases in which comparatively small amounts of £50,000 and £20,000, said to have been granted to the Welland and Shubenacadie Canals, "were at last written off as bad debts." As regards the larger of the two amounts, that granted to the Welland Canal, I can state positively that it was a loan or grant to a private company, and not to the Government of Canada, which has never repudiated a debt. The Shubenacadie Canal loan, I find upon inquiry, was made by the Imperial Government to a private company, on the security of a mortgage, which was foreclosed in due course, after which the property was sold under the mortgage and purchased by the Government of Nova Scotia. Surely Mr. Anderson will retract as publicly as he made it his very serious charge against the Government of the Canadian Dominion of being in default. Mr. Anderson likewise refers to certain guaranteed loans which he states "have been left outstanding." Surely Mr. Anderson must be aware that the first guaranteed loan of £1,500,000 has long since been paid, and that the sinking fund and interest of the others have likewise been punctually met. It is not usual to pay loans before they have matured, and as these loans command more than par in the market, it is not probable that the lenders would accept payment. It is rather ungenerous on the part of Mr. Anderson to refer to those current loans. Mr. Anderson has likewise called attention to the fact that British capital has been "hopelessly sunk" in Grand Trunk and Great Western investments. Would it not have been fair to have called attention to some of those investments which have been found profitable, such as the Canada Company, the Trust and Loan Company, the Bank of British North America, and many others? Railway shares are, as is well known, speculative investments, and Mr. Anderson cannot be unaware that his countrymen have invested more money in the United States than in Canada, and that there are railroads in those States that might have been cited with as much propriety as those in Canada. My reference to this part of Mr. Anderson's paper has been made merely as a protest against his disparagement of Canadian credit, which, I rejoice to believe, is unimpaired in the London money market. My chief object is to submit a few remarks on the subject of that "Commercial Union" which Mr. Anderson evidently believes to be a question likely to engage serious consideration in the United States and Canada at no distant period.

It may not be irrelevant to make a brief reference to the relations between those countries during the last twenty-five years. Prior to the civil war there had been a very general desire on the part of the commercial classes that there should be reciprocal free trade between the two countries in certain specified natural products of both, chiefly products of the mine and the forest, animals and their pro-



duce, agricultural products, and fish. The fishery question was then, as it is now, surrounded with difficulties, chiefly owing to the different interpretations given to the Convention of the year 1818 between Great Britain and the United States. This important question is but imperfectly understood in England, judging from the remarks made from time to time when difficulties arise. This clause in the Convention of 1818, which has been the subject of different interpretations, is as follows:—"And the United States hereby renounce for ever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof, to take, dry, or cure fish, on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbours of his Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America, not included within the above-mentioned limits." The point in controversy between the two nations is known as "the Headland Question," Great Britain contending that the United States fishermen cannot approach within three miles of the entrance of any bay, while the United States maintain their right to enter bays which are over six marine miles in width, and to fish in the waters which are over three miles from the coasts. The text of the Convention has been held to exclude American fishermen from the Bay of Fundy, which is from thirty to fifty miles wide; but this has been considered an extreme pretension on the ground that the water in question is really part of the Atlantic Ocean. On the coasts of the Bay of Fundy there are several bays of fifteen miles or thereabouts in width, the right to fish in which would be the subject of controversy if there should be no renewal of the treaty of Washington, which will expire in a few years. In the year 1854 the late Earl of Elgin and Kincardine was appointed an Ambassador Extraordinary to endeavour to negotiate a commercial treaty with the United States, which he succeeded in effecting, the leading conditions being the concession of the right of fishing in British waters to the United States, and the free admission into both countries of certain natural products, which were specified in the treaty, which was to remain in force for ten years, after which a year's notice of its termination might be given by either of the contracting parties. For some years there was entire harmony between the United States and Canada, and the renewal of the treaty was looked forward to almost as a matter of course. Unfortunately at the period of the expiration of the treaty a good deal of irritation existed in the United States, consequent on various unfortunate circumstances which occurred during the civil war, and notice was given that the United States would not renew the treaty. After the re-establishment of peace, Great Britain and the United States were engaged in diplomatic correspondence on the subject of what was known as the "Alabama Claims," and there was serious ground for apprehending an interruption of the friendly

relations between the two countries. During the years that elapsed between the termination of the civil war and the treaty of Washington in 1871, Canada had constant ground of complaint against United States fishermen, who not only acted in accordance with their own view of the headland question, but were frequently within the undisputed three-mile limit. In 1870 the Canadian Government was very urgent that some effort should be made to procure a settlement of the headland question, by arbitration or otherwise, and at its instance overtures were made to the Government of the United States to bring such about. The United States was unwilling to treat unless all the subjects in controversy, the principal of which was the Alabama claims, were made the subject of negotiation; and in 1871 the two Governments agreed to the appointment of a Joint High Commission, which succeeded in effecting an amicable adjustment of the various subjects in controversy between them. It was the earnest desire of the British Commissioners that in return for the concession to the United States of the privilege of fishing in British waters, provision should be made for the reciprocal admission, free of duty, of certain natural products of the two countries, as defined in the treaty of 1854. To this, however, the United States Commissioners could not be induced to consent, and the consequence was that provision was made for the concession of the right of fishing during a term of years for a money payment to be settled by arbitration. In the year 1873 Mr. Rothery, Registrar of the High Court of Admiralty, visited Canada to get up the case for the arbitrators to be appointed under the treaty, and put himself in communication with several public men with a view to acquire information as to the value of the sea-coast fisheries, and the best mode of collecting evidence to sustain the British claim. Among others who were consulted by Mr. Rothery was the late Senator Brown, of Toronto, who urged upon him very strongly that he should make another effort to persuade the United States that the award of a sum of money for the use of the fisheries would be certain to create dissatisfaction; and that the best mode of arranging the fishery question would be by a general commercial treaty. On Mr. Rothery reaching Washington he suggested the substitution of such a treaty for the fishery arbitration, and formed an opinion that there was some hope of its being favourably entertained. Soon after Senator Brown visited Washington unofficially, and reported to the Canadian Government that he had had an opportunity of discussing the subject with many of the prominent men of the Republic, and that he had heard a very general desire expressed for the establishment of more satisfactory commercial relations with Canada, if terms could be arranged by mutual agreement. The result of these unofficial conversations in 1873 was the appointment on the 7th March, 1874,

of a Commission, consisting of Sir Edward Thornton, her Majesty's Minister to the United States, and Senator Brown, of Canada, to negotiate a treaty of fisheries, commerce, and navigation with the Government of the United States. After protracted conferences between the British Commissioners and the accredited representative of the President, a proposal was submitted to the Senate of the United States by the latter, which had received his approval as well as that of Great Britain and Canada. The Senate declined to take into consideration the message of the President, and the consequence was that the fishing arbitration was proceeded with, the result having been precisely what was anticipated by an award which gave satisfaction to neither party, although it was at once accepted by the colonies interested. The failure of the negotiations was owing to the controlling power of the Senate, a body which had been no party to the negotiations, and which is composed of representatives from all the States, by far the greater number of which have no interest whatever in the commercial relations with the British Provinces.

It must be borne in mind that there is a strong desire on the part of a very influential party in the United States to bring about the annexation of Canada to the Republic. The reason of this will be apparent when it is considered that in the political conflict in which the citizens of the United States are engaged under the party names of Republicans and Democrats, the solid South supports the latter party, and the division between them is so close that the last two Presidential elections may almost be said to have depended on chance. The casting vote was given at the recent election by the State of New York, and it was doubtful almost at the last moment how it would be cast. To the Northern States the acquisition of Canada would be most important, and no effort will be spared by the Republican and Protectionist party to bring it about. I have already noticed Mr. Anderson's reference in his paper on "The Future of the Canadian Dominion," to the letters addressed by Mr. Wharton Barker, of Philadelphia, to Mr. Garfield, President elect, and to the late Senator Brown, of Canada. Neither he nor the journals which advocate what is termed "Commercial Union" make any secret that their object is to detach Canada from Great Britain, although it is not deemed expedient to advocate political annexation at present. On the contrary, it is pretended by its advocates in Canada that it would not necessarily involve a severance of the existing connection with Great Britain. It has been argued that there may be entirely free trade between the United States and Canada with a common tariff, the revenue obtained from which might be divided according to population. Startling as this proposition may appear, it is not without supporters in Canada, the most prominent of whom is Professor Goldwin Smith, who, about a year ago, established a

monthly periodical called *The Bystander*, in which he professes to review "current events." In April, 1878, Mr. Goldwin Smith contributed a paper to the *Fortnightly Review*, entitled, "The Political Destiny of Canada," in which he endeavoured to establish the certainty of the annexation of the Dominion to the United States at some future unknown period, and maintained the importance of regulating the policy of the present day on the assumption that such must be the destiny of the country. In estimating the value of Mr. Goldwin Smith's opinion it must be borne in mind that he is imbued with a violent prejudice against the British aristocracy, which is exhibited whenever an opportunity offers, and which is constantly leading him astray. In the preface to a reprint of his essay in the *Fortnightly* he remarks: "As to the British aristocracy, it has political views of its own in relation to this continent, which seem to me not consistent with the welfare of those whose lot is cast in the New World." In the paper itself no effort is spared to create an impression in the minds of Canadian readers that the influence of the British aristocracy is used to their disadvantage. Whenever, he remarks, any question arises with the United States, "the English people and the English Government betray, by the languor of their diplomacy, and the ease with which they yield, their comparative indifference to the objects in which Canada is most concerned." . . . "To keep the same political roof over the heads of British aristocracy and Canadian democracy would be an undertaking only one degree less hopeless than keeping it over the heads of slavery and anti-slavery." . . . "Aristocracy, not monarchy, is now the real power, and the power against the designs of which those who are true to New World principles have to be on their guard." The designs of the British aristocracy are more clearly indicated by Mr. Goldwin Smith in an article published in the *North American Review* in July last, in which the following passages occur:—

"All engines, social and political, have been plied to stimulate imperialist, aristocratic, and anti-continental feelings. . . . The time seemed to have come for practically withdrawing the concession of self-government, bringing Canada again under aristocratic rule, and completely detaching her politically and commercially from the New World. . . . No revolution could be more necessary than that which released the New World from bondage to the British aristocracy, and set it at liberty to work out its own destinies. . . . Had Jingoism continued in the ascendant a determined effort to create a distinctly anti-Democratic Empire in the northern part of this Continent would no doubt have been made."

It will scarcely be denied that the author of the foregoing passages must be deemed incapable of taking a calm practical view of the political destiny of Canada. The view that he does take is that there are certain "great forces" which he enumerates, "which

make for the political separation of the New from the Old World." The first of these is distance, but inasmuch as he has elsewhere admitted that "self-government is independence; perfect self-government is perfect independence; and all the questions that arise between Ottawa and Downing Street, including the recent question about appeals, are successively settled in favour of self-government," distance can scarcely be deemed "a great force." The second "great force" is "divergence of interest," it being pretended that the interests of British aristocracy and those of Canadian democracy not only are not identical, but point directly opposite ways. It is alleged that the claims of Canada have been continually sacrificed by Great Britain to the United States, although it must be obvious that no part of the empire was so deeply interested as Canada in an amicable adjustment of the various questions which have been from time to time in controversy between the two nations. The third "great force" is "divergence of political character," and practically it is no force at all, in proof of which reference may be made to the essayist's own words:—"Let," he says, "aristocracy, hierarchy, and militarism be content with the Old World; it was conquered by the feudal sword. The New World was conquered only by the axe and plough." The writer labours under the extraordinary delusion, for it can be called nothing else, that the British aristocracy desire, to use his own words, "to establish in Canada the State Church which is the grand buttress of aristocracy in England," and although he himself admits that the desire "has proved as hopeless as to establish aristocracy itself," he adduces it to establish his point, that divergence of political character is one of the "great forces" which are sure to prevail in Canada. As regards the Anglican Church, the learned professor admits that it has been "reduced to the level of other denominations," although he is ungenerous enough to add that "its rulers still cling to the memories and to some relics of their privileged condition." Having been one of those who in days gone by took an active part in carrying out the measures which placed all religious denominations in Canada on the same level, I feel the more bound to vindicate the Anglican Church from the very unjust charge brought against it. The clergy, as a body, have been conspicuous in abstaining from political strife, and their only demerit, in the opinion of the essayist, is "that they are, probably without an exception, loyal to the Crown and to the institutions of their country." The fourth great force is "the attraction of the great American community, on the edge of which Canada lies," and to which "the British portion of the population is drawn by identity of race, language, religion, and general institutions, the French portion by its connection with the Roman Catholic Church of the States." This is a mere matter of opinion. So far as

one can judge by the public declarations of those who enjoy the confidence of the constituencies of the Dominion, without reference to political parties, a decided preference is felt for the British system of government over that of the United States, and what is rather singular, Mr. Goldwin Smith has frequently condemned the institutions of the United States in the most emphatic language. In proof of this, a few quotations may be cited from *The Bystander*:—

“But there is a greater peril than the Irish element or even the foreign element generally, as the best citizens begin already to see. It is faction, which, unless it can be arrested in its fell career, will soon threaten the very life of the Republic. . . . That Government by faction will in the end ruin self-government is the lesson which all free communities, if they would save themselves from anarchy, must learn. . . . A national conflict once in every four years for that office (the Presidency) and the enormous patronage now annexed to it must bring everything that is bad in the nation to the top, and will end in a domination of scoundrels. . . . Where is the security against the foulest malpractices on the part of a faction which feels itself tottling, but has still a majority in the House? Disastrous experience shows that it is not to be found in the morality of party. . . . To all thinking men the perilous tendencies of the elective Presidency must have been revealed in a glaring light. . . . For our own part we never can treat the subject of a Presidential election or of any party contest in such a community as the United States without repeating that we hold these conflicts to be the greatest of evils, and fraught with danger to the stability of the Republic; that we deny the necessity of party government and of organized parties altogether; that we do not believe in the usefulness of an elective Presidency. . . . The country is plunged into all the turmoil and bitterness of an unarmed civil war. The commonwealth is divided into two hostile camps; rancorous and anti-social passions are excited; the moral atmosphere is darkened with calumny; bribery and corruption, with all their fatal effects on national character, are rife on both sides; commerce quakes, business is interrupted; a legion of roughs is poured into Indiana, and for some days that State is in peril of a murderous affray.”

The foregoing extracts have been culled from successive numbers of *The Bystander* during the year 1880, and may therefore be taken as the deliberate opinion of its editor on the merits of the constitution of the United States. The party whose nominee he desired to succeed, triumphed, and after the election he asked:—“Again we are constrained to ask how the political character of any nation can withstand for ever the virus of evil passion and corruption, which these vast faction fights infuse?” And yet the author of the passages that have been cited believes that one of the “great forces” which will bring about annexation is attraction to the institutions, which he has himself so severely criticized. Having stated the “four great forces” which in his judgment render the annexation of Canada to the United States the manifest destiny of the former, Mr. Goldwin Smith has enumerated the forces which make in favour of the present connection, which in his judgment are all of a secondary and for the most part transient character; and yet it will be found on examining them that they influence the masses of the population. The first of these is “the reactionary tendencies of the

priesthood, which rules French Canada, and which fears that any change might disturb its solitary reign." He had previously given it as his opinion that the French Canadians, whom he describes as an unprogressive, religious, submissive, and courteous people, "are governed by the priest with the occasional assistance of the notary," and it is not therefore surprising that he deems what he terms "the reactionary tendencies of the priesthood" a force that will be found antagonistic to his great forces. His next force is "United Empire Loyatism," which has its chief seat in Ontario. In making his forecast of the future, the essayist flatters himself that anti-revolutionary sentiment ceases to have any meaning, and its death cannot be far off, because, on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the Independence of the United States, England recognised the revolution by saluting the flag of the Republic. What an opinion he must entertain of the intelligence of the descendants of the United Empire Loyalists! The next of the secondary forces is "the influence of English immigrants, especially in the upper ranks of the professions, in the high places of commerce, and in the press." This influence is, in the opinion of the essayist, rapidly decreasing, as natives take the places of those who die off, so that "Canada will soon be in Canadian hands." Unfortunately the writer is himself one of the very class of English immigrants, and instead of acting as he has described others as doing, that is, by cherishing the political connection, and inculcating loyalty to it, he has spared no efforts to create dissatisfaction with British institutions in the minds of the people, though so far without success. The next of the counteracting forces is mentioned only to be ignored. The British troops, or rather their officers, "exercised a somewhat tyrannical influence over opinion," the traces of which remain, but to the relief of the essayist military occupation has ceased. The Anglican Church, however, "clings to its position as a branch of the great State church of England," and the essayist surmises that "a faint hope of re-establishment may linger in the breasts of the bishops, who still retain the title of Lords." Entirely exonerating the bishops and clergy from any imputation that they are influenced by sinister motives, I have not the least doubt that they are correctly included, together with their congregations, as a force, and in my judgment a much greater force in favour of British connection than any of those "great forces" enumerated by Mr. Goldwin Smith. The next secondary force is "Orangeism," and the only prospect of its disappearance is that "Irish quarrels must one day die, and Orangeism must follow them to the grave;" but meantime it is frankly admitted that "Orangeism is strong in British Canada," and it is scarcely necessary to add that the members of the order are devotedly loyal to the British Crown. The next force is certainly not a very formidable one, and

would scarcely have been noticed but for the essayist's antipathy to the aristocracy, which is displayed whenever he can find an opportunity. He describes it as "the social influence of English aristocracy, and of the little Court of Ottawa, over colonists of the wealthier class." This influence, it is hardly necessary to observe, is represented by the Governor-General alone. The next force will create some surprise, inasmuch as one of the "great forces" tending to make annexation a certainty has been already stated to be "the attraction of the great American community adjoining Canada." It seems, however, that there is a secondary force which is described as "Antipathy to the Americans bred by the old wars and nursed by British influences, military and aristocratic, not without the assistance of the Americans themselves, who in the case of the Fenian raids, and in other cases, have vented on Canada their feelings against England." The essayist states this secondary force that he may demonstrate that it is without weight, and in one sense he is right. No such antipathy really exists. It seems to Mr. Goldwin Smith impossible for the Canadian people to prefer their own institutions, and at the same time to desire to live in friendship and amity with their neighbours. I must proceed to notice the last in the list of the secondary forces, which is "the special attachment felt by the politicians, as a body, to the system, with reference to which their parties have been formed, and with which the personal ambition of most of them is bound up." In Mr. Goldwin Smith's opinion this is the strongest of the forces which make for the present connection. It is sufficiently strong "to prevent any Canadian politician from playing a resolute part in such efforts as there have been to make Canada a nation"—in other words, not one of the representatives of the Canadian people, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, has been found willing to assume the responsibility of advocating Mr. Goldwin Smith's opinion in the House of Commons of Canada. For my own part I venture to assert that formidable as are many of the forces, described as secondary by Mr. Goldwin Smith, he has entirely failed to notice the greatest force of all, which is the reluctance of a people to change its political institutions by revolution, a reluctance which can only be overcome when some intolerable grievance exists, for which no other remedy but revolution can be found. I brought this opinion to Mr. Goldwin Smith's notice, adding that I was unaware of any case in which a political revolution involving a change of allegiance has taken place without civil war, and that I was firmly persuaded that such a revolution would not take place in Canada without the occurrence of that fearful calamity. I was informed in reply that "the history of Europe is full of changes of allegiance, without civil war, by cession, exchange, purchase, marriage of heiresses, division of inheritance," and it was added that "in our

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own day Neuchâtel, the Ionian Islands, Savoy, Nice, Alaska, the Transvaal, and Cyprus have changed their allegiance without civil war." I venture to submit that the answer has most satisfactorily established the correctness of my opinion. I have not contended that if Great Britain should think fit to cede Canada to the United States it would be possible for it to resist, any more than it was for Savoy, Nice, Cyprus, Alsace, or Lorraine to offer resistance to the transfer of their allegiance on which they were not consulted. There are people in England who are fond of proclaiming that no idea of coercing the self-governing colonies would be entertained in the present day, and in the present state of public opinion. Such persons entirely lose sight of the fact that if ever there should be an agitation for change in Canada there would most unquestionably be wide differences of opinion, and in his enumeration of the secondary forces, which is far from complete, as several of the loyal elements of the population were omitted, Mr. Goldwin Smith has enabled his countrymen in England to appreciate the consequences of such agitation. To do the learned professor justice, he is not an agitator, and he seems to consider it an insult to call him an annexationist. He declares that "there is not a man in the Dominion to whom, individually, it matters less what course political events may take than it does to me," and he holds that "to tax forecast with revolutionary designs or tendencies is absurd." Still, he tells the people that if their rulers act on the conviction that they are managing the affairs of a stable Government, they are guilty of "flagrant improvidence." The promulgation of Mr. Goldwin Smith's opinions on the future of the Dominion, whether in the form of essays in periodicals, or in his monthly review of current events, is comparatively harmless, but he has of late become a propagandist of a scheme of "Commercial Union," which has been for a few years a favourite measure with the Protectionist party in the United States, which desires to acquire possession of Canada. It is true that Mr. Goldwin Smith professes to believe that this Commercial Union would not necessarily involve political union, but the advocates of that measure in the United States make no secret of their object. A Chicago paper, in advocating it a few months ago, used the following language, which is certainly explicit enough:—

"It would be well for Canadians to understand that it will be hardly worth while to talk business, until they are prepared to give up their sentimental and disastrous policy of dependence on a little island, three thousand miles away, instead of upon their neighbours the Republic. So long as the Dominion Tories oppose this Commercial Union, because it may lead to political union or annexation, no headway can be made. We want a Commercial Union, and we want a political union to follow it in due time. We want to draw the Dominion in, and have control for ever of both sides of the St. Lawrence, and the lakes, and as far north as the Pole, not by force, but by free consent, and we can wait for it."

It cannot be denied that the writer of the above passage has expressed the opinion of a considerable number of his countrymen, but on the other hand there are very influential classes favourable to a commercial treaty, and which look on the scheme of a common tariff as "the idlest of follies." An influential organ of the commercial interests in New York observed with reference to it: "It is impossible that the United States would ever admit Canada to any voice in their tariff regulations, and it is hardly conceivable that Canada on its side would submit to a tariff in the making of which it could take no part." It was but quite recently that the Executive Committee of the National Board of Trade of the United States expressed an opinion favourable to improved commercial relations with Canada, and but a few years have elapsed since the Government of the United States entered into negotiations for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and assisted in bringing them to a satisfactory conclusion. The rejection of the Reciprocity Treaty by the Senate led, it may be admitted, to a good deal of irritation in Canada, but the wisest course, under the circumstances, is that which has been adopted by Governments of opposite politics, viz. to make no further effort to induce the Americans to concede reciprocity, and to act as if the question had been finally set at rest. The Americans are perfectly well aware that there is no indisposition on the part of Canadians to meet them in the most friendly spirit, and they are moreover equally well aware that the fishery question must be reopened in a few years, and that the negotiations which will then take place will not be fettered by any question relating to Alabama claims, although it will be necessary to consider it with the knowledge that an impartial tribunal has awarded five millions and a half of dollars as the value of twelve years' use of the British American fisheries. It must be sufficiently obvious that in view of the circumstances to which attention has been drawn, the wisest course for Canada is to remain quiescent until the period when it will be necessary to consider the terms on which the citizens of the United States shall be permitted to fish in British waters, and this clearly has been the view taken by Governments holding very different views on commercial policy, as well as on most other subjects. On the assumption that "Commercial Union" does not necessarily involve political union, the agitation of the question in Canada is fraught with mischief. The best time for negotiating on the subject of the future commercial relations between the two countries is when it may be found convenient to the United States to negotiate on the subject of the fisheries. It is by no means necessary that negotiations should be postponed until the period when the present treaty is about to expire. On the contrary, it would be desirable that they should be entered upon at any moment that the United

States may find convenient. It is by no means an unimportant circumstance that at this very time a correspondence is in progress between the two Governments, on the subject of an alleged assault made on American fishermen at Fortune Bay, in the Island of Newfoundland, which has led to a very large demand by the United States for damages. Judging from Earl Granville's dispatch of the 27th of October last, which seems to have been considered satisfactory by the Government of the United States, there is reason to hope that the two Governments will be able to agree on the subject of the regulations to which the American fishermen must conform in future. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the language in which Mr. Secretary Evarts expressed the views of his Government.

"There is no intention on the part of this (United States) Government that these privileges should be abused, and no desire that the full and free enjoyment should harm colonial fishermen, while the different interests and methods of the shore fishery and vessel fishery make it impracticable that there regulation of the one should be given entirely to the other, yet if the mutual obligations of the Treaty of 1871 are to be maintained, the Government of the United States would gladly co-operate with the Government of her Britannic Majesty in any effort to make those regulations a matter of reciprocal convenience and right, and a means of preserving the fisheries at their highest point of production, and conciliating community of interests by a just proportion of advantages and profits."

There will be a general concurrence in Earl Granville's opinion that the above expressions may be deemed "the basis of a practical settlement of the difficulty." Earl Granville has stated that her Majesty's Government "are quite willing to confer with the Government of the United States respecting the establishment of regulations, under which the subjects of both parties to the Treaty of Washington shall have full and equal enjoyment of any fishery, which under that treaty is to be used in common." When these regulations shall have been established, the claim for compensation can be more satisfactorily considered. The important point to ascertain is, whether the local statutes of Newfoundland are inconsistent with the express stipulations, or even with the spirit of the treaty, as if they are, it will be at once admitted by the people of the colonies that they would not be "in the category of those reasonable regulations, by which American in common with British fishermen ought to be bound." An impression seems to have been made on people in England that there has been an exhibition of discontent in Canada on the publication of Earl Granville's dispatch. This is a misapprehension, arising from expressions of opinion given before the publication of the text of the dispatch, which is quite satisfactory. It has always been acknowledged that in taking the law into their own hands the Newfoundland fishermen made a mistake, although it has been felt that, under the peculiar circumstances, there was

much to extenuate their conduct. The specific act of violence was the destruction of a seine, said to be worth from one to two hundred dollars, and this act was only perpetrated after remonstrance against violations of the law and the treaty. The Americans, although they have admitted that some regulations are necessary, and although they have not, so far as I have been able to ascertain, made any specific complaint against the laws of Newfoundland, rest their claim mainly on the ground that those laws are inoperative against their citizens, because they have not been consulted as to their propriety, although Mr. Secretary Evarts has admitted that some regulations are necessary, and has intimated his readiness to concur in such as may be deemed proper with a view to the preservation of the fisheries. It is desirable, under the circumstances stated, to establish the fact, that the American fishermen were not only violating the laws of Newfoundland, but were likewise acting in direct violation of the Treaty of Washington. In his argument before the Halifax Commission, Judge Foster, one of the United States counsel, spoke as follows :—

“No rights to do anything on the land are conferred on the citizens of the United States under this treaty, with the single exception of the right to dry nets and cure fish on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, if we did not possess that before; no right to land for the purpose of seining from the shore; no right to the strand fishery as it has been called; no right to do anything except water-borne on our vessels, to go within the limits, which had been previously forbidden.”

Again, the same counsel said :—

“So far as the herring trade goes, we could not, if we were disposed to, carry it on successfully under the provisions of the treaty, for this herring business is substantially a seining from the shore—a strand fishery as it is called, and we have no right anywhere conferred by this treaty to go ashore and seine herring, any more than we have to establish fish traps.”

It must be borne in mind that the foregoing statements are from the mouth of the counsel representing the United States before the Halifax Commission, and that the American fishermen were acting in direct violation of the treaty as interpreted by their own representative, as well as in a threefold violation of the colonial laws. One of these laws expressly prohibited fishing on Sunday, and it was on Sunday that the trouble arose at Long Harbour, Fortune Bay. Another law was violated by the joining together of two large seines, by which the entrance of the harbour was barred. Again, this act was done during the “close time” fixed by law, so that there were no less than three violations of the local law, irrespective altogether of the virtual abrogation of the treaty. It is not pretended that the Newfoundland fishermen were blameless in taking the law into their own hands, but it is claimed that the provocation was great, and the

extent of the injury trifling. It is desirable that the merits of this dispute should be clearly understood, as there has been an attempt made to fasten on the Newfoundland fishermen a much greater amount of blame than they really deserve. It must be borne in mind that the trespass was committed at a place where no means existed of resorting to duly constituted authorities, and, if it be established that the complainants were committing illegal acts, the offence must be held to be of a venial character. Whatever may be the ultimate decision as to the compensation to which the United States may be entitled for what has been termed the outrage at Fortune Bay, it may be hoped that a clear understanding will be arrived at between the two Governments as to the rights of the United States fishermen under the Treaty of Washington. Those rights, whatever they may be, will cease to exist at latest in the year 1885, and it is most important that the Government and people of England should clearly understand that the privilege of fishing in British waters is indispensably necessary to the United States, and that there is no desire whatever on the part of the British Colonies that it should be surrendered for a pecuniary consideration. The virtue of the fisheries is thoroughly appreciated, and no apprehension whatever is entertained as to any duties that may be imposed on imported fish, so long as American fishermen are excluded from British waters. The recent threat that duties would be imposed on fish entering the United States from the British Colonies was simply a declaration that the United States would abrogate the Treaty of Washington, in which case their fishermen could scarcely expect that they would be permitted to enjoy the privileges conferred on them by that treaty. It is most important that the bearing of the fishery question on the commercial relations between the two countries should be constantly borne in mind by the Government and people of England. When the last negotiations took place, the people of the United States were impressed with the belief that the award under the Treaty of Washington would be merely nominal, and they were consequently unwilling to make any concession in return for the valuable privileges conferred upon their fishermen. At the time when the treaty itself was under consideration, questions of much greater importance, such as the Alabama claims, were in controversy between the two nations, and it doubtless was deemed expedient not to insist on what the British Colonies have always maintained to be the only adequate return for the concession. Their views on this subject are entertained by influential classes in the United States, no stronger proof of which can be given than the readiness with which the Government of President Grant entered into the negotiations of 1874. It is mortifying in the extreme that writers possessed of the ability of Mr. Goldwin Smith should have lent themselves to the chimerical project of what

is termed "Commercial Union," the United States advocates of which distinctly avow that their object is annexation. No better proof can be given of the opposition of the Canadian people to political connection with the United States than the determination of the Government and Parliament of the Dominion to construct a railroad to the Pacific on British territory, while a parallel line is in course of construction in the United States. It is true that Mr. Goldwin Smith has expressed his opinion that Canada is paying about fifty-six million of dollars "for the political and military object of connecting the British provinces on the continent by a line running entirely through British territory," the consequence of which, he declares, "seems to us not unlikely to end in annexation on American terms." It cannot be denied that the expenditure affords tolerably convincing proof that the professor's forecasts of the future of the Dominion, which seem to have alarmed Mr. Anderson, have not produced a similar effect on the members of the Canadian Parliament. The papers contributed by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Clarke for the consideration of English readers have led me to submit the foregoing remarks, in the hope that they will be acceptable to those who desire, as I do, to maintain the integrity of the Empire.

F. HINCKS.

## COBDEN'S FIRST PAMPHLETS.<sup>1</sup>

It is not at the first glance very easy to associate a large and theorizing doctrine of human civilization with the name of one who was at this time a busy dealer in printed calicoes, and who almost immediately afterwards became the most active of political agitators. There may seem to be a certain incongruity in discussing a couple of pamphlets by a Manchester manufacturer as if they were the speculations of an abstract philosopher. Yet it is no strained pretension to say that at this time Cobden was fully possessed by the philosophic gift of feeling about society as a whole, and thinking about the problems of society in an ordered connexion with one another. He had definite and systematic ideas of the way in which men ought now to travel in search of improvement; and he attached new meaning and more comprehensive purpose to national life.

The agitations of the great Reform Act of 1832 had stirred up social aspirations, which the Liberal Government of the next ten years after the passing of the Act were utterly unable to satisfy. This inability arose partly from their own political ineptitude and want alike of conviction and courage; and partly from the fact that many of these aspirations lay wholly outside of the sphere of any government. To give a vote to all ten-pound householders, and to abolish a few rotten boroughs, was seen to carry the nation a very little way on the journey for which it had girded itself up. The party which had carried the change seemed to have sunk to the rank of a distracted faction, blind to the demands of the new time, with no strong and common doctrine, with no national aims, and hardly even with any vigorous personal ambitions. People suddenly felt that the interesting thing was not mechanism but policy, and unfortunately the men who had amended the mechanism were in policy found empty and without resource. The result of the disappointment was such a degree of fresh and independent activity among all the better minds of the time, that the succeeding generation, say from 1840 to 1870, practically lived upon the thought and sentiment of the seven or eight years immediately preceding the close of the Liberal reign in 1841. It was during those years that the schools were formed and the principles shaped, which have attracted to themselves all who were serious enough to feel the need of a school or the use of a principle.

(1) The following pages are a chapter from a forthcoming biography. The two pamphlets in question were published in 1835 and 1836. The writer was then engaged in business in Manchester, and was a little over thirty.

If the change in institutions which had taken place in 1832 had brought forth hardly any of the fruit, either bitter or sweet, which friends had hoped and enemies had threatened, it was no wonder that those who were capable of a large earnestness about public things, whether civil or ecclesiastical, turned henceforth from the letter of institutions to their spirit; from their form and outer framework to the operative force within; and from stereotyped catchwords about the social union to its real destination. It was now the day of ideals in every camp. The general restlessness was as intense among reflecting Conservatives as among reflecting Liberals; and those who looked to the past agreed with those who looked to the future, in energetic dissatisfaction with a sterile present. We need only look around to recognize the unity of the original impulse which animated men who dreaded or hated one another; and inspired books that were as far apart as a humoristic novel and a treatise on the Sacraments. A great wave of humanity, of benevolence, of desire for improvement—a great wave of social sentiment, in short—poured itself among all who had the faculty of large and disinterested thinking. The political spirit was abroad in its most comprehensive sense, the desire of strengthening society by adapting it to better intellectual ideals, and enriching it from new resources of moral power. A feeling for social regeneration, under what its apostles conceived to be a purer spiritual guidance, penetrated ecclesiastical common-rooms no less than it penetrated the manufacturing districts. It was in 1835 that Dr. Pusey threw himself with new heartiness into the movement at Oxford, that Dr. Newman projected Catenas of Anglican divines, and began to meditate Tract Ninety. In the opposite quarter of the horizon Mr. Mill was still endeavouring, in the *Westminster Review*, to put a new life into Radical politics by giving a more free and genial character to Radical speculations, and—a far more important task—was composing the treatise which gave a decisive tone to English ways of thinking for thirty years afterwards. Men like Arnold and like Maurice were almost intoxicated with their passion for making citizenship into something loftier and more generous than the old strife of Blues and Yellows: unfortunately they were so beset with prejudices against what they confusedly denounced as materialism and utilitarianism, that they turned aside from the open ways of common sense and truth to fact, to nourish themselves on vague dreams of a Church which, though it rested on the great mysteries of the faith, yet for purposes of action could only after all become an instrument for the secular teaching of Adam Smith and Bentham. To the fermentation of those years Carlyle contributed the vehement apostrophes of *Chartism* and *Past and Present*, glowing with eloquent contempt for the aristocratic philosophy of treadmills, gibbets, and thirty-nine Acts of Parliament



"for the shooting of partridges alone," but showing no more definite way for national redemption than lay through the too vague words of Education and Emigration. Finally, in the same decade, the early novels of Charles Dickens brought into vivid prominence among the objects of popular interest such types of social outlawry as the parish apprentice, the debtor in prison, the pauper in the workhouse, the criminal by profession, and all the rest of that pitiful gallery. Dickens had hardly any solution beyond a mere Christmas philanthropy, but he stirred the sense of humanity in his readers, and from great imaginative writers we have no right to insist upon more.

Notwithstanding their wide diversity of language and of method, still to all of these rival schools and men of genius the ultimate problem was the same. With all of them the aim to be attained was social renovation. Even the mystics of Anglo-Catholicism, as I have said, had in the inmost recesses of their minds a clear belief that the revival of sacramental doctrine and the assertion of apostolic succession would quicken the moral life of the nation, and meet social needs no less than it would meet spiritual needs. Far apart as Cobden stood from these and all the other sections of opinion that I have named, yet his early pamphlets show that he discerned as keenly as any of them that the hour had come for developing new elements in public life, and setting up a new standard of public action. To Cobden, as to Arnold or to Mill, the real meaning of his activity was, in a more or less formal and conscious way, the hope of supplying a systematic foundation for higher social order, and the wider diffusion of a better kind of well-being. He had none of the pedantry of the doctrinaire, but he was full of the intellectual spirit. Though he was shortly to become the leader of a commercial movement, he never ceased to be the preacher of a philosophy of civilization; and his views on trade were only another side of views on education and morality. Realist as he was, yet his opinions were inspired and enriched by the genius of social imagination.

Some readers will smile when I say that no teacher of that day was found so acceptable or so inspiring by Cobden as George Combe. He had read Combe's volume before he wrote his pamphlets, and he said that "it seemed like a transcript of his own familiar thoughts."<sup>1</sup> Few emphatically second-rate men have done better work than the author of the *Constitution of Man*. That memorable book, whose principles have now in some shape or other become the accepted commonplaces of all rational persons, was a startling revelation when it was first published (1828), showing men that their bodily systems are related to the rest of the universe, and are subject to general and

(1) *Life of George Combe*, ii. 11.

inexorable conditions; that health of mind and character are connected with states of body; that the old ignorant or ascetical disregard of the body is hostile both to happiness and mental power; and that health is a true department of morality. We cannot wonder that zealous men were found to bequeath fortunes for the dissemination of that wholesome gospel, that it was circulated by scores of thousands of copies, and that it was seen on shelves where there was nothing else save the Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress*.

It is easy to discern the attraction which teaching so fresh and inspiring as this would have for a mind like Cobden's, constitutionally eager to break from the old grooves of things, alert for every sign of new light and hope in the sombre sky of prejudice, and confident in the large possibility of human destiny. To show, as Combe showed, that the character and motives of men are connected with physical predispositions, was to bring character and motive within the sphere of action, because we may in that case modify them by attending to the requirements of the bodily organization. A boundless field is thus opened for the influence of social institutions, and the opportunities of beneficence are without limit. There is another side on which Cobden found Combe's teaching in harmony with the impulses of his own temperament: it rests upon the natural soundness of the human heart, and its methods are those of mildness and lenity. In his intrepid faith in the perfectibility of man and society, Cobden is the only eminent practical statesman that this country has ever possessed, who constantly breathes the fine spirit of that French school in which the name of Turgot is the most illustrious.

The doctrine of the pamphlets has its avowed source in the very same spirit which has gradually banished violence, harshness, and the darker shapes of repression from the education of the young, from the treatment of the insane, from the punishment of criminals, and has substituted for those time-honoured but most ineffective processes, a rational moderation and enlightened humanity, the force of lenient and considerate example and calm self-possession. Non-intervention was an extension of the principle which, renouncing appeals through brute violence, rests on the nobler and more powerful qualities of the understanding and the moral nature. Cobden's distinction as a statesman was not that he accepted and applied this principle in a general way. Charlatans and marauders accept such principles in that way. His merit is that he discerned that England, at any rate, whatever might be true of Germany, France, or Russia, was in the position where the present adoption of this new spirit of policy would exactly coincide with all her best and largest interests. Now and at all times Cobden was far too shrewd and practical in his temper to suppose that unfamiliar truths will shine

into the mind of a nation by their own light. It was of England that he thought, and for England that he wrote; and what he did was not to declaim the platitudes of rose-coloured morality, but by reference to the hardest facts of our national existence and international relations, to show that not only the moral dignity, but the material strength, the solid interests, the real power of the country, alike for improvements within and self-defence without, demanded the abandonment of the diplomatic principles of a time which was as unenlightened and mischievous on many sides of its foreign policy, as everybody knows and admits it to have been in the schoolroom, in the hospital, and in the offices of the national revenue.

The pamphlets do not deal with the universe, but with this country. Their writer has been labelled a cosmopolitan,—usually by those who in the same breath, by a violent contradiction, reproached him for preaching a gospel of national selfishness and isolation. In truth Cobden was only cosmopolitan in the sense in which no other statesman would choose to deny himself to be cosmopolitan also; namely, in the sense of aiming at a policy which, in benefiting his own country, should benefit all the rest of the world at the same time. "I am an English citizen," he would have said, "and what I am contending for is that England is to-day so situated in every particular of her domestic and foreign circumstances, that by leaving other governments to settle their own business and fight out their own quarrels, and by attending to the vast and difficult affairs of her own enormous realm and the condition of her people, she will not only be setting the world an example of noble morality which no other nation is so happily free to set, but she will be following the very course which the maintenance of her own greatness most imperatively commands. It is precisely because Great Britain is so strong in resources, in courage, in institutions, in geographical position, that she can, before all other European powers, afford to be moral, and to set the example of a mighty nation walking in the paths of justice and peace."

Cobden's political genius perceived this great mark of the time, that, in his own words, "at certain periods in the history of a nation, it becomes necessary to review its principles of domestic policy, for the purpose of adapting the government to the changing and improving condition of its people." Next, "it must be equally the part of a wise community to alter the maxims by which its foreign relations have in times past been regulated, in conformity with the changes that have taken place over the entire globe."<sup>1</sup> Such a period he conceived to have come for England in that generation, and it had come to her both from her internal conditions, and from the nature of her connexions with the other nations of the

(1) *Advertisement to Russia* (1836).

globe. The thought was brought to him not by deliberate philosophizing, but by observation and the process of native good sense, offering a fresh and open access to things. The cardinal fact that struck his eye was the great population that was gathering in the new centres of industry in the north of England, in the factories, and mines, and furnaces, and cyclopean foundries, which the magic of steam had called into such sudden and marvellous being.

It was with no enthusiasm that he reflected on this transformation that had overtaken the western world, and in his first pamphlet he anticipated the cry, of which he heard more than enough all through his life, that his dream was to convert England into a vast manufactory, and that his political vision was directed by the interests of his order. "Far from nourishing any such *esprit-de-corps*," he says in the first pamphlet, "our predilections lean altogether in an opposite direction. We were born and bred up amid the pastoral charms of the south of England, and we confess to so much attachment for the pursuits of our forefathers, that, had we the casting of the parts of all the actors in this world's stage, we do not think we should suffer a cotton-mill or a manufactory to have a place in it. . . . But the factory system, which sprang from the discoveries in machinery, has been adopted by all the civilized nations in the world, and it is in vain for us to think of discountenancing its application to the necessities of this country; it only remains for us to mitigate, as far as possible, the evils that are perhaps not inseparably connected with this novel social element."

To this conception of the new problem Cobden always kept very close. This was always to him the foundation of the new order of things, which demanded a new kind of statesmanship and new ideas upon national policy. It is true that Cobden sometimes slips into the phrases of an older school, about the rights of man and natural law, but such lapses into the dialect of a revolutionary philosophy were very rare, and they were accidents. His whole scheme rested, if ever any scheme did so rest, upon the wide positive base of a great social expediency. To political exclusion, to commercial monopoly and restriction, to the preponderance of a territorial aristocracy in the legislature, he steadfastly opposed the contention that they were all fatally incompatible with an industrial system, which it was beyond the power of any statesman or any order in the country to choose between accepting and casting out.

Fifty years before this, the younger Pitt, when he said that any man with £20,000 a year ought to be made a peer if he wished, had recognised the necessity of admitting bankers and merchants to a share of the political dignity which had hitherto been confined to the great families. It had now ceased to be a question of a few peerages more or less for Lombard Street or Cornhill. Commercial interests

no less than territorial interests were now overshadowed by industrial interests; the new difficulties, the new problems, the new perils, all sprang from what had taken place since William Pitt's time, the portentous expansion of our industrial system. Between the date of Waterloo and the date of the Reform Act, the power-looms in Manchester had increased from two thousand to eighty thousand, and the population of Birmingham had grown from ninety to one hundred and fifty thousand. The same wonders had come to pass in enormous districts over the land.

Cobden was naturally led to begin his survey of society as such a survey is always begun by the only kind of historian that is worth reading. He looked to wealth and its distribution, to material well-being, to economic resources, to their administration, to the varying direction and relative force of their currents. It was here that he found the key to the stability and happiness of a nation, in the sense in which stability and happiness are the objects of its statesmen. He declined to make any excuse for so frequently resolving questions of state policy into matters of pecuniary calculation, and he delighted in such business-like statements as that the cost of the Mediterranean squadron in proportion to the amount of the trade which it was professedly employed to protect, was as though a merchant should find that his traveller's expenses for escort alone were to amount to 6s. 8d. in the pound on his sales. He pointed to the examples in history, where some of the greatest and most revolutionary changes in the modern world had a fiscal or economic origin. And if Cobden had on his visit to Athens seen Finlay, he might have learnt from that admirable historian the same lesson on a still more imposing scale in the ancient world. He would have been told that even so momentous an event in the annals of human civilisation as the disappearance of rural slavery in Europe, was less due to moral or political causes than to such a decline in the value of the products of slave-labour as left no profit to the slave-owner. From the fall of the Roman Empire to the mortal decay of Spain, and the ruin of the ancient monarchy of France, history shows that Cobden was amply justified in laying down the principle that the affairs of a nation come under the same laws of common sense and homely wisdom which govern the prosperity of a private concern.

In material well-being he maintained, and rightly maintained, that you not only have the surest foundation for a solid fabric of morality and enlightenment among your people, but in the case of one of our vast and populous modern societies of free men, the only sure bulwark against ceaseless disorder and violent convulsion. It was not, therefore, from the side of emotional sympathy that Cobden started, but from that positive and scientific feeling for good order and right government which is the statesman's true motive and

deepest passion. The sentimental benevolence to which Victor Hugo and Dickens have appealed with such power, could give little help in dealing with the surging uncontrollable tides of industrial and economic forces. Charity, it is true, had been an accepted auxiliary in the thinly peopled societies of the middle ages; but for the great populations and complex interests of the western world in modern times, it is seen that prosperity must depend on policy and institutions, and not on the compassion of individuals.

It is not necessary that we should analyse the contents of pamphlets which any one may read through for himself in a few hours, and which well deserve to be read through even by those who expect their conclusions to be most repugnant. The pamphlet on *England, Ireland, and America*, is a development of the following thought:—A nation is growing up on the other side of the Atlantic which by the operation of various causes, duly enumerated by the writer, must inevitably at no distant date enter into serious competition with our own manufactures. Apart from the natural advantages possessed by this new competitor, there are two momentous disadvantages imposed upon the English manufacturer, which tend to disable him in the struggle with his formidable rival. These two disadvantages are—first, protection and the restriction of commerce; second, the policy of intervention in European feuds. The one loads us with a heavy burden of taxation and debt; the other aggravates the burden by limiting our use of our own resources. The place of Ireland in the argument, after a vivid and too true picture of the deplorable condition of that country, is to illustrate from the most striking example within the writer's own knowledge, "the impolicy and injustice of the statesmen who have averted their faces from this diseased member of the body politic; and at the same time have led us, thus maimed, into the midst of every conflict that has occurred on the continent of Europe." In fine, the policy of intervention ought to be abandoned, because it has created and continues to augment the debt, which shackles us in our industrial competition; because it has in every case been either mischievous or futile, and constantly so even in reference to its own professed ends; and because it has absorbed energy and resource that were imperiously demanded by every consideration of national duty for the improvement of the backward and neglected portions of our own realms.

In the second pamphlet the same principles are applied to the special case which the prejudice of the time made urgent. David Urquhart, a remarkable man, of prodigious activity, and with a singular genius for impressing his opinions upon all sorts of men from aristocratic dandies down to the grinders of Sheffield and the cobblers of Stafford, had recently published an appeal to England in favour of Turkey. He had furnished the ministers with argu-

ments for a policy to which they leaned by the instinct of old prejudice, and he had secured all the editors of the newspapers. Mr. Urquhart's book was the immediate provocation for Cobden's pamphlets. In the second of them the author dealt with Russia. With Russia we were then, as twenty years later and forty years later, and, as perhaps some readers of the next generation may write on the margin of this page, possibly sixty years later, urged with passionate imprecations to go to war in defence of European law, the balance of power, and the security of British interests.

Disclaiming a spirit of partiality for any principle of the foreign or the domestic policy of the Government of St. Petersburg, Cobden proceeded to examine each of the arguments by which it was then, as now, the fashion to defend an armed interference by England between Russia and Turkey. A free and pointed description, first of Turkey, and next of Russia, and a contrast between the creation of St. Petersburg and the decline of Constantinople, lead up to the propositions:—first, that the advance of Russia to the countries which the Turk once wasted by fire and sword, and still wastes by the more deadly process of misgovernment, would be a great step in the progress of improvement; second, that no step in the progress of improvement and the advance of civilisation can be inimical to the interests or the welfare of Great Britain. What advantage can it be to us, a commercial and manufacturing people, that countries placed in the healthiest latitudes and blessed with the finest climate in the world, should be retained in a condition which hinders their inhabitants from increasing and multiplying; from extracting a wealth from the soil which would enable them to purchase the products of western lands; and so from changing their present poverty-stricken and plague-stricken squalor, for the manifold enjoyment of their share of all the products of natural resource and human ingenuity? As for Russia, her treatment of Poland was cruel and unjust, but let us at least put aside the cant of the sentimental declaimers who, amid a cloud of phrases about ancient freedom, national independence, and glorious republic, obscure the fact that the Polish nation meant only a body of nobles. About nineteen out of every twenty of the inhabitants were serfs without a single civil or political right; one in twenty was a noble; and the Polish nobles were the vainest, most selfish, most cruelly intolerant, most violently lawless aristocracy of ancient and modern times. Let us join by all means in the verdict of murder, robbery, treason, and perjury which every free and honest nation must declare against Russia, Prussia, and Austria for their undissembled wickedness in the partition. Let us go further, and admit that the infamy with which Burke, Sheridan, and Fox laboured to overwhelm the emissaries of British violence in India, was justly earned at the very

same period by the minions of Russian despotism in Poland. But no honest man who takes the trouble to compare the condition of the true people of Poland under Russia, with their condition under their own tyrannical nobles a century ago—and here Cobden gives ample means of comparison—will deny that in material prosperity and in moral order of life the advance has been at least as great as in any other portion of the habitable globe. Apart from these historic changes, the Russo-maniac ideas of Russian power are demonstrably absurd. With certain slight modifications, Cobden's demonstration of their absurdity remains as valid now as it was forty years ago.

The keen and vigorous arguments by which Cobden attacked the figment of the balance of power are now tacitly accepted by politicians of all schools. Even the most eager partisans of English intervention in the affairs of other nations now feel themselves bound to show as plausibly as they can, that intervention is demanded by some peril to the interests of our own country. It is in vain that authors of another school struggle against Cobden's position, that the balance of power is not a fallacy nor an imposture, but a chimera, a something incomprehensible, undescribed, and indescribable. The attempted definitions of it fall to pieces at the touch of historic analysis. If we find the smaller states still preserving an independent existence, it is owing, Cobden said, not to the watchful guardianship of the balancing system, but to limits set by the nature of things to unduly extended dominion; not only to physical boundaries, but to the more formidable moral impediments to the invader—"unity of language, law, custom and traditions; the instinct of patriotism and freedom; the hereditary rights of rulers; and, though last, not least, that homago to the restraints of justice, which nations and public bodies have in all ages avowed, however they may have found excuses for evading it."

That brilliant writer, the historian of the Crimean War, has described in a well-known passage what he calls the great Usage which forms the safeguard of Europe. This great Usage is the accepted obligation of each of the six Powers to protect the weak against the strong. But in the same page a limitation is added, which takes the very pith and marrow out of this moral and chivalrous Usage, and reduces it to the very commonplace principle that nations are bound to take care of themselves. For, says the writer, no Power is practically under this obligation, unless its perception of the wrong that has been done is reinforced by a sense of its own interests.<sup>1</sup> Then it is the self-interest of each nation which is the decisive element in every case of intervention, and not a general doctrine about the balance of power, or an alleged common usage of protecting the weak against the strong? But that is exactly what

(1) Kinglake, vol. i. ch. ii.



Cobden started from. His premise was that "no government has the right to plunge its people into hostilities, except in defence of their own honour and interests." There would seem then to be no difference of principle between the military and the commercial schools of foreign policy. The trader from Manchester and the soldier from Aldershot or Woolwich, without touching the insoluble, because only half intelligible, problem of the balance of power, may agree to discuss the propriety of a given war on the solid ground of national self-interest. Each will be affected by professional bias, so that one of them will be apt to believe that our self-interest is touched at a point which the other will consider too remote to concern us; but neither can claim any advantage over the other as the disinterested champion of public law and the rights of Europe. If there is a difference deeper than this, it must be that the soldier or the diplomatist of the old school has really in his mind a set of opinions as to the ends for which a nation exists, and as to the relations of class-interests to one another, of such a colour that no serious politician in modern times would venture openly to avow them.

If the two theories of the duty of a nation in regard to war are examined in this way, we see how unreasonable it is that Cobden's theory of non-intervention should be called selfish by those who would be ashamed to base an opposite policy on anything else than selfishness. "Our desire," Cobden said, "is to see Poland happy, Turkey civilised, and Russia conscientious and free: it is still more our wish that these ameliorations should be bestowed by the hands of Britain upon her less instructed neighbours: so far the great majority of our opponents and ourselves are agreed. *How* to accomplish this beneficent purpose, is the question whereon we differ." They would resort, as Washington Irving said in a pleasant satire on us, to the cudgel, to promote the good of their neighbours and the peace and happiness of the world. There is one unanswerable objection to this, Cobden answered: experience is against it; it has been tried for hundreds of years, and has failed. He proposed to arrive at the same end by means of our national example, by remaining at peace, vigorously pursuing reforms and improvements, and so presenting that spectacle of wealth, prosperity, power, and invincible stability, which reward an era of peace wisely and diligently used. Your method, he said, cannot be right, because it assumes that you are at all times able to judge what will be good for others and the world—which you are not. And even if your judgment were infallible, the method would be equally wrong, for you have no jurisdiction over other states which authorizes you to do them good by force of arms.

The source of these arguments lay in three convictions. First, the government of England must always have its hands full, in

attending to its domestic business. Second, it can seldom be sure which party is in the right in a foreign quarrel, and very seldom indeed be sure that the constituencies, ignorant and excitable as they are, will discern the true answer to that perplexing question. Finally, the government which keeps most close to morality in its political dealings, will find itself in the long-run to have kept most close to the nature of things, and to that success which rewards conformity to the nature of things. It followed from such reasoning as this that the author of the pamphlets denounced by anticipation the policy of compelling the Chinese by ships of war to open more ports to our vessels. Why, he asked in just scorn, should not the ships of war on their way out compel the French to transfer the trade of Marseilles to Havre, and thus save us the carriage of their wines through the Straits of Gibraltar? Where is the moral difference? And as to Gibraltar itself, he contended, that though the retention of conquered colonies may be regarded with some complacency, because they are reprisals for previous depredations by their parent states, yet England for fifty years at Gibraltar is a spectacle of brute violence, unmitigated by any such excuses. "Upon no principle of morality," he went on, "can this unique outrage upon the integrity of an ancient, powerful, and renowned nation be justified; the example, if imitated, instead of being shunned universally, would throw all the nations of the earth into barbarous anarchy." Here as everywhere else we see how wrong is the begetter of wrong, for if England had not possessed Gibraltar, she would not have been tempted to pursue that turbulent policy in the Mediterranean, which is still likely one day to cost her dear.<sup>1</sup>

Again, the immoral method has failed. Why not try now whether commerce will not succeed better than war, in regenerating and uniting the nations whom you would fain improve? Let governments have as little to do with one another as possible, and let people begin to have as much to do with one another as possible. Of how many cases of intervention by England does every Englishman now not admit that they were monstrous and inexcusable blunders, and that if we had pursued the alternative method of doing the work of government well at home and among our dependencies, improving our people, lightening the burdens of commerce and manufactures, husbanding wealth, we should have augmented our own material power, for which great national wealth is only another

(1) It is perhaps not out of place to mention that several years ago, the present writer once asked Mr. Mill's opinion on the question of the possession of Gibraltar. His answer was that the really desirable thing in the case of strong places commanding the entrance to close seas is that they should be in the hands of a European League. Meanwhile, as the state of international morality is not ripe for such a League, England is perhaps of all nations least likely to abuse the possession of a strong place of that kind.

word; and we should have taught to the governments that had been exhausting and impoverishing themselves in war, the great lesson that the way to give content, enlightenment, and civil virtues to your people, and a solid strength to their government, is to give them peace. It is thus, Cobden urged, that the virtues of nations operate both by example and precept; and such is the power and rank they confer, that in the end "states will all turn moralists in self-defence."

These most admirable pages were no mere rhetoric. They represented no abstract preference, but a concrete necessity. The writer was able to point to a nation whose example of pacific industry, wise care of the education of her young, and abstinence from such infatuated intervention as ours in the affairs of others, would, as he warned us, one day turn us into moralists in self-defence, as one day it assuredly will. It is from the peaceful nation in the west, and not from the military nations in the east, that danger to our strength will come. "In that portentous truth, *The Americas are free*, teeming as it does with future change, there is nothing that more nearly affects our destiny than the total revolution which it dictates to the statesmen of Great Britain in the commercial, colonial, and foreign policy of our Government. America is once more the theatre upon which nations are contending for mastery; it is not, however, a struggle for conquest, in which the victor will acquire territorial domain—the fight is for commercial supremacy, and will be won by the cheapest."<sup>1</sup> Yet in the very year in which Cobden thus predicted the competition of America, and warned the English Government to prepare for it by husbanding the wealth of the country and educating its people, the same assembly which was with the utmost difficulty persuaded to grant ten thousand pounds for the establishment of normal schools, spent actually fifty times as much in

(1) "Looking to the natural endowments of the North American continent—as superior to Europe as the latter is to Africa—with an almost immeasurable extent of river navigation—its boundless expanse of the most fertile soil in the world, and its inexhaustible mines of coal, iron, lead, &c.:—looking at these, and remembering the quality and position of a people universally instructed and perfectly free, and possessing as a consequence of these, a new-born energy and vitality very far surpassing the character of any nation of the old world—the writer reiterates the moral of his former work, by declaring his conviction that it is from the west, rather than from the east, that danger to the supremacy of Great Britain is to be apprehended;—that it is from the silent and peaceful rivalry of American commerce, the growth of its manufactures, its rapid progress in internal improvements, the superior education of its people, and their economical and pacific government—that it is from these, and not from the barbarous policy or the impoverishing armaments of Russia, that the grandeur of our commercial and national prosperity is endangered. *And the writer stakes his reputation upon the prediction, that, in less than twenty years, this will be the sentiment of the people of England generally; and that the same conviction will be forced upon the Government of the country.*" If Cobden had allowed fifty years, instead of twenty, for the fulfilment of his prediction, he would perhaps have been safe.

interfering in the private quarrels of two equally brutal dynastic factions in Spain. Our great case of intervention, between the rupture of the peace of Amiens and the battle of Waterloo, had left a deep and lasting excitability in the minds of Englishmen. They felt that if anything were going wrong in any part of the world, it must be owing to a default of duty in the British Government. One writer, for instance, drew up a serious indictment against the Whigs in 1834, on the ground that they had only passed a Reform Bill and a Poor Law Bill at home, while abroad the Dutch question was undecided; the French were still at Ancona; Don Carlos was fighting in Spain; Don Miguel was preparing for a new conflict in Portugal; Turkey and Egypt were at daggers drawn; Switzerland was quarrelling about Italian refugees; Frankfort was occupied by Prussian troops in violation of the treaty of Vienna; Algiers was being made a French colony, in violation of French promises made in 1829; ten thousand Polish nobles were still proscribed and wandering all over Europe; French gaols were full of political offenders. This pretty list of wrongs it was taken for granted that an English ministry and English armies should make it their first business to set right. As Cobden said, if such ideas prevailed, the Whig government would leave Providence nothing to attend to. Yet this was only the *reductio ad absurdum* of that excitability about foreign affairs which the long war had left behind. The vulgar kind of patriotic sentiment leads its professors to exult in military interventions even so indescribably foolish as this. What Cobden sought was to nourish that nobler and more substantial kind of patriotism, which takes a pride in the virtue and enlightenment of our own citizens, in the wisdom and success of our institutions, in the beneficence of our dealings with less advanced possessions, and in the lofty justice and independence of our attitude to other nations.

No one claims for Cobden that he was the first statesman who had dreamed the dream and seen the vision of a great pacification. Everybody has heard of the Grand Design of Henry IV. of France, with its final adjustment of European alliances, and its august Senate of the Christian Republic. In the eighteenth century, so rich as it was in great humane ideas, we are not surprised to find more than one thinker and more than one statesman enamoured of the policy of peaceful industry, from the Abbé de Saint Pierre, who denounced Lewis XIV. for seeking aggrandizement abroad while destroying prosperity at home, down to Kant, who wrote an essay on perpetual peace; and to the French Encyclopædists, who were a standing peace party down to the outbreak of the Revolution. Apart from these utopias of a too hopeful philosophy, there is one practical statesman whom the historian of political opinion in England may justly treat as a precursor of Cobden's school. This is Lord Shelburne, the

political instructor of the younger Pitt. He was the first powerful actor in our national affairs in whom the great school of the Economists found a sincere disciple. It was to Morellet, the writer in the *Encyclopædia*, and the friend of Turgot, rather even than to Adam Smith and Tucker, that Shelburne professed to owe those views on peace and international relations which appeared in the negotiations of his government with France after the war with the American colonies, and which, alas! after a deplorable interval of half a century, the next person to enforce as the foundation of our political system was the author of the two Manchester pamphlets. In the speech which closed his career as a minister (1783), Shelburne had denounced monopoly as always unwise, but for no nation under heaven so unwise as for England. With more industry, he cried, with more enterprise, with more capital than any trading nation in the world, all that we ought to covet upon earth is free trade and open markets. His defence of the pacific policy as most proper for this country was as energetic as his enthusiasm for free trade, and he never displayed more vigour and conviction than when he attacked Pitt for allowing himself—and this was before the war with the French Republic—to be drawn again into the fatal policy of European intervention in defence of the integrity of the Turkish empire.

The reason why Shelburne's words were no more than a passing and an unheeded voice, while the teaching of Cobden's pamphlets stamped a deep impression on men's minds—which time, in spite of inevitable phases of reaction and the temporary recrudescence of bad opinions, has only made more definite—is the decisive circumstance which has already been sufficiently dwelt upon, that the huge expansion of the manufacturing interests had, when Cobden appeared, created a powerful public naturally favourable to the new principles, and raised what would otherwise have been only the tenets of a school into the programme of a national party.

As we shall see when we come to the Crimean War, the new principles did not at once crush out the old; it was not to be expected by any one who reflects on the strength of prejudice, especially prejudice supported by the consciousness of an honourable motive, that so sudden a change should take place. But the pamphlets are a great landmark in the history of politics in England, and they are still as well worth reading as they ever were. Some of the statements are antiquated; the historical criticism is sometimes open to doubt; there are one or two mistakes. But they are mostly like the poet's, who spoke of "*i miei non falsi errori*." If time has weakened their literal force, it has confirmed their real significance.

In a personal biography, it is perhaps not out of place to dwell in

conclusion on a point in the two pamphlets, which is of very secondary importance compared with their political teaching, and yet which has an interest of its own; I mean the literary excellence of these performances. They have a ringing clearness, a genial vivacity, a free and confident mastery of expression, which can hardly be surpassed. Cobden is a striking instance against a favourite plea of the fanatics of Latin and Greek. They love to insist that a collegian's scholarship is the great source and fountain of a fine style. It would be nearer the truth to say that our classical training is more aptly calculated to destroy the qualities of good writing and fine speaking than any other system that could have been contrived. Those qualities depend principally, in men of ordinary endowment, upon a certain large freedom and spontaneity, and next upon a strong habit of observing things before words. These are exactly the habits of mind which our way of teaching, or rather of not teaching, Latin and Greek inevitably chills and represses in any one in whom literary faculty is not absolutely irrepressible. What is striking in Cobden is, that after a lost and wasted childhood, a youth of drudgery in a warehouse, and an early manhood passed amid the rather vulgar associations of the commercial traveller, he should, at the age of one-and-thirty, have stepped forth the master of a written style, which in boldness, freedom, correctness, and persuasive moderation, was not surpassed by any man then living. He had taken pains with his mind, and had been a diligent and extensive reader; but he had never studied language for its own sake.

It was fortunate for him that, instead of blunting the spontaneous faculty of expression by minute study of the verbal peculiarities of a Lysias or an Isocrates, he should have gone to the same school of active public interests and real things in which those fine orators had in their different degrees acquired so happy a union of homeliness with purity, and of amplitude with measure. These are the very qualities that we notice in Cobden's earliest pages; they evidently sprang from the writer's singular directness of eye, and eager and disinterested sincerity of social feeling, undisturbed as both these gifts fortunately were by the vices of literary self-consciousness.

EDITOR.

## POLITICAL HEADS—CHIEFS, KINGS, ETC.

WHEN showing how respect for age generates patriarchal authority where descent through males has arisen, I gave cases which incidentally showed a further result; namely, that the dead patriarch, worshipped by his descendants, becomes a family deity. Afterwards were set forth at length the proofs, past and present, furnished by many places and peoples, of this genesis of gods from propitiated ghosts. Here there remains to be pointed out the strengthening of political headship inevitably thus effected.

Descent from a ruler who when alive was distinguished by superiority, and whose ghost, specially feared, comes to be propitiated in so unusual a degree as to distinguish it from ancestral ghosts at large, exalts and supports the living ruler in two ways. In the first place, he is assumed to inherit from his great progenitor more or less of the character, apt to be considered supernatural, which gave him his power; and, in the second place, making sacrifices to this great progenitor, he is supposed to maintain such relations with him as insure divine aid. Passages in Canon Callaway's account of the Amazulu, show the influence of this belief. It is said, "the Itongo [ancestral ghost] dwells with the great man, and speaks with him;" and then it is also said, referring to a medicine-man, "the chiefs of the house of Uzulu used not to allow a more inferior to be even said to have power over the heaven; for it was said that the heaven belonged only to the chief of that place." These facts yield us a definite interpretation of others, like the following, which show that the authority of the terrestrial ruler is increased by his supposed relation to the celestial ruler; be the celestial ruler the ghost of the remotest known ancestor who founded the society, or of a conquering invader, or of a superior stranger.

Of the chiefs among the Kukis, who are descendants of Hindoo adventurers, we read:—

"All these Rajahs are supposed to have sprung from the same stock, which it is believed originally had connection with the gods themselves; their persons are therefore looked upon with the greatest respect and almost superstitious veneration, and their commands are in every case law."

Of the Tahitians Ellis says:—

"The god and the king were generally supposed to share the authority over the mass of mankind between them. The latter sometimes impersonated the

former. . . . The kings, in some of the islands, were supposed to have descended from the gods. Their persons were always sacred."

According to Mariner, "*Toritonga* and *Veachi* (hereditary divine chiefs in Tonga,) are both acknowledged descendants of chief gods who formerly visited the islands of Tonga." And, in ancient Peru "the Ynca gave them (his vassals) to understand that all he did with regard to them was by an order and revelation of his father, the Sun."

This reinforcement of natural power by supernatural power, becomes extreme where the ruler is at once a descendant of the gods and himself a god: a union of attributes which is familiar among peoples who do not distinguish between the divine and the human as we do. It was thus in the case just instanced—that of the Peruvians. It was thus with the ancient Egyptians. The monarch "was the representative of the Divinity on earth, and of the same substance;" and not only did he in many cases become a god after death, but he was worshipped as a god during life; as witness the following prayer to Rameses II.

"When they had come before the king . . . they fell down to the ground, and with their hands they prayed to the king. They praised this divine benefactor . . . speaking thus.—'We are come before thee, the lord of heaven, lord of the earth, sun, life of the whole world, lord of time, . . . lord of prosperity, creator of the harvest, fashioner and former of mortals, dispenser of breath to all men; animator of the whole company of the gods . . . thou former of the great, creator of the small . . . thou our lord, our sun, by whose words out of his mouth Tum lives . . . grant us life out of thy hands . . . and breath for our nostrils.'"

This prayer introduces us to a remarkable parallel. Rameses, whose powers, demonstrated by his conquests, were regarded as so transcendent, is here described as ruling not only the lower world but also the upper world; and a like royal power is alleged in two existing societies where absolutism is similarly unmitigated—China and Japan. As shown when treating of Ceremonial Institutions (§ 347) both the Emperor of China and the Japanese Mikado, have such supremacy in heaven that they promote its inhabitants from rank to rank at will.

That this strengthening of political headship, if not by ascribed godhood then by ascribed descent from a god (either the apotheosized ancestor of the tribe or one of the elder deities), was exemplified among the early Greeks, needs not be shown. It was exemplified, too, among the Northern Aryans. "According to the old heathen faith, the pedigree of the Saxon, Anglian, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish kings—probably also those of the German and Scandinavian kings generally—was traced to Odin, or to some of his immediate companions or heroic sons."



It is further to be noted that a god-descended ruler who is also chief priest of the gods (as he habitually is), obtains a more effectual supernatural aid than does the ruler to whom magical powers alone are ascribed. For in the first place the invisible agents invoked by the magician are not conceived to be those of highest rank; whereas the divinely-descended ruler is supposed to get the help of a supreme invisible agent. And in the second place, the one form of influence over these dreaded superhuman beings, tends much less than the other to become a permanent attribute of the ruler. Though among the Chibchas, we find a case in which magical power was transferred to a successor—though “the cazique of Sogamoso made known that he [Bochica] had left him heir of all his sanctity, and that he had the same power of making rain when he liked,” and giving health or sickness (an assertion believed by the people); yet this is an exceptional case. Speaking generally, the chief whose relations with the supernatural world are those of a sorcerer does not transmit his relations; and he does not therefore establish a supernatural dynasty, as does the chief of divine descent.

And now, having considered the several factors which co-operate to establish political headship, let us consider the process of co-operation through its ascending stages. The truth to be noted is that the successive phenomena which occur in the simplest groups habitually recur in the same order in compound groups, and again in doubly compound groups.

As, in the simple group, there is at first a state in which there is no headship; so, when simple groups which have political heads possessing slight authorities are associated, there is at first no headship of the cluster. The Chinooks furnish an example. Describing them Lewis and Clarke say:—“As these families gradually expand into bands, or tribes, or nations, the paternal authority is represented by the chief of each association. This chieftain, however, is not hereditary.” And then comes the further fact, which here specially concerns us, that “the chiefs of the separate villages are independent of each other:” there is no general chieftainship.

As headship in the simple group, at first temporary, ceases when the war which initiates it ends; so in the cluster of groups which severally have recognized heads, a common headship at first results from a war, and lasts no longer than the war. Falkner says—“In a general war, when many nations enter into an alliance against a common enemy,” the Patagonians “chose an Apo, or Commander-in-chief, from among the oldest or most celebrated of the Caciques.” The Indians of the Upper Orinoco live “in hordes of forty or fifty under a family government, and they recognize a common chief only in times of war.” So is it in Borneo. “During war

the chiefs of the Sarebas Dyaks give an uncertain allegiance to a head chief, or commander-in-chief." It has been the same in Europe. Seeley remarks that the Sabines "seem to have had a central government only in war time." Again, "Germany had anciently as many republics as it had tribes. Except in time of war, there was no chief common to all, or even to any given confederation."

This recalls the fact, indicated when treating of Political Integration, that the cohesion within compound groups is less than that within simple groups, and again that the cohesion within the doubly compound is less than that within the compound. What was there said of cohesion may here be said of subordination; for we find that when, by continuous war, a permanent headship of a compound group has been generated, it is less stable than the headships of the simple groups. Often it lasts only for the life of the man who achieves it; as among the Karens and the Maganga, and as among the Dyaks, of whom Boyle says—

"It is an exceptional case if a Dyak chief is raised to an acknowledged supremacy over the other chiefs. If he is so raised he can lay no claim to his power except that of personal merit and the consent of his former equals; and his death is instantly followed by the disruption of his dominions."<sup>1</sup>

Even when there has arisen a headship of the compound group which lasts beyond the life of its founder, it remains for a long time not equal in stability to the headships of the component groups. Pallas, while describing the Mongol and Kalmuck chiefs as having unlimited power over their dependants, says that the khans had in general only an uncertain and weak authority over the subordinate chiefs. Of the Kaffirs we read:—"They are all vassals of the king, chiefs, as well as those under them; but the subjects are generally so blindly attached to their chiefs, that they will follow them against the king." Europe has furnished kindred examples. Of the Homeric Greeks Mr. Gladstone writes:—"It is probable that the subordination of the sub-chief to his local sovereign was a closer tie than that of the local sovereign to the head of Greece." And during the early feudal period in Europe, allegiance to the local ruler was stronger than that to the general ruler.

In the compound group, as in the simple group, the progress towards stable headship is furthered by the transition from succession by choice to succession by inheritance. During early stages of the simple tribe, chieftainship when not acquired by individual superiority tacitly yielded to, is acquired by election. In North America it is so with the Aleuts, the Comanches, and many more; in Polynesia it is so with the Land Dyaks; and, before the Mahommedan conquest, it was so in Java. Among the hill-races of India it is so with the Nagas and others. In some regions the transition to hereditary succession is shown by different tribes of the same

race. Of the Karens we read that "in many districts the chieftainship is considered hereditary, but in more it is elective." Some Chinook villages have chiefs who inherit their powers, though mostly they are chosen.

Similarly, the compound group is at first ruled by an elected head. Sundry examples come to us from Africa. Bastian says that "in many parts of the Congo region the king is chosen by the petty princes." The crown of Yariba is not hereditary: "the chiefs invariably electing, from the wisest and most sagacious of their own body." And the king of Ibu, says Allen, seems to be "elected by a council of sixty elders, or chiefs of large villages." In Asia it is thus with the Kukis—

"One, among all the Rajahs of each class, is chosen to be the Prudham or chief Rajah of that clan. The dignity is not hereditary, as is the case with the minor Rajahships, but is enjoyed by each Rajah of the clan in rotation."

So has it been in Europe. Though by the early Greeks hereditary right was in a considerable measure recognized, yet the case of Telemachus implies "that a practice, either approaching to election, or in some way involving a voluntary action on the part of the subjects, or of a portion of them, had to be gone through." The like is true of ancient Rome. That the monarchy was elective "is proved by the existence in later times of an office of *interrex*, which implies that the kingly power did not devolve naturally upon a hereditary successor." Later on it was thus with Western peoples. Up to the beginning of the tenth century "the formality of election subsisted . . . . in every European kingdom; and the imperfect right of birth required a ratification by public assent." And it was once thus with ourselves. Among the early English the Bretwaldship, or supreme headship over the minor kingdoms, was at first elective; and the form of election continued long traceable in our history.

The stability of the compound headship, made greater by efficient leadership in war and by establishment of hereditary succession, is further increased when there co-operates the additional factor—supernatural origin or supernatural sanction. Everywhere, up from a New Zealand king who is strictly *tapu*, or sacred, we may trace this influence; and occasionally, where divine descent or magical powers are not claimed, there is a claim to origin that is more than human. Asia yields an example in the Fodli dynasty, which reigned 150 years in South Arabia—a six-fingered dynasty, regarded with awe by the people because of its continuously-inherited malformation. Europe of the Merovingian period yields an example. In pagan times the king's race had an alleged divine origin; but in Christian times, says Waitz, as they could no longer mount back to the gods, the mythe still clung to the supernatural: "a sea-monster ravished the wife of Chlogio as she sat by the sea-shore, and from

this embrace Merovech sprang." Later days show us the gradual acquisition of a sacred or semi-supernatural character, where it did not originally exist. Divine assent to their supremacy was alleged by the Carolingian kings. During the later feudal age, rare exceptions apart, kings "were not far removed from believing themselves near relatives of the masters of heaven. Kings and gods were colleagues." In the 17th century this belief was justified by divines. "Kings," says Bossuet, "are gods, and share in a manner the divine independence."

So that the headship of a compound group, first arising temporarily during war, becoming with frequent co-operation of the groups settled for life by election, passing presently into the hereditary form, and becoming more stable as fast as the law of succession becomes well-defined and undisputed, acquires its greatest stability only when the king becomes a deputy god, or when if his supposed god-like nature is not, as in primitive societies, derived from alleged divine descent, it is replaced by a divine commission guaranteed by ecclesiastical authority.

Where the political head has acquired this absoluteness which results from supposed divine nature, or divine descent, or divine commission, there is naturally no limit to his sway. In theory, and often to a large extent in practice, he is owner of his subjects and of the territory they occupy.

Where militancy is pronounced and the claims of a conqueror unqualified, it is indeed to a considerable degree thus with those uncivilized peoples who do not ascribe supernatural characters to their rulers. Among the Zulu Kaffirs the chief "exercises supreme power over the lives of his people;" "the Bheel chiefs have a power over the lives and property of their own subjects;" and in Fiji the subject is property. But it is still more thus where the ruler is considered more than human. Astley tells us that in Loango the king is "called *samba* and *pongo*, that is, god;" and, according to Proyart, the Loango people "say their lives and goods belong to the king." In Wasoro (East Africa) "the king has unlimited power of life and death . . . in some tribes . . . he is almost worshipped." In Msambara the people say "we are all slaves of the Zumbe (king), who is our Mulungu" [god]. "By the state law of Dahomey, as at Benin, all men are slaves to the king, and most women are his wives;" and in Dahomey the king is called "the spirit." The Malagasy speak of the king as "our god;" and he is lord of the soil, owner of all property, and master of his subjects. Their time and services are at his command." In the Sandwich Islands the king, personating the god, utters oracular responses; and his power "extends over the property, liberty, and

lives of his people." Various Asiatic rulers, whose titles ascribe to them divine descent and nature, stand in like relations to their peoples. In Siam "the king is master not only of the persons but really of the property of his subjects; he disposes of their labour and directs their movements at will." Of the Burmese we read "their goods likewise, and even their persons are reputed his [the king's] property, and on this ground it is that he selects for his concubine any female that may chance to please his eye." In China "there is only one who possesses authority—the Emperor. . . . A wang, or king, has no hereditary possessions, and lives upon the salary vouchsafed by the Emperor. . . . He is the only possessor of the landed property."

Of course, where unlimited power is possessed by the political head—where, as victorious invader, his subjects lie at his mercy, or where, as divinely descended, his will may not be questioned without impiety, or where he unites the characters of conqueror and god, he naturally absorbs every kind of authority: he is at once military head, legislative head, judicial head, ecclesiastical head. The fully developed king is the supreme centre of every social structure and the director of every social function.

In a small tribe it is practicable for the chief personally to discharge all the duties of his office. Besides leading the other warriors in battle, he has time enough to settle disputes, he can sacrifice to the ancestral ghost, he can keep the village in order, he can inflict punishment, he can regulate trading transactions; for those governed by him are but few and they lie within a narrow space. When he becomes the head of many united tribes, both the increased amount of business and the wider area covered by his subjects, put difficulties in the way of exclusively personal administration. It becomes necessary for him to employ others for the purposes of gaining information, conveying commands, seeing them executed; and in course of time the assistants thus employed become established heads of departments with deputed authorities.

While this development of governmental structures in one way increases the ruler's power, by enabling him to deal with more numerous affairs, it in another way decreases his power; for his actions are more and more modified by the instrumentalities through which they are effected. Those who watch the working of administrations, no matter of what kind, have forced upon them the truth that a head regulative agency is at once helped and hampered by its subordinate agencies. In a philanthropic association, a scientific society, or a club, those who govern find that the organized officialism which they have created, often impedes, and not unfrequently defeats, their aims. Still more is it so with the immensely larger administrations of the

State. Through deputies the ruler receives his information; by them his orders are executed; and as fast as his connexion with affairs becomes indirect, his control over affairs diminishes; until, in extreme cases, he either lapses into a puppet in the hands of his chief deputy or has his place usurped by him.

Strange as it seems, the two causes which conspire to give permanence to political headship, also, at a later stage, conspire to reduce the political head to an automaton, executing the wills of the agents he has created. In the first place, hereditary succession, when finally settled in some line of descent rigorously prescribed, involves that the possession of supreme power becomes independent of capacity for exercising it. The heir to a vacant throne may be, and often is, too young for discharging its duties; or he may be, and often is, too feeble in intellect, too deficient in energy, or too much occupied with the pleasures which his position offers in unlimited amounts; with the result that in the one case the regent, and in the other the chief minister, becomes the actual ruler. In the second place, that sacred character which he acquires from supposed divine ancestry, makes him inaccessible to the ruled. All intercourse with him must be through the agents with whom he surrounds himself. Hence it becomes difficult or impossible for him to learn more than they choose him to know; and there follows inability to adapt his commands to the requirements, and inability to discover whether his commands have been fulfilled. His authority is consequently used to give effect to the purposes of his agents.

Even in so relatively simple a society as that of Tonga, we find an example. There is an hereditary sacred chief who "was originally the sole chief, possessing temporal as well as spiritual power, and regarded as of divine origin," but who is now politically powerless. Abyssinia shows us something analogous. Holding no direct communication with his subjects, and having a sacredness such that even in council he sits unseen, the monarch is a mere dummy. In Gondar, one of the divisions of Abyssinia, the king must belong to the royal house of Solomon, but any one of the turbulent chiefs who has obtained ascendancy by force of arms, becomes a Ras—a prime minister or real monarch; but he requires "a titular emperor to perform the indispensable ceremony of nominating a Ras," since the name, at least, of emperor "is deemed essential to render valid the title of Ras." The case of Thibet may be named as one in which the sacredness of the original political head is dissociated from the claim based on hereditary descent; for the Grand Llama, considered as "God the Father," incarnate afresh in each new occupant of the throne, does not receive his divine nature by natural descent, but, receiving it supernaturally, is discovered among the people at large by certain indications of his godhood; and with his divinity, involv-

ing disconnexion with temporal matters, there goes absence of political power. A like state of things exists in Bhotan.

"The Dhurma Raja is looked upon by the Bhotanese in the same light as the Grand Lama of Thibet is viewed by his subjects—namely as a perpetual incarnation of the Deity, or Buddha himself in a corporeal form. During the interval between his death and reappearance, or, more properly speaking, until he has reached an age sufficiently mature to ascend his spiritual throne, the office of Dhurma Raja is filled by proxy from amongst the priesthood."

And then along with this sacred ruler there co-exists a secular one. Bhotan "has two nominal heads, known to us and to the neighbouring hill-tribes under the Hindoostanee names of the Dhurma and the Deb Rajas. . . . The former is the spiritual head, the latter the temporal one." Though in this case it is said that the temporal head has not great influence (probably because the priest-regent, whose celibacy prevents him from founding a line, stands in the way of unchecked assumption of power by the temporal head), still the existence of a temporal head implies a partial lapsing of political functions out of the hands of the original political head. But the most remarkable and at the same time most familiar example, is that furnished by Japan. Here the supplanting of inherited authority by deputed authority is exemplified, not in the central government alone, but in the local governments.

"Next to the prince and his family came the *karos* or 'elders.' Their office became hereditary, and, like the princes, they in many instances became effoto. The business of what we may call the clan would thus fall into the hands of any clever man or set of men of the lower ranks, who, joining ability to daring and unscrupulousness, kept the princes and the *karos* out of sight; but surrounded with empty dignity, and, commanding the opinion of the bulk of the *samarai* or military class, wielded the real power themselves. They took care, however, to perform every act in the name of the *fainéants*, their lords, and thus we hear of . . . daimios, just as in the case of the Emperors, accomplishing deeds and carrying out policies of which they were perhaps wholly ignorant."

This lapsing of political power into the hands of ministers was, in the case of the central government, doubly illustrated. Successors as they were of a god-descended conqueror whose rule was real, the Japanese Emperors gradually became only nominal rulers; partly because of the sacredness which separated them from the nation, and partly because of the early age at which the law of succession frequently enthroned them. Their deputies consequently gained predominance. The regency in the ninth century "became hereditary in the Fujiwara [sprung from the imperial house], and these regents ultimately became all-powerful. They obtained the privilege of opening all petitions addressed to the sovereign, and of presenting or rejecting them at their pleasure." And then, in course of time, this usurping agency had its own authority usurped in like manner. Again succession by fixed rule was rigorously adhered to; and again seclusion entailed loss of hold on affairs. "High descent was the

only qualification for office, and unfitness for functions was not regarded in the choice of officials." Besides the Shōgun's four confidential officers, "no one else could approach him. Whatever might be the crimes committed at Kama Koura, it was impossible, through the intrigues of these favourites, to complain of them to the Seogoun." The result was that "subsequently this family . . . gave way to military commanders, who," however, often became instruments in the hands of other chiefs.

Though less definitely, this process was exemplified during early times in Europe. The Merovingian kings, to whom there clung a tradition of supernatural origin, and whose order of succession was so far settled that minors reigned, fell under the control of those who had become chief ministers. Long before Childeric, the Merovingian family had ceased really to govern.

"The treasures and the power of the kingdom had passed into the hands of the prefects of the palace, who were called 'mayors of the palace,' and to whom the supreme power really belonged. The prince was obliged to content himself with bearing the name of king, having flowing locks and a long beard, sitting on the chair of State, and representing the image of the monarch."

From the Evolution-standpoint we are thus enabled to discern the relative beneficence of institutions which, considered absolutely, are not beneficent; and are taught to approve as temporary that which, as permanent, we abhor. The evidence obliges us to admit that subjection to despotic rulers has been largely instrumental in advancing civilization. Induction and deduction alike prove this.

If, on the one hand, we group together those wandering headless hordes, belonging to different varieties of man, which are found here and there over the Earth, they show us that, in the absence of political organization, little progress has taken place; and if we contemplate those settled simple groups which have but nominal heads, we see that though there is some development of the industrial arts and some co-operation, the degree of advance is but small. If, on the other hand, we glance at those ancient societies in which considerable heights of civilization were first reached, we see them under autocratic rule. In America, purely personal government, restricted only by settled customs, characterized the Mexican, Central American, and Chibcha states; and in Peru, the absolutism of the divine king was unqualified. In Africa, ancient Egypt exhibited in the most conspicuous manner this connexion between despotic control and social evolution. Throughout the distant past it was repeatedly displayed in Asia, from the Accadian civilization downwards; and the still extant civilizations of Siam, Burmah, China, and Japan, re-illustrate it. Early European societies, too, were not characterized by centralized despotism, were still characterized by diffused patriarchal despotism. Only among modern peoples, whose



ancestors passed through the discipline given under this social form, and who have inherited its effects, is there arising an habitual dissociation of civilization from subjection to individual will.

The necessity there has been for absolutism is best seen on observing that, in the struggles for existence among societies, those have conquered which, other things equal, were the more subordinate to their chiefs and kings. And since in early stages, military subordination and social subordination go together, it results that, for a long time, the conquering societies continue to be the despotically-governed societies. Such exceptions as histories appear to show us, really prove the rule. In the conflict between Persia and Greece, the Greeks, but for a mere accident, would have been ruined by that division of councils which results from absence of subjection to a single head. And the habit of appointing a dictator when in great danger from enemies, implies that the Romans had discovered that efficiency in war requires absoluteness of control.

So that, leaving open the question whether, in the absence of war, primitive groups could ever have developed into civilized nations, we conclude that, under such conditions as there have been, those struggles for existence among societies which have gone on consolidating smaller into larger until great nations have been produced, necessitated the development of a social type characterized by personal rule of a stringent kind.

To make clear the genesis of this leading political institution, let us set down in brief the several influences which have conspired to effect it, and the several stages passed through.

In the rudest groups, resistance to the assumption of supremacy by any individual, habitually prevents the establishment of settled headship; though some influence is commonly acquired by superiority of strength, or courage, or sagacity, or possessions, or the experience which accompanies age.

In such groups, and in tribes somewhat more advanced, two kinds of superiority conduce more than all others to predominance—that of the warrior and that of the medicine-man. Often separate, but sometimes united in the same person, and then greatly strengthening his hands, both these superiorities tending to initiate political headship, continue thereafter to be important factors in the development of it.

At first, however, the supremacy acquired by great natural power, or supposed supernatural power, or both, is transitory—ceases with the life of one who has acquired it. So long as the principle of efficiency alone operates, political headship does not become settled. It becomes settled only when there co-operates the principle of inheritance.

The custom of reckoning descent through females, which characterizes many rude societies and survives in others that have made

considerable advances, is less favourable to establishment of permanent political headship than is the custom of reckoning descent through males; and in sundry semi-civilized societies distinguished by permanent political headships, inheritance through males has been established in the ruling house while inheritance through females survives in the society at large.

Beyond the fact that reckoning descent through males conduces to a more coherent family, to a greater culture of subordination, and to a more probable union of inherited position with inherited capacity, there is the more important fact that it fosters ancestor-worship, and the consequent re-inforcing of natural authority by supernatural authority. Development of the ghost-theory, leading as it does to special fear of the ghosts of powerful men, until, where many tribes have been welded together by a conqueror, his ghost acquires in tradition the pre-eminence of a god, produces two effects. In the first place his descendant, ruling after him, is supposed to partake of his divine nature; and in the second place, by propitiatory sacrifices to him, is supposed to obtain his aid. Rebellion hence comes to be regarded as alike wicked and hopeless.

The processes by which political headships are established repeat themselves at successively higher stages. In simple groups chieftainship is at first temporary—ceases with the war which initiated it. When simple groups that have acquired permanent political heads, unite for military purposes, the general chieftainship is but temporary. As in simple groups chieftainship is at the outset habitually elective, and becomes hereditary at a later stage; so, chieftainship of the compound group is at the outset habitually elective, and only later passes into the hereditary. Similarly in some cases where a doubly compound society is formed. Further, this later-established power of a supreme ruler, at first given by election and presently growing hereditary, is commonly less than that of the local rulers in their own localities; and where it becomes greater, it is usually by the help of ascribed divine descent or ascribed divine commission.

Where, in virtue of supposed supernatural origin or authority, the king has become absolute, and owning both subjects and territory exercises all powers, he is obliged by the multiplicity of his affairs to depute his powers. There follows a reactive restraint due to the political machinery he creates; and this machinery ever tends to become too strong for him. Especially where rigorous adhesion to the rule of inheritance brings incapables to the throne, or where ascribed divine nature causes inaccessibility save through agents, or where both causes conspire, power passes into the hands of deputies. The legitimate ruler becomes an automaton and his chief agent the real ruler, who, in some cases passing through parallel stages, himself becomes an automaton and his subordinates the rulers.

HERBERT SPENCER.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

It is hardly worth while at present to attempt to swell the enormous volume of comment which has naturally followed the disappearance of Lord Beaconsfield from the scene of human affairs. Every reader of a newspaper must by this time be heartily tired of the resounding Babel of judgments that have been passed at home and abroad upon that adventurous and dazzling career. Lord Beaconsfield's personal character and history deserve, as they are certain one day to find, a disinterested analysis which is not possible at a moment when the fire of political passion is still at red heat about events in which he was an actor. Whatever else this analysis of some future student of men may bring out, it will certainly not reduce Lord Beaconsfield to the size and quality of commonplace. What is surprising is that a personage who offers a subject of such extraordinary interest to the student of character, should have climbed to the highest summits of practical political power. The more irregular, fantastic, humoristic we find his genius to have been, the more amazing must we think it that he was actually accepted for several years as the responsible controller of serious affairs. The enigma is not hard to answer. Lord Beaconsfield's gifts as a parliamentary tactician had raised him to a chief place in his party at a moment when the country thought that its influence and position in the world had been unduly lowered. It was a moment of reaction against perseverance in sober and prudent counsels. External events furnished the occasion. Lord Beaconsfield, who was endowed with a singularly penetrating eye for opportunity, divined that the time had come for striking out into energetic adventure. The audacity of his political imagination and his courageous will were exactly fitted to gratify the national mood of the hour. Jingoism was the coarse and popular outside of his own aspiring and fantastic dreams. On the whole, when we look back upon the immense power which was lodged in his hands at Berlin, we may perhaps feel more inclined to be grateful that he abused it so little, than resentful that he ever possessed it. It is too soon to judge definitely the results of the Treaty of Berlin, but it is undeniable, as was said in these pages at the time, that the method and the point of view which Lord Beaconsfield set before him were marked by the characteristics of practical statesmanship, and his aims were pursued with a firmness that commanded admiration even from unfriendly observers. The furious disappointment which the Berlin settlement provoked in the rabid section of politicians was the best testimony to its general merits. If Lord Beaconsfield could only

have stopped here he might have remained in power until now. But the satraps on the frontiers brought his fate. The invasion of Afghanistan and the invasion of Zululand shook all confidence alike in the principles of his policy and in his personal power. His attitude towards Ireland completed the process of repulsion. And yet Mr. Disraeli deserves no small honour for the profoundest saying that has ever been uttered about Ireland—the famous saying that it is the business of the English statesman to confer upon Ireland by policy what, if she were strong enough, she would gain for herself by revolution.

It is clear from the events of the last few days that Lord Beaconsfield had made an impression on the public mind which even a few years ago would have seemed incredible, and which as it is appears very striking to those who have long followed his strange career. A generation has had time to grow up which never knew anything at first-hand of the odd position of Mr. Disraeli among his contemporaries, and which is now content to set down all that it has heard of an unfavourable kind to political envy or literary malice. We will not stop to inquire how much the newspapers have had to do with the creation of a sort of artificial *furor*. It is evidently now in the power of the newspaper press to give whatever dimensions its conductors may think fit to any transaction of the day. If they choose to give an extraordinary prominence to any event whatever from the death of a statesman to the perpetration of outrage in Ireland, it may be made to assume entirely unreal and misleading proportions in men's minds and talk. It has happened more than once within the last few years that when English society seemed to foreign observers to be making a fool of itself in this or that direction, the excitement was in truth entirely confined to the columns of the newspapers. The difference between a great affair and a small one thus becomes in a considerable degree a matter of accident. This remark is not meant to disparage the impression which has been made by Lord Beaconsfield's death, but we may admit that a portion of what passed for a national shock was in truth only the natural excitement produced by having something to tell and to hear. Then, again, there is nothing in a country like ours that gives such immense vogue and interest to a man's name, as that it should be the rallying-cry of a political party. But when all considerations of this kind have been taken fully into account, it still remains clear that Lord Beaconsfield had at last made a curious impression on the country. That it was not deep or serious is shown by the overwhelming force with which he was condemned at the elections only a year ago. There is no sign that the current of political resentment which swept Lord Beaconsfield from power has lost any of its intensity. We must assume that the demonstrative spirit evoked by the death

of the Conservative leader has been comparatively superficial, and is associated less with his acts as a statesman than with the traits of an extraordinary personality.

The great political event of the month has been the introduction of an organic measure, the second in less than a dozen years, for resettling the social economy of Ireland. Its provisions were explained by Mr. Gladstone (April 7) in a speech which will not be reckoned among his more powerful efforts, but which for its own purposes was adequate and sufficient. A measure of such scope and complication cannot be intelligibly set forth in a single speech, even by Mr. Gladstone; it demands close, patient, and laborious attention for the mastery of its details, and even after a good many hours of attention of this sort, a politician might still be likely to find himself unable to stand the test of an examination at the hands of the Civil Service Commissioners, as to the effect of all the clauses and sub-clauses. The general features of the Land Bill, it is true, are plain enough, and have already been made reasonably clear to common apprehension. The great difficulty with which even more than moderately sensible and careful English students of the Bill can bring themselves to any judgment in which they can feel firm confidence, only shows how hard it must always be for an English parliament, where Irish opinion is so far from being decisive as to be barely taken into account at all, to make really good working laws for Ireland. There can be no better argument for extending to Ireland more of the same kind of self-government that has long been given to Scotland, than the obscure twilight in which the actual intent and effect of Mr. Gladstone's Bill looms before the minds of five ordinary members of parliament out of six.

That division of it which deals with the purchase of their holdings by occupiers is easily understood, and it may be said that so far this division has been received with approval on every side. There are those who view with a certain misgiving the prospect of the State becoming to any considerable extent the creditor of the Irish cultivator; they predict the transfer to the State of that odium which now attaches to the landlord, and even to that still more unpopular sub-species, the absentee landlord. On the other hand, there are those who insist that the occupier who desires to purchase his holding should receive from the State, not only three-quarters, but the entirety of the sum required. But, on the whole, this is the part of the Bill which falls in most easily with our common ideas of ownership, which least violates economic and juristic principles as they are popularly understood, and which has been approved both by landlords and the Land League as going closest to the root of the matter. There is another, and comparatively subordinate division of the Bill, against which the

opinion of the popular party in Ireland—not merely the Leaguers, but the popular party as a whole—is exceedingly strong, and almost violent. This is the division dealing with emigration. The opposition to emigration, apart from the merits of the question itself, or the particular provision offered by the Bill, is perfectly natural and intelligible to any one who considers the historic associations of that particular solution of Irish difficulties. Emigration stands in the mind of the Irish peasant for all that is heartless and cruel. The recklessness with which the process was carried out a generation ago, and the obstinacy with which the preachers of the gospel of political economy according to landlords have always adhered to it, and enforced it as the one true remedy for the Irish complaint, are quite enough to account for the strong dislike with which the Irish cultivator sees the old method forming even a minor feature in the new scheme.

The real stress of the discussion, however, turns for obvious reasons upon that great division of the Bill which assumes that the relation of landlord and tenant will continue, and establishes it upon a new footing. Amid the cloud of difficult and intricate criticisms which are properly offered by experts of various kinds, the English politician can only find a safe footing by keeping a hold of the one paramount aim of the measure. The objects which the authors of this kind of legislation seek is to give the Irish peasant such a sense of security, such reasonable certainty of reaping what he has sown, that he shall have every motive to practise industry, skill, forethought, and self-denial, and every ground for knowing that if his lot is hard, it is nobody's fault but his own. If he can only do this, it is contended, then you will be really setting the Irish people on the path of material prosperity and political quietude. Hitherto, as Mill said, alone of all working people, the Irish cottier neither gained anything by industry and frugality, nor lost anything by idleness and reckless multiplication. That he was not industrious and frugal without motive, is a very bad reason for apprehending that if you apply to him the same strong motives he will be less industrious and frugal than others in whom they have produced this desirable result. The same reasoning bears upon the political disposition of the Irish tenant. Give him the means of promoting his own material prosperity, and he will then have an occupation for his faculties which will rapidly throw his political sentiments into the background. He will never view the English connection with anything like cordiality, but he will come to acquiesce in it in a certain fashion, first because it will no longer represent an economic system which with good reason he detests, and second because he will have something better to do with his time and his capacity of interest in attending to his own business, than in listening to the seductions of

the merely political agitators. If the peasants were reasonably well off, there would be no Fenians on this side of the Atlantic.

That, at any rate, is the hope and the contention of the authors of the Land Bill. The object of the proposed law is to give to every tenant of an agricultural holding in Ireland the possibility of continuing for ever as the occupier of his holding, at such a rent as an impartial outside authority shall consider to be fair. This is the backbone of the Bill, and it is upon this that attention ought to be kept steadily fixed. It is easy to insist upon the shortcomings of the measure, and there is no reason why they should not be insisted upon, provided that the objector is prepared with practical ideas, of one kind or another, for repairing them. The Land League, for example, profess a good deal of indignation because nothing is done for the landless labourers. Some complain that there are no provisions for the compulsory sale of lands of corporate bodies. Others would like to see absentees placed under specially disadvantageous conditions. Then there is infinite room for difference of opinion on a multitude of sub-clauses. The tenant, it is said, is too much hampered in his power to sell his interest in his holding. Why should the holders of leases which were tyrannically forced upon them be shut out from the rights and privileges that are conferred upon other people? Why should a landlord be able to compel the tenant to sell his interest in the holding to himself, for purposes decided to be for the good of the holding or the estate? Why should non-payment of rent at the appointed time involve compulsory surrender of the holding? These are among the objections raised on one side. On the other side they are louder, but less specific. You are giving to the tenant, it is urged, a property which was not his, and which he has never earned. You are gratuitously transforming a tenant from year to year into a copyholder, and by the same process you are reducing the landlord, even if he have acquired his lands by a parliamentary title on payment of hard cash with a view to lawful and meritorious investment,—you are reducing him to the position of a mere rent-charger, without duties or prospective increment, or any other of the objects of his just and reasonable expectations. More than this, it is urged that one of the provisions (clause 7, § 3) leads directly to an undeniable confiscation of a portion of the landlord's rent, and therefore of the capital value of his property. You hint that the principles of political economy are only fit for Jupiter and Saturn, and you think that you have banished them, but in a very few days after the passing of the Act you will find them in just as lively operation in Ireland as they ever were; for the same law of supply and demand which enables the landlord to exact a competitive rent, will equally impose a competitive price on the good-will which the occupier of the holding will be able hence-

forth to sell, with no restriction worth speaking of, to the highest bidder.

On the whole, the result of all these objections is a doubt whether the Government would not have been wiser to adopt a scheme of greater simplicity. There is a danger lest the anxiety, conscientious and laudable as it is, to balance interests and to give something on every side, may lead to a result as unsatisfactory in the long-run, if not to parliament in the meantime, as would have followed from the University Education Bill of 1873, which was also emphatically a measure of balance and check and counter-check. If it be asked what practicable scheme could have possessed more of this desirable element of simplicity, we need not go further than Mr. Mill's plan, which was thought so visionary in 1869, but which will seem very considerably less so in the light of the exigencies and the proposals of to-day.

"What the case requires is simply this. We have had commissions under the authority of Parliament, to commute for an annual payment the burthen of tithe, and the variable obligations of copyholders. What is wanted in Ireland is a commission of a similar kind to examine every farm which is let to a tenant, and commute the present variable for a fixed rent. It must be ascertained in each case, as promptly as is consistent with due investigation, what annual payment would be an equivalent to the landlord for the rent he now receives (provided that rent be not excessive) and for the present value of whatever prospect there may be of an increase, from any other source than the peasant's own exertions. This annual sum should be secured to the landlord under the guarantee of law. He should have the option of receiving it directly from the national treasury, by being inscribed as the owner of Consols sufficient to yield the amount.<sup>1</sup> Those landlords who are the least useful in Ireland, and on the worst terms with their tenantry, would probably accept this opportunity of severing altogether their connection with the Irish soil. Whether this was the case or not, every farm not farmed by the proprietor would become the permanent holding of the existing tenant, who would pay either to the landlord or to the State the fixed rent which had been decided upon; or less, if the income which it was thought just that the landlord should receive were more than the tenant could reasonably be required to pay. The benefit, to the cultivator, of a permanent property in the soil, does not depend on paying nothing for it, but on the certainty that the payment cannot be increased; and it is not even desirable that, in the first instance, the payment should be less than a fair rent. If the land were let below its value, to this new kind of copyholder, he might be tempted to sublet it at a higher rent, and live on the difference, becoming a parasite supported in idleness on land which would still be farmed at a rack-rent. He should therefore pay the full rent which was adjudged to the former proprietor, unless special circumstances made it unjust to require so much. When such circumstances existed, the State must lose the difference;

(1) Mill by this did not mean that the State was to buy the land, but that the landlords should be allowed, as a convenience and consideration, to receive their rents from the public treasury.



or if the Church property, after its resumption by the State, yielded a surplus beyond what is required for the secular education of the people, the remainder could not be better applied to the benefit of Ireland than in this manner."

" . . . Only one precaution is necessary. For years, perhaps for generations, he should not be allowed to let the land by competition or for a variable rent. His leasee must acquire it, as he himself did, on a permanent tenure, at an unchangeable rent, fixed by public authority; but the substituted, like the original holder, may have the full interest of a proprietor in making the most of the soil."<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that there is not one of the great and fundamental economic and political objections to Mill's scheme which does not apply with at least equal force to one or other of the main sets of provisions contained in Mr. Gladstone's Bill. Mill's scheme, on the other hand, is free from all those objections on the ground of complexity, injustice to the landlords, encouragement of unbounded litigation, and so forth, which are now urged against the measure of the Government. It is not at all probable that Mr. Gladstone will go much further in the direction of a plan of this bold and comprehensive kind than he has gone already. What is more likely to happen is that the complexity of its provisions will offer too many chances of impairing the security at which the Bill aims. One thing at any rate is strongly to be desired, with a view to making the present settlement last as long as possible, namely that the Bill should be allowed to pass without any material curtailment. It is the interest of both parties, alike in Ireland and in England, that something should be done that will really content and pacify the Irish cultivators, and there is no reason why it should not be done without inflicting any injustice on the Irish landlords. A further change in the relations between landlord and tenant may be inevitable. It is difficult to think otherwise, because though the tenant may find the wording of Mr. Gladstone's scheme satisfactory, the landlords will be more and more unwilling to accept the dubious position in which it may place them. But however this may turn out, there is every ground for so doing what we are doing now that a long interval may elapse before we are called upon to attack the same task again.

The situation in the Transvaal continues to present occasion for serious misgiving. By the treaty of Prospect Hill, the Boer triumvirate agreed to leave the settlement of all outstanding questions to a British Commission, subject to the general understanding that the independence and self-government of the Boers were not to be interfered with, and that a certain portion of territory inhabited

(1) For Mr. Mill's defence of this scheme against Mr. Lowe and others, see his little volume (not to be confounded with the pamphlet *England and Ireland*), entitled *The Irish Land Question*, p. 116, 120, etc.

almost exclusively by native tribes to the North-East should, if necessary, no longer form part of the Transvaal Republic. The question of the necessity of this cession of territory as well as the extent of territory to be ceded was left to the Commission. Messrs. Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius no doubt hoped that the Commission would see the necessity of leaving their territory intact, but it was understood in this country that the decision in favour of such a cession was practically a foregone conclusion. The great majority of the Boers, however, unquestionably believed that their territory was to be restored to them as before. Many of those who are best informed concerning South African affairs are of opinion that if the Commissioners should determine to sever the North-Eastern districts from the Republic an attempt will be made by force of arms to set the decision aside. The Boers, who although patriotic and brave, are ignorant and obstinate men, may give us more serious trouble than we have yet experienced, before the affairs of the Transvaal are finally settled. There is, as was inevitable, considerable friction between the Boers and the English settlers in the Republic, and the latter make the most of the opportunity, afforded by the presence of sympathizing newspaper correspondents, to make known their irritation and indignation to the public at home. The Native question, on which English opinion is honourably sensitive, is made use of by designing speculators to excite humanitarian indignation against the rough and overbearing Boer, in the hope of reopening a quarrel from which they have everything to gain and little to lose. The only hope of the pacification of the country is to be found in the wisdom, prudence, and sagacity of the British Commissioners. They are men of experience. They are on the spot. They are at least as able to see the cloven foot of the land-grabber behind the philanthropic garb of light in which the scheming speculators have arranged themselves, as any one in this country. One of them at least is strongly in sympathy with the Boers, and they are all fully aware of the anxious desire of the British Government to make as full and satisfactory amends for the past as are compatible with safety in the future. If they cannot devise a *modus vivendi* between the rival races in the Transvaal the problem may be abandoned as insoluble, and the Gordian knot will have again to be severed by the sword.

The revolutionists who murdered the Czar on the thirteenth of last month, after a long and patient trial in open court, were condemned to death. Five were hanged on Good Friday morning; the other, a Jewess, was respited until after her approaching confinement. The regicides met their fate with composure, sus-

tained to the last by the consciousness that, as one of them said, they had sacrificed all, even life itself, to make the world less miserable than they had found it. One of those executed, Sophie Perofsky, young, well-born, of superior education, and of fearless resolution, excited sympathy even among those who most condemned her crime. Among those who shared her views her execution encircled her brow with the aureole of martyrdom, and Sophie Perofsky became a saint in the revolutionary calendar, and the thought of her fate has deepened and intensified the passionate hatred with which the revolutionary party regard the existing regime.

The Russian Government, anxious to defend itself more effectively against the danger which threatened it from within, entertained the notion that its internal security could be most effectively attained by external repression. The plans of the revolutionists were believed to be matured in foreign capitals. The bombs that destroyed the Czar were said—falsely as it turned out—to be manufactured in London. The assassination was said to have been arranged in Geneva. These miscreants, it was urged, enjoyed the protection and the patronage of the Western world. Why should they be allowed to use the soil of foreign countries as an asylum where they could plot with impunity the destruction of social order and the assassination of their own ruler? If the Governments would but combine against the men who are the deadly foes of all Governments, then the Czar would be able to drive through his capital in safety, and repose in palaces which should not be honeycombed with explosive mines. It was a delusive dream, but it is not surprising that it had a fascination for the Governments of Berlin and St. Petersburg. An opportunity seemed to have arisen of bringing to account the universal outburst of horror evoked by the assassination of the Czar, for the purpose of establishing an international agreement for protection against the forces of anarchy, nihilism, and socialism in all lands. A wild scheme of abolishing the right of asylum for all Russian subjects, which would have made the whole of Europe unsafe for the disaffected Muscovite, was mooted in some of the papers, but it soon gave ground to a more serious proposal which may before long afford matter for more exciting debates than any which have been before Parliament and the country since the war fever of 1878. Russia and Germany, with and without Austria, are believed to have agreed to press on all the other Powers an invitation to an International Congress at Brussels or Berlin for the purpose of concocting the practical measures against the enemies of society. The nature of these measures is not clearly defined, but if, as is generally believed, they involve a limitation of the right of asylum, there is no doubt that the English Government will reply to the invitation to the Conference by a courteous but resolute

refusal. The course is not without inconveniences that may even be dangerous, but on that subject England has surely made up her mind.

During the month the Greek question has advanced a stage nearer a final solution. On the 7th of April, the ambassadors of the Powers, after a long and tedious process of negotiation at Constantinople to ascertain the maximum that the Turks would yield to avert an immediate collision with Greece, drew up a collective note to the Greek Government specifying the utmost that they had been able to secure for Greece by their representations at the Porte. The Note glides as dexterously as possible over the abandonment of the frontier line traced at Berlin. Its phraseology is curious and suggestive. "The conclusions of the Berlin Conference, not having been able to receive, '*par la force des choses*,' the pacific execution that the Cabinets had in view, they directed their representatives at Constantinople to select the frontier line which appeared to answer best to the necessities of the situation." They had, therefore, unanimously decided to recommend to their Governments a new frontier line which, while conceding to Greece almost the whole of Thessaly, left under Turkish rule nearly all Epirus, including the coveted positions of Janina and Metzovo. Of the twenty thousand square kilometres allotted to Greece at the Berlin Conference, the circular note offered her only fourteen thousand, the other six thousand being left in the hands of the Turks apparently as a reward for the disregard with which they treated the recommendations of the Powers. The new frontier thus unanimously agreed upon by the ambassadors as best meeting the necessities of the situation, corresponds almost exactly with the frontier offered by the Turks, the only difference being the cession of Punta, the disarmament of the fortifications of Prevesa, and the free navigation of the Gulf of Arta, which were added by the ambassadors to the offer of the Porte. In the ceded territory, the Greeks were required to give special guarantees in favour of the Mussulmans, both as to liberty of worship and the rights of property. The Powers informed the Greeks that the new frontier was formally substituted for that defined at Berlin as embodying the supreme decision of Europe, and the Cabinet of Athens was exhorted to accept the solution on penalty of alienating the sympathies of Europe and exposing Greece to complete isolation. If Greece yielded to the unanimous wish of Europe, the mediating Powers engaged to watch over its execution in order to facilitate the peaceful acquisition by the Hellenic Government of the ceded territory.

The indignation at Athens on receipt of the official notification that the Powers had receded from the position they had taken up at Berlin was naturally intense. The Greeks declared loudly they had been betrayed, and for some days nothing was heard but bellicose

protestations that the terms of the Powers were "impossible." To Greece had been awarded Thessaly and Epirus by the solemn decree of unanimous Europe, and Thessaly and Epirus she would have. To the Epirotes had been promised their liberation at the hands of Greece. The Powers might shrink back before the obstinacy of the Turks, but free Greece could not abandon her enslaved brethren to suit the convenience of Europe. She had placed her whole male population under arms, mortgaged all her resources, and emptied her exchequer in order to execute the will of Europe as pronounced at Berlin. She neither would nor could recognise the right of Europe to modify its decision at Constantinople. So vehement were the protestations of the Greeks that all the representatives of the Powers at Athens are said to have informed their respective Governments that nothing but coercion could induce the Greeks to accept the new frontier. The foreign ministers at Athens did not define what they meant by coercion, but it was generally understood that it involved the dispatch of iron-clads to the Piræus to convince the Greeks that their Government had no option but to obey a decree which Europe had determined to enforce. Some of the Powers—England among the rest—shrank from "putting a strait-jacket upon Greece," even to save her from suicide, and it was resolved that while pressure should be applied without stint to the Government, it should not be made visible and palpable to the people; in other words, that the pressure should be diplomatic and not naval. Diplomatic pressure can be appreciated by sovereigns and statesmen, and it is not surprising that after five days' delay M. Coumoundouros replied to the Collective Note of the Powers by a circular which in an evasive, ambiguous, conditional fashion, intimated that the Greek Government was prepared to abide by the decision of the Powers. He accompanied this intimation by an inquiry whether the peaceful condition of the ceded territories would be executed within a brief specified period. He asked, further, what was the nature of the guarantees that the Powers were prepared to offer, and concluded by declaring that Greece would never abandon the Hellenes of Epirus.

The abandonment by the Government of the attitude of uncompromising hostility to every modification of the Berlin frontier created a storm among the people which seemed not unlikely to have serious results. The refusal of the Powers to accompany their diplomatic pressure by a naval demonstration placed the Greek Government in the dangerous and unpopular position of having yielded to remonstrances which the Turks had defied with impunity, and of having sacrificed the freedom of Epirus to the convenience of Europe. There was no manifest *force majeure* to excuse the submission, and its absence brought Greece to the verge of a revolution. On Sunday, the 17th, a great popular demonstration was held in favour of war,

and so serious was the attitude of the people that the King thought it prudent to betake himself to the Piræus. His ministers deliberated behind strong detachments of gendarmerie, the troops were held ready for instant action, and orders were given that the streets should be cleared, if need be, by artillery. Thanks to these precautions, and to the somewhat disingenuous assurances of M. Coumoundouros that he had not accepted the proposals of the Powers, the crisis passed off without developing into a revolution, but the situation is still exceedingly strained, and he would be a bold man who would venture to predict that Greece will escape without either revolution or war.

When affairs at Athens were in this state of tension, the Albanian insurrection suddenly assumed a much more dangerous phase, owing to the attempt of Dervish Pasha to restore the authority of the Sultan in the districts around Uskub, Prisrend, and Pristina, where, for many months, the Albanian League has been the real master of the country. He entered Upper Albania with ten thousand men, and near Uskub encountered, in what appears to have been a somewhat sanguinary encounter, Ali Pasha of Gussingo at the head of fifteen thousand Albanians. Dervish, who is one of the ablest and wariest of Turkish commanders, defeated the Albanians, but his victory cost him so dear that the whole of the Turkish garrison of Salonica had to be hurried up by railway to Uskub to reinforce his shattered ranks. More important, however, than the immediate result of the battle was the excitement occasioned by a collision between the Sultan's army and the forces of the Albanian League. At Dulcigno the Ottoman and the Albanian had exchanged shots, but the former was obviously acting under European constraint, and the bloodshed was slight. At the battle near Uskub, the Turks were acting under no compulsion, and the contest was prolonged and bloody. The ultimate issue of the contest thus begun cannot be foreseen, but its immediate result is to bring the Albanian question to the front and materially to increase the danger of war on the Greek frontier.

The Albanian League, which has thus formally entered the lists against the sovereignty of the Sultan in order to assert the right of Albania to an independent autonomous existence, was originally promoted by the Turks to oppose the cession of territory to Montenegro. In ordinary times the device might have succeeded, and the League after having effected its purpose would have passed out of existence. But these are not ordinary times, East of the Adriatic. The spirit of nationality is abroad. Bulgaria, but yesterday a mere vilayet of the Danube, is to-day a nation and a principality. Servia, Roumania, and Montenegro have secured their complete independence; Armenia is struggling to assert its national rights. Everywhere

the ideas of independence, self-government, nationality, are in the air, and it would have been surprising indeed if the Albanians had not been infected by the prevalent contagion. The League created to serve the ends of the Sultan, was converted into an instrument for securing the national independence of the Albanians. The engineer was hoist with his own petard, and the intrigue designed to cover a breach of treaty faith, has resulted in an insurrection which bids fair to banish the Turks from the seaboard of the Adriatic. This consummation has been retarded by the intertribal jealousies, the blood-feuds, and the religious differences which from time immemorial have rendered it almost impossible for Albanians to act together against a common foe. Under the stress of these latter days, however, the Moslem and Christian Albanian have begun to bury their religious animosities in their common hatred of their Ottoman rulers, and to indulge in dreams of an Albania, one and indivisible, from Scutari to Janina.

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COMTE'S DEFINITION OF LIFE.

IN his *Calendar of Illustrious Men*, arranged in groups under the various aspects in which human greatness has shown itself, Comte has surprised most of his readers by the choice he has made of the chief representative of modern science. That ancient science should be represented by Archimedes, ancient philosophy by Aristotle, modern philosophy by Descartes, modern dramatic poetry by Shakspeare, seems natural and almost obvious. Not so that at the head of the list of names illustrative of the modern scientific movement, from Copernicus and Kepler downwards, should stand the name of Bichat.

The reasons for this choice are partly connected with the man and partly with the subject. If—and this is a point to be discussed afterwards—biology, rather than mathematics, astronomy, physics, or chemistry, is to be regarded as the science which in modern times has had the deepest connection with man's spiritual and social progress, we may waive all consideration of the superior personal claims of Galileo, Kepler, or Lavoisier. The point for consideration will be what are the claims of Bichat to be regarded as the representative of biological science.

On this point it would be vain to expect complete agreement. Of all illustrious names in history, Bichat is perhaps he who makes the strongest claims on the sympathetic appreciation of men for powers undoubtedly existing, yet destined never to be fully unfolded. He died at the age of thirty-one. But in his short career of seven years<sup>1</sup> he had given an impulse to the philosophical study of life which no biologist who preceded or who followed him can parallel. The strong point of his intellect was its co-ordinating power, although the inductive faculty was hardly less prominent. And this, combined with the energy of a giant in the collection of materials, rendered him specially apt for the study of the problem of life, the peculiar difficulty of which is, that complicated changes of widely different

(1) Counting from the death of Desault, his admirable teacher and friend. But all Bichat's original work was produced in the space of three years. He died in 1802.



kinds are going on together, and are converging towards the same end by many paths.

Throughout the last century the study of life alternated between crude attempts to explain vital action by the newly discovered principles of mechanics, and wordy nebulous tissues of spiritualist theory, harder to understand than the things explained by them. The fact was, that whether by the hydraulics of the heart and blood-vessels, or by the cloudlands of vital spirits, a condition was satisfied which was felt to be of paramount importance—the condition of unity of action amongst parts which otherwise seemed to have no principle of coherence. The body, when examined, was seen to contain a collection of organs or instruments widely different from one another, and seemingly independent. The impression produced on the observer was that of an unmeaning chaos, and some unifying principle was sought. There were some who found it in the mechanical agency of the circulation; there were others who were driven to the belief in some spiritualist agency pervading the whole. It is, perhaps, not needless to say that the wiser students were satisfied with neither mode of explanation.

Into this confused mass of thought a luminous flash was sent wide and deep by Bichat's *Anatomie Générale*, published in 1801. The amount of hard practical work in the collection of anatomical observation of which this book was the outcome, none, perhaps, but anatomists can fully appreciate. The central thought, the *idée mère*, pervading it was the analysis of the organs of the body into their component tissues. As the result of his multitudinous observations, Bichat had reached the conclusion that the body was made up of two or three webs or stuffs, folded together in and in with myriad complications, but each preserving its own character and properties throughout. The change effected by this discovery, not merely in anatomical classification, but in our whole views of life, was momentous. Henceforth an organ, as the heart, liver, lungs, &c., was no longer an isolated instrument of complicated construction made for the purpose of doing a special work. It was simply a more complicated folding in of the elementary tissues; the continuity of these throughout the whole structure of the body being strictly unbroken. Life now could be thought of with definiteness and precision, standing out in singular contrast with the loose vagueness of previous thinkers, as the sum of the properties exhibited by these tissues. Closely connected with this luminous discovery was the analysis of life, as found in all higher organisms, into its two co-existent forms, vegetal life, including growth and reproduction; animal life, called also the life of relation, as bringing the organism into contact with objects distant both in space and time. This was the first and largest application of Bichat's doctrine of tissues. To vegetal

life was appropriated the fundamental tissue of which the greater part of the substance of the body was built up, the areolar or cellular tissue, as he called it; not, of course, using the word cellular in the more modern microscopic sense. Two special tissues, the one contractile, the other sensitive, brought the organism into relation with the objects of the surrounding world, and from these were framed the muscles, nerves, and brain—the organs of animal life. It is needless to speak of the modifications and qualifications, many made by himself, more by subsequent observers, necessary to bring this large view of biological phenomena into closer adjustment with the facts. It is far easier in biology than in the organic sciences to lose ourselves in detail; but in biology scientific thinking means a firm seizure of the principles of coherence and convergence, of the unity by which these details are informed. If proof were wanting of the wide and permanent results of Bichat's thoughts, the history of the science of embryology would supply it. Von Baehr's classic work on evolution rests on his perception that the first change in that formless transparent spot upon the egg, from which in a few days a bird was to grow, was the separation of two layers, one folding itself into the organs of animal, the other into those of vegetal life.

Comte's choice, then, of Bichat as the representative of modern science has much to warrant it in the personal qualities of the man. But, in truth, his principal motive for the choice was that biology, rather than mathematics, physics, or chemistry, was the representative modern science, was of greater import than any of the inorganic sciences to the spiritual destinies of man.

The details of the most recent scientific discoveries are continually brought to public notice in popular lectures or in the meetings of learned associations. But it is not often we ask ourselves the question, "Apart from useful inventions and additions to the conveniences of life, what has been the spiritual effect of science on the European world?" In attempting to deal with such a question as this it is clear that science must be regarded in the whole extent of its history, from Thales and Aristotle to Helmholtz and Darwin. The casual excitement caused by scientific controversies during the last twenty years would go but a short way towards helping us to an answer.

Without attempting within the limits of an article to discuss fully the grounds for a conclusion, I think it may be said that, apart from all industrial applications, and leaving out of account influences peculiar to a small and scattered minority of cultivated minds, the spiritual effect of European science—that is to say, the abiding and massive impression stamped by it on the European mind and character—resolves itself into two great results. The first of these is the conviction that the universe is boundless, and that the solar system is

an infinitely small part of it. And the second is the conviction that the structure, organization, course of development, and intrinsic faculties of man, are similar in kind, even when they differ in degree, to those of the higher vertebrates.

Now the first of these results has been finally achieved for two centuries. The geometry and astronomy of Thales, Archimedes, and Hipparchus prepared the way. On this basis Descartes, utilising the algebraic discoveries of Cardan and Vieta for the development of his enlarged conceptions of geometry, made it possible for Leibnitz and Newton, half a century afterwards, to construct a calculus capable of dealing with complicated curves and variable forces. It thus became possible to transform the inductive discoveries of Kepler and Galileo into deductions from two or three elementary axioms.

The result on the European population of the whole system of discoveries was this. The Greco-Roman conception of the world, and the Catholic conception also, as we see from Dante's poem, was of a definite spherical space filled by concentric transparent spheres, containing one of them the moon, others one of the planets, another the sun, the outermost being occupied by the fixed stars. At the centre were the earth and man. Beyond these crystal spheres no Greek ventured; Dante placed there his mystic Rose of Paradise. Before modern geometry and astronomy this elaborate structure vanished like morning mist, and in exchange for it we have a solar system governed by fixed and known laws moving in a boundless universe, of which our ignorance is almost equally boundless.

Now this rude and irrevocable displacement of man from the central position in the universe hitherto assigned to him might have been supposed likely to distract attention from human affairs, as being too insignificant a fraction of the sum of things to need the serious attention of the thinker. But in reality the result has been precisely the opposite. The concentration of scientific and philosophic thought on man has been far more direct and intense since this intellectual revolution than before it. One of its first concomitants was the lofty utilitarianism of the *Norum Organum* and of the *Discours de la Méthode*.<sup>1</sup> Nor is the reason far to seek. The very inac-

(1) "Au lieu de cette philosophie spéculative qu'on enseigne dans les écoles, on en peut trouver une pratique, par laquelle connoissant la force et les actions du feu, de l'eau, de l'air, des astres, des cieux, et de tous les autres corps qui nous environnent, aussi distinctement que nous connoissons les divers métiers de nos artisans, nous les pourrions employer en mesme façon à tous les usages auxquels ils sont propres, et ainsi nous rendre comme maîtres et possesseurs de la Nature. Ce qui n'est pas seulement à désirer pour l'invention d'une infinité d'artifices . . . mais principalement aussi pour la conservation de la santé, laquelle est sans doute le premier bien, et le fondement de tous les autres biens de cette vie; car meême l'esprit dépend si fort du tempérament, et de la disposition des organes du corps, que s'il est possible de trouver quelque moyen qui rende communément les hommes plus sages et plus habiles qu'ils n'ont esté jusques-icy, je croy que c'est dans la médecine qu'on doit le chercher."—Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode*.

cessibility of the universe drove men away from it back to the study of man and of man's world. When it was seen that the distance between the earth and the farthest fixed star that telescope could descry was the radius of a sphere infinitesimally small compared with the sum of things, the hope of knowing the sum of things was definitely abandoned by all wise men. And thus all illusion as to his outside importance being cast aside, man became more certainly than ever the central point of interest to man. Philosophy, from being proud, absolute, and chimerical, became real, relative, and humble.

Descartes had constructed his fabric of vortical forces principally with the view of bringing them to bear upon the explanation of man's animal structure, and especially on the apparatus of the senses. He arrived at the point, regarded by many as a new conception of contemporary science, of looking upon hearing and sight as highly specialised forms of the sense of touch. Descartes was himself perhaps under less illusion than his disciples as to the permanent value of the theories of ether and space, which, in default of something better, gave temporary coherence to his observations of fact. The welcome which he was one of the first to give to Harvey's great discovery, and his appeal to students of nature to co-operate in the scientific study of life for successive generations, showed clearly enough what was to be the style of the permanent structure when the time came for removing the scaffolding.

With the help of Harvey's discovery of the circulation, and animated by the kindling impulse of Descartes's scientific visions, men set themselves steadily to work at the explanation of the facts of life by physical and mechanical principles. Half a century later a new creation of science gave them yet further encouragement. The infinitesimal calculus of Leibnitz and Newton, itself the natural outcome of the Cartesian geometry, was an engine of indefinite, some thought of infinite power, for measuring the varying shapes and forces in the world around us. Muscular forces, and the pressure of the blood upon the vessels containing it, might be represented by algebraic formulæ. What limits to further progress on this path could be set?

Much time and aimless effort had to be expended before men could see that the three most characteristic facts of life, growth, generation, sensibility, refused to lend themselves to algebraic treatment. The first of the three, and the simplest, remained unintelligible until the chemical discoveries of Lavoisier and his contemporaries. The explanation of combustion, and consequently of respiration, the analysis of air, water, and soil, the proved identity of the elements that make up the body with those of the surrounding medium, first brought men to the threshold of scientific biology.

Not till between activities like heat, light, electricity, gravity, which when they cease leave the molecules of matter, broadly speaking, unchanged, and the activities of a living thing, had been interposed those activities of matter which change the composition of molecules—until, that is to say, chemistry had been interposed between physics and biology—was it possible to approach scientifically the most fundamental fact of living things, the fact, namely, that they grow. The body of a plant or animal being made up of the same stuff as was found in the surrounding air, water, or soil, implied a constant process of building up from those outside elements into more complex molecules. The exhalations from the organism, solid, liquid, or gaseous, were seen to consist of the same elements arranged in molecules less complex. That is to say, in the living organism, chemical composition and chemical decomposition were going on constantly and simultaneously. Growth was seen to involve the prevalence of the first process over the latter. The reversal of the balance implied diminution and ultimately death.

Thus the conditions requisite for forming a clear conception of what life is had been, at the beginning of the present century, sufficiently fulfilled. Bichat's analysis of life into its two forms, nutritive and relative, his corresponding analysis of organs into tissues, and the light thrown by chemical discovery on the nutritive process, would have led, it might be thought, to a satisfactory definition of life. A yet further preparation for the solution of the problem had been practically accomplished. The whole scale of living things, from the lowest to the highest, had, by the end of the eighteenth century, been thrown open to scientific inquiry. One of the most potent of logical instruments, the comparative method—a method found applicable afterwards to every region of scientific research, from mathematics to sociology—had been thus created. Since Aristotle little had been done in this direction till Linnæus; and next to Linnæus, Buffon, De Jussieu, and John Hunter stand out prominently among the founders of comparative biology.

None of these men, however, had concentrated sufficient attention on the end of the scale most distant from man. Not merely was their attention given to vertebrate animals rather than to invertebrate, but their conception of the range of the invertebrate kingdom downwards was extremely inadequate.

Of the six classes established by Linnæus, four were vertebrate: all other animals, from the cephalopod to the amoeba, were massed together in the two miscellaneous collections of "insects" and "worms." John Hunter's knowledge of the lower forms of life, founded mainly on his own consummate observations, was incomparably more full and accurate. But to Lamarck belongs the honour of having been the first to comprehend the scale of life in its entirety, to grasp the

fact of the enormous preponderance of invertebrate over vertebrate life, and to form a clear conception of what the lowest form of life really was.<sup>1</sup> His celebrated hypothesis, enforced with the weight of unrivalled knowledge of the subject and great philosophic vigour, that species were not permanent, but slowly mutable by the force of surrounding circumstances acting on successive generations by inheritance, and that the higher animals, man included, had arisen by gradual evolution from the lowest forms of life, led him to devote special attention to the action upon the organism of its surroundings, and thus brought him in some respects nearer than any previous biologist to the solution of the problem of life.

Nevertheless, with all these materials brought together, and the energy of so many powerful minds devoted to the subject, there was still no clear conception of the meaning of the word "life." Apart from all speculations as to the origin of life, and as to its ultimate cause, speculations which minds of the sounder sort were not long in rejecting as a fruitless waste of power, there remained the thoroughly reasonable question, What precisely is the process, or the collection of processes, which we define as life?

The distinctions between the accessible question and the inaccessible, though perhaps sufficiently obvious, may be illustrated thus. To the question, what is gravity? one man may reply by weaving a fabric of extramundane atoms of ether which he supposes to press equally in all directions. When two masses of matter are brought near together the pressure of the ether atoms is diminished on their near sides, remaining identical on the other. The two bodies therefore are pressed towards each other; and that pressure is gravity.

That is one answer: it gives an origin, an ultimate cause of gravity; and the only objection to it is that no one has yet got outside the universe to see whether these extramundane atoms exist, still less to find out what makes them press so hard.

The other, and the more modest answer, with which Newton was contented, was to describe gravity as the tendency of two masses towards each other inversely as the square of the distance. And this kind of answer it is, and not the other, that we want in the case of life.

(1) Some faint idea of what Lamarck accomplished in this direction may be formed by remembering that he was the first naturalist to recognise the claim of the following groups to rank as distinct classes (see *Philosophie Zoologique*, vol. i. p. 123) —

Crustacea. Arachnida. Annelida. Radiata. Polyps. Infusoria.

Some of these groups, as Radiata, have been redistributed since Lamarck's time, others have been added, but most of his work stands. His description of the lowest forms of life as "de très petits corps gélatineux transparents contractiles et homogènes, composés de tissu cellulaire presque sans consistance, et néanmoins irritables dans tous leurs points; qui ne paraissent que des points animés ou mouvans," leaves little to desire. The *Philosophie Zoologique* was published in 1807.

A glance at the definitions current in the best physiological treatises will show the confusion still existing on the subject. In one justly celebrated and comprehensive work on Human Physiology we find life defined as "*Vital activity*;" a singular example of the bewilderment into which the easy passage from English words to Latin allows educated men sometimes to fall. Going back to earlier definitions, we find Blumenbach defining life as *Bildungstrieb, nisus formativus*; Müller as an "organic force;" Prout as an "organic agent, endowed by the Creator with a faculty little short of intelligence, by means of which it is enabled to construct such a mechanism from natural elements, and by the aid of natural agencies, as to render it capable of taking farther advantage of their properties and of making them subservient to its use."

Leaving these mystical explanations, which are interesting chiefly as a record of the metaphysical stage of biological science, and which, like most other metaphysical explanations, leave their subject darker than they find it, we come to the celebrated definition of life by Bichat, which has at least the merit of being tangible and real: Life is the sum of functions which resist death. Here at least there is no attempt to describe life as a mysterious entity, a shapeless ghost haunting animals and trees for awhile, and then leaving them to decay. There is a clear and definite recognition, such as we might expect from such a man, that what we have to aim at are the laws of phenomena, the ways in which they hold together and follow one another, not the search for ultimate and inaccessible causes. The clearness of Bichat's definition has the cardinal merit of revealing its shortcoming. It regards the living thing as in a state of perpetual conflict with the outer world, a conflict to which it eventually succumbs. This was an error, but like all errors that clothe themselves in clear language, it helped men forwards to the truth.

A far nearer approach to the solution of the problem was made by Blanville in his treatise entitled *Principes d'Anatomie Comparée*, published in 1822. A living body, he says, is a sort of chemical focus where there is constantly a bringing in of new molecules and a casting off of old ones, where combination is never fixed (except in the case of certain parts practically dead or lying stored up), but always, so to speak, *in nisu*. This view formed the starting point of the larger and profounder view of life put forth by Auguste Comte, who accepted Blanville's definition so far as it went, but with the important variation and addition which we have now to consider.

In criticising Bichat's definition of life, Comte pointed out, that in regarding the organism as engaged in a perpetual conflict with the world around it, Bichat, like all who preceded, and many of those who followed him, made the mistake of regarding the organism as

having an existence independent of the world around it, just as a piece of gold or iron might be imagined as so existing, floating through space unconnected with any other substance. But in the case of a living organism, such independent existence is not merely a thing physically impossible, it is contradictory to the very idea of life when we rightly analyse that idea. Life is not the property of a particular kind of substance, as ductility is the property of gold, or brittleness and transparency of glass; it is something wholly different from this. It is the combination, or rather the harmonious working together of two inseparable elements, one of which we call organism and the other environment. The word environment, for which the French equivalent is *milieu*, needs a word of explanation. It means more than the material element, earth, air, or water, in which a plant or animal exists. It means "the whole sum of outward circumstances, whatever be their nature," affecting the life of the organism. The more complex the organism, therefore, the more complex would be the environment. Restricted in the lowest form of life to a few simple agencies, light, heat, gravity, acting on and through the fluid in which the animal or plant exists, it includes in the highest forms, and notably in the human race, things and events widely distant both in time and space.

This conception of environment<sup>1</sup> not merely as a condition essential to life, but as one of the two component factors of life; was one, as I believe, entirely new to the world when Comte propounded it. It has been practically adopted by Mr. Herbert Spencer, and illustrated with the amplitude and lucidity characteristic of that celebrated thinker. And if the conception turn out to be not merely new, but true, it must be admitted by candid specialists that Comte, in succeeding, where a series of biologists of the greatest eminence had failed, in making clear the most fundamental of all biological conceptions, has made a not inconsiderable contribution to science.

With the exception of Lamarck, and the still greater exception of Aristotle, almost all biologists had, up to this time, been members of the medical profession. Comte was therefore one of the earliest illustrations of the advantage, on which he was, I believe, the first to insist, that would come to the science of life from regarding it in the abstract, and apart from its practical applications. "It is not to

(1) In Mr. Spencer's "Biology," p. 74, there seems to be some misapprehension on this point as to Comte's meaning. The words immediately preceding the passage from Comte, which he quotes, are "les deux éléments inséparables dont l'harmonie constitue nécessairement l'idée générale de vie."—*Philosophie Positive*, vol. iii. p. 201, *Introd.* edition. The sixteen pages that follow develop the subject. In Miss Martineau's condensed translation the passage will be found in Book V. chap. i., with some important omissions, but fewer than are usual in that imperfect though valuable work. Yet larger applications of the thought are developed in vol. i. pp. 355—65 of *Positive Polity* (Eng. Translation).



navigators," he said, "that we go for our astronomy, to engineers for our mathematics, or to dyers for our chemistry." So then let it be with the science of life. The very essence of science, as opposed to erudition or learning, implies that we act thus. Erudition is the collection of special concrete facts arranged in a more or less methodic way. It is indispensable, but it is not science. Science is the discovery of the abstract generalities which underlie those concrete facts, and which, when fully grasped, enable us to foresee how new arrangements of fact will behave. The true note of science is this ability to foresee where we cannot see; to measure where we cannot touch.

For thousands of years Egyptian builders had carved hard stone carefully, had measured their huge blocks with absolute precision, and had lifted them into their places by strange though wasteful combinations of force. When the pyramid was finished, and the scaffolding was taken down, no one could measure its height, for no one could reach the summit and fasten a line to it. But a thing mightier than the pyramids arose on the coasts and islands of the Ægean. An impalpable, shadowy, and useless thing it seemed to those who stood by; for it was nothing more than that here and there a man began to think and speak about size, and shape, and distance, with hardly any reference to the visible and tangible objects, that were large or small, round or square, far or near. In other words, the abstract science of magnitude—the study of those laws of nature the knowledge of which enables us to measure inaccessible distances and variable shapes and forces with the slenderest possible use of the yard measure or the scales, and by which a few score of students have gradually revolutionised man's conception of the universe—this science, mightier surely than the pyramids, dawned upon the world. Like other strong social forces, "it came not with observation;" though when Thales taught the Egyptian priest those two or three elementary truths as to the laws of triangles, which enabled them to tell the height of the pyramid by measuring its shadow, his hearer may have felt a presentiment that something new was at hand.

And none the less is it true of every other science, that the final object is not to pile up masses of incoherent observations, however accurate, but so to observe as to clear out from the special concrete facts the abstract generalities that underlie them, and thus gain foresight of new facts that cannot be directly reached by touch or sight. That direct observations of the facts long continued, varied, and massive in amount are needed no one disputes; but these are not in every case the discoverer's own. Biologists have often talked lately of "practical work," as though no one who was not himself continually dissecting could have any claim to be heard; and sometimes this point is pressed so far that each discoverer of a new law is

supposed to generalise solely from his own narrow stock of observed facts, no heed being taken of the far greater mass due to the labours of contemporaries and predecessors. Men are apt to forget that some of the greatest discoveries in astronomy were made by men who seldom looked through a telescope, and might almost as well have been blind.

It would seem, therefore, to have been a useful thing to aim at disengaging from the countless varieties of living things that air, earth, and water contain, the underlying principle common to all—the *abstract theory of life*. To have succeeded in that aim would seem a great thing. And it may well be asked, What were the conditions that enabled Comte to achieve success? Is it to be maintained that by thought unassisted by observation a man should have been able to deal effectively with the greatest of biological problems?

What Comte's claims as an observer were I will indicate presently. But first I would say that he had fulfilled one of the conditions of competence for the task which had been satisfied by very few if by any of his contemporary biologists. Of the two factors of life, both equally necessary, organism and environment, the anatomists and physiologists of his time had, with few exceptions, studied the first only. Comte had studied both. A well-known naturalist of our own time had spoken, it is true, of Comte's "scientific incapacity." But if mathematicians were asked who was the greatest name in mathematics of our century, most of them would mention Fourier. And it was Fourier who selected Comte for an important mathematical post in the great science-school of Paris, and who listened to a long series of discourses on the philosophy of mathematics and other sciences from a man unknown to the general public and not nearly half his age.<sup>1</sup>

On one, then, of the two factors of life Comte was singularly qualified to speak. He had passed through a wide and comprehensive course of study of the physical environment; of that external order without which the existence of life is a contradiction in terms. And it was not merely that the actual knowledge thus obtained had been useful to him, since the results of mathematical or chemical research are accessible to the most superficial reader of a popular manual. It was that his study of the inorganic sciences had been conducted, not with the view of instituting special researches of his own on any one of them, but in order to throw light on the logical processes which each one of them in turn was likely to develop and strengthen; the

(1) The audience at the first and second hearing of the course of lectures on *Philosophie Positive* in 1826 and 1829 was small enough to be contained in Comte's lodgings. But a small audience has seldom included more illustrious names. Among them, besides Fourier, were Blainville, Poincet, Navier, Broussais, Esquirol, and Alexander Humboldt. These men were perhaps not less qualified than Mr. Huxley to detect "scientific incapacity."

final object being to concentrate the sum of intellectual force thus obtained upon the most complicated problems of all—those of human nature. With this large purpose steadily in view, Comte was able to regard the physical environment of life as a whole, attributing due weight to each element, but not losing himself in the specialities of any. He was saved, for instance, from the loose vagueness of Lamarck's speculations as to the spontaneous generations of the lowest forms of life by heat and electricity; and knew well enough the degree of certainty that belonged to more modern speculations, which would explain chemical or vital action by the vibration of molecules of ether.

Yet this comprehensive view of the environment, in which, perhaps, there was no one of his contemporaries, unless it were Humboldt, who even strove to rival him, would not have sufficed had it not been accompanied by equally wide knowledge of organisms. Comte's profound appreciation and study of Bichat and Lamarck, and his lifelong friendship with Blainville, had supplied him with ample material for reviewing the whole scope of organic life so far as these illustrious men had comprehended it. But wide as it was, their scope was insufficient, and it remained for Comte to complete it. All agreed that, for a true conception of life, it was necessary to consider the whole range of its modes, from the lowest to the highest. Bichat, whose early death had limited the range of his inquiries to human anatomy, had failed. Lamarck, with his unparalleled knowledge of invertebrate life, a branch of study which he may almost be said to have created, had come in some respects nearer the truth. But the highest form of vitality remained unknown to these men or to their colleagues. They had studied well the first two terms of the series, but not the third. The analysis of vegetal life and of animal life had been not completed certainly, but at least fairly begun, and clearly conceived. But it remained to build upon these the study of collective or social life. And the systematic institution of this branch of science was reserved for Comte.

It is not surprising, then, that his conception of life should have been larger and deeper than that of any of his contemporaries. Logically viewed, what he did was equivalent to the addition of a new kingdom to those which were already recognised in the world of knowledge. To the well-known threefold division of existence into mineral, vegetable, and animal, was now superadded a fourth, social existence. And it was not long before a yet further consequence followed, hardly perhaps perceived by Comte himself, at the beginning of his work, though clearly developed by him afterwards. From his discovery that the environment was not merely one of the conditions of life, but was one of its two inseparable factors, it followed that the higher and more complete the life, the wider and

more varied was the environment. In the lowest types the environment is inorganic solely; it is made up of air, earth, and water, and the forces, molar or molecular, connected with them. As we rise in the scale the environment becomes complicated by the addition of the lower organic forms; the lichen on the rock is part of the environment of the phanerogamous seed that may grow there. The environment of the higher animal is not merely vegetal as well as mineral, but, as Mr. Darwin and the school founded by him have abundantly shown, it is animal also.

This truth had now to be applied to the highest form of life.

The collective life of a race implies the action and reaction between that race and all surrounding circumstances, including astronomical conditions, climate, soil, rival species, and other influences too numerous to specify. But for the individuals of the society, the collective organism is itself the most essential part of the environment. Apart from the actions upon it of air, earth, water, heat, and light, the life of a plant is not merely impossible, it is a contradiction in terms; these things, when the reactions of the organism are added, *are* the life. And so the life of every member of a social race is a contradiction in terms apart from the action upon it of the surrounding society in times past or present. The bee, or the ant, imagined as solitary, and without social progenitor, would not be the bee or the ant, but a wholly different insect clothed in a deceptive shape. And in the same way the life of man ceases to be conceivable, becomes a contradiction in terms, apart from the action upon it of humanity.

"J'eusse été, près du Gange esclave des faux dieux,  
Chrétienne dans Paris, Musulmane en ces lieux,"

says Voltaire's heroine;<sup>1</sup> and one example is as good as a thousand to show that the sum of actions which make up our lives is determined by sociological not less than by physical influences. To go farther into such a subject would be to write treatises on religion, philosophy, law, art, education, conduct. Enough for our present purpose to see that these higher vital functions were embraced for the first time by Comte under the same definition of life which had been found applicable to the lower: "*une intime conciliation permanente entre la spontanéité intérieure et la fatalité extérieure.*"<sup>2</sup> How pregnant this definition is with thoughts bearing on the deepest problems of man's position in the world this article is not the place to show.

It may be noted, however, that the combination of subject and object in the act of perception, on which Kant and subsequent thinkers have dwelt so fully, falls, as Comte showed, under his definition of life no less than the functions of nutrition or of respiration. And a further consequence may be remarked. The course of these reac-

(1) Zaire.

(2) *Positive Polity*, vol. i. p. 335, English translation.

tions between object and subject, which constitutes intellectual life, varies with the varying stages of social development. Psychology therefore, so far as it can be regarded as a separate branch of science, should not be ranged between biology and sociology, but after the latter. The reason for this is, that, apart from sociology, only those psychical truths common to man with the lower animals are appreciable.<sup>1</sup> The discussion of such subjects would lead us too far. But it seemed not without interest to find, since it has a bearing on the scientific speculation of our day, that the wider range of Comte's scientific investigations gave him an advantage not possessed by other biologists of his generation in dealing with the most fundamental of biological problems. Starting with a comprehensive grasp of the inorganic environment to which few scientists, and certainly no biologists, had any pretension, fully availing himself of Bichat's masterly analysis of vital functions, and of Lamarck's unrivalled knowledge of the lowest forms of life, he was led by social aspirations to choose for his own special field of research a region which no thinker had as yet tried to cultivate with scientific implements. He was the first who not merely conceived, but systematically instituted the application of inductive methods to the collective life of man. Hence came those large views of organism and environment which enabled him to regard thought and feeling no less than assimilation and growth as embraced in one and the same conception of life.

J. H. BRIDGES.

(1) Comte avoided the use of the word psychology, which at the time when he wrote had been appropriated by Victor Cousin's shallow school. The positive truths included in it were classed by him in the science which he called "*La Morale*,"—the study of human nature.

## THE ROYAL ACADEMY IN 1881.

VERY few of our weekly and daily contemporaries fail to open their critical notices of each annual exhibition of art without some expression of opinion as to the value of the show when compared with those which have preceded it. "The Academy is better this year," people say, or "the Academy is not so good as it was the year before last." It is a little difficult to understand on what system of valuation these glib estimates are formed, or what is the unit of meritorious workmanship upon which a greater or lesser aggregate is founded. The splendour of contributions from old established favourites may perhaps be taken as one standard, the promise of those from new men as another, the high level of average skill as a third, and the absence of glaring instances of demerit as a fourth, but it is certainly difficult to define the exact effect produced by so many and various causes. Perhaps, on the whole, it is safer to reflect that the exhibitions of one single year indicate the fluctuations in the work of individual men much more distinctly than those in the general progress of national art, and that to dogmatise from such superficial indications of ascent or decline is exceedingly dangerous. We therefore record the personal impression that neither inside the Royal Academy nor outside it is there any signal of abated zeal on the part of the profession, or of declining interest on the part of the public, and then proceed, without any attempt to lay the whole exhibition of 1881 in the scales against those of 1879 or 1880, to consider, as far as the exhibited works give us leave to do, what progress has been gained or what position lost by the principal English artists.

The time is long past when any survey of contemporary art in England could afford to relegate to a second place the names of those artists who form the body of the Royal Academy. It is certainly only due to these gentlemen to acknowledge that they have responded with great alacrity to the demand made on them by the public, and that they have opened their doors in no narrow spirit to the representative men so long excluded by a false principle in social politics. The list of the members of the Royal Academy for 1875 stands before us at this moment, and presents the significant fact that it does not include those names of Messrs. Alma-Tadema, Armstead, Boehm, Boughton, Brett, Fildes, Herkomer, Oules, and Riviere, without which we can to-day scarcely realise the constitution of the body. With the exception of Messrs. Rossetti, Madox Brown, and Burne Jones, who have chosen from the first to cultivate

their powers in isolation, there can scarcely be said to be a single living painter in the front rank who is not an Academician or an Associate. In earlier years mistakes were made; an earlier generation, with imperfect intellectual sympathies, received with ignorant suspicion the advent of a rather violent revival, but all that could reasonably be done to correct past errors seems to have been attempted, and at least during the reign of the new President the outsiders can complain of no single act of great injustice. Moreover the Academy seems, by its latest proceedings, bent on preventing the recurrence of its old mistake, and has reverted to its original principle of selecting its members from the promising men of the coming generation. The elections of last January, when the new A.R.A.'s included the most dignified and skilful of the younger school of figure-painters, the most prominent of recent sculptors, and the most sound and learned of our rising historical painters, were extremely significant, as showing the liberal and modern spirit that now moves in the Royal Academy, and it seems a due act of candour in those of us who have long assailed what we conceived to be the errors of this body, to acknowledge frankly that the demand of the public has been responded to. It is perhaps not widely realised that the Royal Academy, partly by a series of accidents, partly in consequence of the old vicious system of recruiting its numbers from the body of artists who were already past their prime, is now undergoing a greater crisis than any which has revolutionised it since its first foundation. The old generation is passing rapidly away; deaths and retirements have been more numerous than ever before in the history of the body. The catalogue of 1875, to which I just now referred, contains twenty names out of sixty-two which no longer figure in the official list, answering to a percentage in six years that is perhaps unprecedented in the archives of any such academic foundation. This process of decease and retirement is still rapidly progressing; within the last four or five months the deaths of Messrs. Elmore, Knight, and Burges, and the seclusion of Messrs. Cousins and Rodgrave, still further disintegrate the body, and at a ratio more painfully startling than ever. The great age of a considerable number of surviving Academicians makes their retirement to the honorary list an event that must certainly be soon expected, and we shall therefore in all probability, within the next four or five years, witness the entire reorganisation of the Royal Academy from within. The body which consisted ten years ago almost wholly of elderly men will then be as exclusively youthful, and in the natural course of things will continue for another generation with very little internal change. It is therefore of unusual importance that at this moment, when the leaders of English art for the next twenty or thirty years are being so rapidly selected, that only the best and

strongest men should be chosen. Let the most vigorous talents be elected before 1885, lest there be no more vacancies to fill, and no more opportunities to correct mistakes, until the beginning of the twentieth century.

The special interest, therefore, of each exhibition at present is the evidence that it gives of the condition of talent in those younger masters whose work may very probably be set before us "on the line" until the end of our lives. It is a matter for real congratulation when we detect in those men the results of care and intelligent self-criticism. Before, however, we pass to the examination of this delicate subject, we have certain observations to make on the safer ground of the show made this year by those acknowledged masters from whom we know what to expect, and whose art has taken its place already in the history of English achievement. Among these Sir Frederick Leighton takes precedence naturally by virtue of his office. That the art of the President should undergo any new or unexpected phases is a thing almost as little to be desired as anticipated. His painting has so long comprised the quintessence of style, the extreme of calculated accomplishment, the laborious masterly selection of all types and incidents of beauty, that nothing short of rebaptism in Helicon could affect the manner of so conscious an artist.

" Yet should there hover in our restless heads  
One thought, one grace, one wonder, at the least,  
Which into words no virtue can digest,"

it is not perhaps to this cynosure of painters to whom we should come for its interpretation in colour. At the Royal Academy, it seems, this glossy refinement of painting is too nearly allied, underneath its exquisite superficial sweetness, to what has been most poor and thin in English practice, to exercise quite the same beneficial influence that is felt in the Salon, for instance, by the beautiful refinement of a painter like Bouguereau. In France we must all feel, even those of us who are least insular, and most in sympathy with whatever stirs the intelligence of that noble and amiable nation, that there is a dangerous element of violence and haste in art to which such a masterpiece of accomplished painting as this year's "Vierge aux Anges" offers a salutary reproof. In England this is not the case, and we may be permitted to wish that the nymphs were not quite so waxy, the landscape not so fluid and iridescent as in the charming "Idyl," or the still more charming dream-picture called "Whispers." No such excess of sweetness mars the entire enjoyment with which we examine the President's practically faultless portrait of himself, in robes of several rich tones of red, with a Greek frieze of old yellow-stained marble as its background. "Elisha and the Shunammite's Son" is a pathetic composition, with all its author's



feeling for the frail beauty of childhood, and with a little too much of his known preference for a harmony of liver-colour and Prussian blue. The full-length figure of "Mrs. Stephen Ralli" has the accustomed dignity and grace of attitude which attend Sir Frederick Leighton's portraits, but probably the work of his this year to which the spectator will recur most often and with pleasure the most entirely unalloyed is the head in profile, in the last room, called "Viola." On such work as this the eye rests with absolute contentment and repose, and this is the end and aim of such painting as the President's.

Mr. Watts, who has been extremely fecund this year, reserves his imaginative studies for another place, and is represented at the Academy by six portraits. Of these the powerful and in some measure characteristic head of Mr. Matthew Arnold will attract most notice and be most severely criticized. In attaining his somewhat studied harmonies of tone Mr. Watts is apt to sacrifice clearness of skin and brightness of eye, and he has in this instance given the poet a sort of obfuscation which is not entirely satisfactory. The portrait of the President, which has great sumptuousness of colour and breadth of tone, suffers a little from the same cause, and the odd drawing of the fingers is a stumbling-block to many. On the other hand, the head of Mr. C. A. Ionides is singular for the bright, clear expression of the eyes, drawn with no veil of serene colour over the pupils. Perhaps Mr. Watts's most curious performance at the Royal Academy this year is his portrait of Miss Baldock, which, with its light carnations and fleeting silvery tones, would pass for a very fine work of some such eighteenth-century painter as Lancret, must be regarded as a very interesting and successful experiment in Mr. Watts's hands.

Mr. Alma-Tadema is so great a favourite with the public, and with artists, that it is something of a problem why his work seldom attracts much notice from the critics. The attitude of the literary mind towards this painter's pictures seems to be a vague distress that they are not at once removed for good to some public museum to be looked at, not to be described. There is, perhaps, some ground for this to be discovered in the antiquarian learning of the painter, who is for ever laying traps for the casual critics. It is very tiresome to praise the painting of a cithera, and then find out that it really was a phorminx, or to be obliged to display a hopeless uncertainty as to the difference between a chlamys and a pallium. With all his wonderful knowledge of ancient life, Mr. Alma-Tadema remains a Dutchman, and is probably still a good deal more like Terburg than like Apelles. But this year, in his one picture, called "Sappho," he strikes a higher chord, and tempers his antiquarian knowledge with a fresher poetry than ever before. The poetess is represented as some-

thing of a *précieuse*, and it is by an excellent dramatic instinct that the artist contrasts her earnest gaze at Alcæus with the nonchalance or positive inattention of all her pretty pupils. It was a curious freak of the hanging committee to place this little picture, the most accomplished of the year, close beside Mr. Millais's boisterous "Cinderella." The best of bulls is out of place in an exhibition of Venetian glass.

Let us hasten to disclaim any want of respect for the august genius of Mr. Millais. Praise is impertinence in the presence of this masculine and enduring power in English art, this great man born to paint, whose work may not always please or attract us, but whose direct strength never fails to make itself acknowledged. In speaking of "Cinderella," however, we have used the word "boisterous," and this may express, according to the temper of the reader, the sympathy or want of sympathy that will accompany the tribute of admiration which the picture enforces. For the numerous portraits that Mr. Millais has sent to the Academy, a few words presently regarding their relative value, as compared with other admirable work, must here suffice, except in the case of the figure of Lord Wimborne, where not only does the painter seem to surpass himself in technical precision and force, but in the introduction of the gold background, and of the two responding blues of jar and of cravat, to have consented more than usual to gratify the instinct for positive beauty of colour. The criticism that must scarcely approach Mr. Millais may be permitted to hover around those glittering Dioscuri, Mr. Oulless and Mr. Holl, who are following so brilliantly in his wake. The progress made by these two painters is, in fact, as it appears to me, the most interesting feature of this year's Academy, of course from a technical point of view. The visitor will find it exceedingly instructive to hasten through the whole suite of galleries, restricting his attention for the time being to the portraits of the three last-mentioned painters. As we examine, one after another, the heads of Mr. Oulless and Mr. Holl, we begin to perceive an analogy, not wholly whimsical, between the former and Bartholomæus van der Helst, between the latter and Frans Hals. Mr. Oulless has a simplicity, a straightforward prose style in painting, that contrasts with Mr. Holl's daring bravura and generous clash of colour. In the second room Mr. Holl's fierce old gentleman, with its brilliant whites and crimsons in the dress, astonishes us into rapture until we glance at its pendant, Mr. Millais's sober, perfect "Sir Gilbert Greenall." Mr. Oulless seems to bear comparison with the greater master more satisfactorily, partly, perhaps, because he makes less demand upon the surprise of the spectator; his work, however, is sometimes a little cold and irresolute, and he has a fondness for smudged brown backgrounds, which offend the eye. Our new Van der Helst, however, has learned how to draw a worn human face with extraordinary precision and intelli-

gence, while our possible Frans Hals has already something of Haarlem in the massive projection of his heads and his full treatment of accessories. Each painter has attained his extreme level of performance hitherto in one of the many works he exhibits this year at the Royal Academy. Mr. Holl has certainly never done anything more powerful in drawing, or gorgeous in colour, than his "Dr. Cradock," destined to adorn the hall of Brasenose; the vigour of the mere painting here, whether expended upon the skin, or the ornaments, or the fur of the robes, is worthy of the palmy days of English portraiture, and gives splendid promise for the future. Yet, perhaps, Mr. Oulless's head of "Mrs. Butterworth" is a still more admirable achievement. Here there is no open expenditure of strength; all is quiet, sensitive, and yet resolute. The delicate drawing of the eyes and lips, the serene colour of the face, the rendering of the different whites of silver hair and lace cap and ermine cape, these are of the very highest order of merit, as merit goes in painting nowadays, to be approached by few, surpassed perhaps by none. As we examine this portrait, we forget Van der Helst, and think for one moment of Holbein himself. It should be recognised that Mr. Oulless has made extraordinary progress of late, and that success has very plainly not dulled his ambition. For Mr. Holl's subject-picture, "Home Again," a melancholy welcome of the military by the fair, with a touching accompaniment of weeping and drumming, it is not easy to find one's self in sympathy. It is very clever, smartly anecdotal, and questionably sincere, beautifully painted, and, on the whole, perhaps not worth painting.

Of the many talents set in motion by Frederick Walker, that of Mr. Herkomer seems to promise most lasting significance. In a variety of ways the younger master seems to set himself, almost with a touch of ostentation, in competition with the elder. But there is one great difference between them. Walker's pictures, when they were successful, formed one balanced whole, while those of Mr. Herkomer depend too much on the detailed beauty of the component parts. In his great picture of the crowd at the gates of the Portsmouth Dockyard the various incidents are painted with great feeling, and some of the heads are exquisite; but the entire composition fails to enthral the attention. The intellectual vivacity of this painter, shown in his Protean efforts after new media and new effects, is interesting and praiseworthy, but should be tempered with discretion, lest it lapse into mere restlessness. The picture called "Missing" has been thought out so carefully, that it is painful to be obliged to say that it seems to show no real advance on the artist's previous studies from modern English life. Perhaps the subject is more fitted for a woodcut than for a monumental painting.

Mr. Poynter might have escaped minute criticism of his principal work of this year, "Helen of Troy," if it had not been for the indis-

creation of his friends. In those premonitory trumpet-blasts which fill the daily and weekly papers during the month of April, and which threaten to become a serious nuisance, the public was carefully prepared, in terms sometimes too voluptuous to be quoted here, for the advent of a miracle of poetic beauty. We knew that Mr. Poynter, though always an uncertain painter, possessed the rare quality of style, and was moved by a high intellectual ambition. There was, therefore, no reason why he should not this year surpass himself, and exhibit a worthy Helen. But when we saw this fading dream of a popular beauty, with her staring eyes of weak blue, her vulgar red robe studded with stars of tinsel, and the ignoble attitude of her hands, we could but exclaim with Faustus—

“ Was this fair Helen, whose admired worth  
Made Greco with ten years' war afflict poor Troy ? ”

The execution of the work, too, is surely puerile ; the marble columns, the statues, the blazing temple, scarcely could be painted worse. It cannot be denied that the picture possesses a certain attractive cleverness, but as little that it is unworthy of Mr. Poynter's remarkable talent, and that it falls as far short of being a masterpiece as it could contrive to do. The portrait of Lord Wharncliffe seems to be much better painted ; but it is hung so high that it is impossible to be sure of this. It is surely an unusual experience for a full Academician to taste the atmosphere at this altitude.

Among the purely Academic painters, whose work rarely calls for critical mention, Mr. Armitage takes a foremost place through his superior knowledge and enterprise. He never knows when he is beaten, he is never content to be superseded. His long series of “ Acts of Charity,” placed side by side in one frame, are of a nullity that is perfectly baffling, but his “ Samson and the Lion ” rises above mediocrity. The naked body of the athlete, tightly bound about the loins by a scarlet cloth, is boldly designed, and the lion is not at all a bad lion in itself. The great fault of the composition, and the fault which is an axe laid to the root of this whole school of art, is the want of reality. The lion is as large as Samson, or larger, yet the prophet throws it over his head without any tension of the muscles of the back or left arm. Evidently, from the mode in which Samson moves, the lion is of no weight at all, a mere inflated toy-lion of thin india-rubber. There is no satisfaction in art of this kind, however strenuous the effort to produce it, however learned the draughtsmanship that adorns it.

Mr. Hook is a veteran painter who shows no tendency to fall into these conventionalities. He was never fresher or more vigorous than this year ; indeed, to compare his present work with what he has exhibited of late, we should be inclined to congratulate him on taking out a new lease of genius. Mr. Hook, and indeed some of

our lesser marine figure-painters, such as notably Mr. Colin Hunter, have no rivals in their particular branch of art in Europe. At the Salon there is no lack of littoral scenes, but they are never rendered with the truth, freshness, and atmospheric vitality of Mr. Hook. Perhaps M. Eugène Feytaud comes nearest to our English master in his treatment of fisher-life, but there is always, even in his pictures, a general tone of neutral tint which may be very harmonious, but which is far from rendering the turquoise blues and vitreous greens of the Channel. Mr. Hook's "Diamond Merchants" is one of the finest works he has ever painted, the pinnacled rocks of Cornwall, the changing surface of the sea, the easy, natural grace of the sun-burned children, are all true alike and delightful. The starting boat, in "Past Work," too, is one of those records of minute and accurate observation which we welcome in the painting of any master. Mr. H. W. B. Davis is another artist on whom long-sustained popularity has had no distracting effect. His work has lost a certain woolliness and crudity that once detracted from its beauty, and he probably never painted anything more entirely sound than his landscape this year called "Noon," two cattle tethered among the rough, dry pasturage, above the level of the sea. The careful and conscientious drawing of every poppy, hemlock, and thistle in the foreground of this picture should especially be noted. The study of a mare and her foal, called "Mother and Son," is rather too slight a production to be exhibited at the Academy, but Mr. Davis's third work, "The Evening Star," which hangs in the last room, is a landscape in mellow harmony of tone, worthy of Cuyp himself. Yet how is it that Mr. Davis, decidedly our best English cattle-painter, has never done justice to the magnificent purple bloom on the coat of a bull? We venture to suggest it to him as an object worthy of his finest powers.

The principal contribution of Mr. Pettie, "Before his Peers," a bearded aristocrat in black and yellow, pleading his own cause on some strenuous occasion, could be produced by none but the man who painted it. Its authorship cries to us from the other end of the gallery, the moment that it comes within sight. Masculine, spirited, hasty art that demands attention and cannot be put by, lifelike to the extreme, with always a touch of the paint-brush and the model when we would willingly forget them, there is no doubt that Mr. Pettie's work is among the most individual of our time. Whether he paints history or a portrait, whether he gives us a fresh lad whipping a Highland stream, or a handsome duchess fingering her jewels, his peculiar *cachet* is plainly set on every square inch of the canvas. The excess of this sort of force has sent people of refinement back to Greuse or to Botticelli, to either extreme of delicacy, to escape so violent and boisterous a vitality. But many roads lead to the Rome of fine art, and there can be no doubt that Mr.

Pettie strides like some stalwart knight across one of them. His satellites or attendant henchmen cannot be said to be objects of so much interest to the critic as he himself is. At one time they threatened to fill the Royal Academy unduly with their crude and "painty" canvases. This year they are happily in such abeyance that their very names may pass unmentioned, whether for praise or blame. But Mr. Hodgson, as distantly allied to the same school, can hardly escape a little good-natured castigation for the extraordinary sort of Robinson Crusoe figure which he has presented to the Royal Academy as his diploma picture. Anything more laughably ill-composed and ill-painted can hardly be conceived, and we can only speculate on the cause that has led the latest full Academician to express a public contempt for his colleagues and his office. We should be sorry to think it the cry of the emancipated Associate, freed for ever from any fear of the consequences of bad painting.

There is always so much that is well done and original of its kind in the productions of Mr. Briton Riviere that we cannot help wishing he could be persuaded to make a more thorough study of the human figure. Nothing could be better than his pugs and spaniels in "Envy, Hatred, and Malice," or his bull-dog in "Let Sleeping Dogs Lie," but the navvy in this latter work, and the dead Christian in "A Roman Holiday," are sadly out of drawing. In the last-mentioned picture, the further tiger, which prowls, snarling round the edge of the amphitheatre, is excellently devised, but scarcely painted with so much power as we expect from Mr. Riviere. Nevertheless, though the expression of his talent may fluctuate from year to year, we are always conscious in the case of this excellent artist of an undiminished effort after what is sincere and adequate. It would be agreeable to see more of this in a group of young Associates who began very well, in some cases brilliantly, and who are resting too soon upon their laurels. If we compare Mr. P. R. Morris's "Queen's Shilling" with M. Verhaz' "Revue des Écoles" in this year's Salon, we must admit that the advantage lies entirely with the Belgian artist. Yet Mr. Morris had at one time almost as much skill in grouping a multitude of fresh childish heads as is shown in the extraordinary work just mentioned. But what are we to say of his stagey, unreal composition of this year? Surely this, that it misses the one quality which M. Verhaz secures, reality. In the huge Belgian picture each little girl carries upon her countenance the stamp of her nature and training, and the whole work, as our neighbours would say, is an ugly, but extremely interesting portfolio of "human documents." Mr. Morris's composition, sacrificing as it does truth to prettiness, attains the value of a scene in opera-bouffe. Mr. Peter Graham, again, who has produced some beautiful works within the last fifteen years, is below the average of his skill this year. His landscapes tend to become too oily and

sticky, his sunlight floods his canvas like a golden varnish, and his style on every side is threatened by dangerous mannerisms. Yet we have every confidence that he will emerge from these perils, a confidence that scarcely extends to the case of Mr. McWhirter, who seems to us to be in a more parlous state than Mr. Graham, and "whelmed in deeper gulfs than he." The Royal Academy has seldom seen a landscape so pretentious and untrue as the "Mountain Tops" of Mr. McWhirter. Nor can Mr. Long be seriously congratulated on the popular success which he has achieved by his "Diana or Christ." During the last five or six years this ambitious artist has, it seems to us, been steadily declining in the sounder part of his work, and has descended at last to a very catchpenny cleverness. The heroine of the affecting drama appeals to us with a conventional pathos, rolling the whites of her eyes, and pursing up her mouth in the mode recommended by one of Dickens's characters, as though repeating the words "prune" and "prism." Her lover and several bystanders prove to her with success that she is not alone in being able to roll the white of the eye. The Roman governor watches her with an air of affable interest; a person holding a paper glances sideways at her with a fine old tragedy scowl, and a great mass of supernumeraries are hastily sketched in behind. The only well-painted objects in the whole huge canvas are, the stalwart negro executioner and the silver image of Diana. If Mr. Long had taken time to paint the rest of the picture up to the level of these figures, it would have been a notable work, though even then shallow and poor in sentiment.

The Singhalese have a proverb that even the fall of a dancer is a somersault. It is almost as interesting to catch Mr. Brett tripping as to follow him in his customary perfection. His sea-piece this year, called "Golden Prospects," is not the most satisfactory thing he has ever done, but it detracts nothing from his great prestige. It is an experiment, the result of which will, we trust, persuade him that there is a point where the artist gains nothing by continued elaboration, and where to add detail is to lose freshness and perspective. It is evident that Mr. Brett has set himself this year to surpass all that he has before performed in the way of radiant transcript from nature; he has been over-careful, extravagantly punctilious, and now we hope that he will return contentedly to what is within the possible range of painting. But would that we could see more of this kind of error in the facile art that fills our exhibitions. Mr. Fildes is sometimes too ready to dismiss his work, but we may be glad to forgive him the insipidity of his "Dolly" and his "Doubts" for the sake of his brilliant Venetian woman, in her gorgeous discords of yellow, blue, and green, with her heap of orange stuffs caught up in one hand and her scoured copper pot balanced in the other, as she laughs at us under her blue-black hair.

Three of the last elected Associate painters are justifying their honours very laudably. We are glad that Mr. Boughton has looked at Holland through his blue-tinted spectacles, for he brings us into close sympathy with quaint, clean towns that exactly suit his old-fashioned temper of mind. But we are still more glad that he has gone to Hawthorne's great romance for the subject of one of the few pictures of the year that is based on a genuine literary impression. It is not from any of the more startling pages of the *Scarlet Letter* that he has chosen his incident, but from one of the more subtle and singular passages of the book—that in which the author makes us feel the human heart beating under the hard leathern jerkin of Puritanism. It is the branded woman conquering esteem by the irresistible sweetness and gravity of her manners, and transforming the hideous letter into a symbol of help at need, that Mr. Boughton presents to us in his beautiful "Hester Prynne." Having said so much, it is lack of space and not flippancy that makes us hastily suggest that the eyes of his figures, having now successfully reached their ears, should begin to retire into normal proportions. Mr. Dicksee has produced a very beautiful and satisfactory work in his "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" a picture that shows the result of great labour and of science unusual in so young a man. We have no doubt that he will free himself from a certain want of spontaneity that still makes his pictures seem a little like those of a sort of glorified Academy student. Mr. Gow has emancipated himself more thoroughly from this trick of manner, and has attained more completely an individuality of style; but we cannot feel that he promises so much as Mr. Dicksee does. "The Monk's Walk," by the latter, is precisely what the poet meant by "a green thought in a green shade," and shows an imaginative gift that should have many delightful surprises in store for us.

And now at last we leave the consideration of those painters who are secure of a position on the walls, and come to those who still depend on the justice and good-will of their more fortunate brethren. As space is limited we shall not attempt to catalogue the principal good pictures by outsiders, or dwell on casual examples of talent and skill. We must confine ourselves to an enumeration of those men who appear to us to put forth, by their general work, most claim to recognition by the Royal Academy, and in doing so we shall mention only those who have placed themselves, by their successive efforts, among the prominent candidates for the associateship. In carefully weighing the claims of those painters as represented on the walls of the Academy, we have been so much bewildered by the capricious manner in which the works of outsiders are hung this year, that we cannot help expressing a conviction that the hanging committee, whose names are unknown to us, are entitled to severe censure for the mode in which they have performed, or, in most cases, neglected



their duty. We would particularly refer to the discourtesy shown to one or two eminent foreign exhibitors. Among figure-painters, then, it appears to us that two men come prominently to the front with two very remarkable historical pictures, and in this case we cannot say that any blame is due to the hangers, since "The Benediction" of Mr. J. D. Linton, and the "Charles I. at Gloucester," of Mr. Seymour Lucas, are placed on the line, on each side of a door, as if to invite convenient comparison. It is very instructive to contrast these two masterly productions. Mr. Lucas has the advantage in brilliance and general effect, in broad planes of light, and in cunningly arranged depths of shadow. On the other hand, there is not on the whole of his canvas an inch so exquisitely painted as the kneeling boy's head in Mr. Linton's. The one painter is a simple historian, the other has a touch of the dramatic poet; Mr. Lucas reminds us of Mr. Pettie, while Mr. Linton seems to have caught something of the spirit of Baron Leys. "The Benediction" becomes more interesting the more closely we look into it; "Charles I. at Gloucester" produces its full impression at once. It is easy to see that Mr. Lucas has almost too much proficiency with oils; the cautious touch of Mr. Linton reveals the habitual practice of water-colour. The work of Mr. Linton has long been admirable, that of Mr. Lucas has taken a start this year for which we were not prepared, and the rivalry between the two painters becomes very vivid and interesting.

The name of Mr. John Collier has come more recently before the public than either of those just mentioned, but it has earned this year a great prestige. The beautiful composition which has been bought under the Chantry Bequest fully deserves the popularity that it has enjoyed. It is the adequate interpretation of a very fine and moving story in Elizabethan history, as mysterious a tragedy as any that adorned the stage in that generation. At present Mr. Collier's final position in art seems dubious; we chiefly observe that his painting is unusually sound and sober, and that he adopts a thoroughly common-sense manner, adorned by a somewhat thin vein of poetry. In a year or two we shall be able to see more clearly in what direction a talent so well trained and so fully under control will eventually lead him. He seems to have an intellectual bias rather rare among painters, and, in fine, we look forward to his future work with unusual anticipation. Mr. Waller is another man more or less of the same school, who has painted a better picture this year than he ever achieved before; but his aims, as we at present conceive them, are rather to be compared with those of Mr. Lucas than with the more serious art of Mr. Collier or Mr. Linton.

It would be a pleasure to one who, like the present writer, has over and over again expended the flowers of youthful rhetoric on the praise of Mr. Albert Moore's successive pieces to continue that

enthusiasm in more sober speech. But a time seems really to have come at last for speaking out strongly against the narrow range and paltry ambition of this singularly gifted colourist. "Every one who has hair," the Hindoos say, "can do it up four different ways." It would be delightful to find that Mr. Albert Moore could contrive even two kinds of toilet. Nor is he any longer an adept in the one narrow class of subjects to which he confines himself. The limbs of his figures lack all projection, the tissues they wear and the stuffs they lounge upon are undistinguishable in texture from their faces, or from the wall behind them. It is really distressing to see a beautiful and original talent, which once was set to high imaginative uses, fall thus into decay. There was nothing to prevent Mr. Albert Moore from developing into another and a more exquisite *Puvis de Chavannes*; at present he is not merely not this, but he is no longer a power in English art at all. "*C'est un sacrilège, mais je le boude,*" as the hero-worshipper says in the last new comedy.

Mr. Heywood Hardy has achieved a veritable success with his dignified "*Avuda and the Holy Lion*," but he has made the mistake of accompanying it by a picture that is by no means noble or beautiful. As long as an artist displays this uncertainty of touch, we cannot feel confident that his talent is any deeper than that sort of lyricism which is common to so many young men. Still the lion has a certain grandeur of treatment that places Mr. Heywood Hardy in a more interesting light than he has ever been seen in before. Mr. Robert W. Macbeth, on the other hand, has taken a distinct step back into the rank and file by the injudicious exhibition of his "*Ferry*," a picture ridiculously crude in workmanship, and painted apparently with no more sensitive tool than the palette-knife. Portions of this large picture display the truth of instinct, the wholesome feeling for rural beauty, and the originality of design which have made previous works of this unequal artist so very interesting; but the most independent of painters should know how to paint, and the condition of eye which enabled Mr. Macbeth to send in without a qualm such an expanse of crudity as the water in the foreground of "*The Ferry*" argues ill for ultimate mastery of the art. Before we leave the figure-painters, we may say that the portrait of Colonel Yule by Mr. T. Blake Wirgman seems to show an extraordinary advance on the part of a draughtsman who has been for some time before the public, but whose portraits have erred on the side of timidity of treatment. In this portrait Mr. Wirgman seems to us of all the outsiders to come the nearest to Mr. Holl.

The honours of landscape are divided this year between Mr. Cecil Lawson, Mr. Colin Hunter, and Mr. Keeley Hulsewelle. The first-mentioned of these gentlemen makes a constantly stronger claim upon our attention as a landscape-painter of the constructive and selective class. He does not attempt to follow the prevailing craze

for "impressions;" he deliberately returns to the old traditions of English landscape. That he owes a great deal to Gainsborough he would probably be the last to deny; he has certainly not studied Hobbins and Gaspar Poussin without stealing something of the peculiar magic from each of them. He has a fine range of expression; he can oppress our nerves with thunder-cloud and broad masses of stormy light, or reduce his tones to so silvery a key that we are reminded of some such quiet, old-world draughtsman as Cozens. It is the peculiarity of such painting as this that it does not appeal to any extravagance of passing fashion, but to time itself; and will possess what value it now possesses when the whole temper of the age has altered. We believe that if he will keep true to his best instincts and resist a certain temptation to haste and eccentricity, this artist will achieve a place in poetic landscape second to no Englishman of his time. Mr. Colin Hunter has a more prosaic, but a more robust temperament in art than Mr. Cecil Lawson. The effects he produces are less lovely and refined, but they are sometimes more true to nature, and they are always well under his own control. Great injury is done to his two superb sea-scapes of this year by their position high above the line. "Mussel Gatherers," however, as well as we are able to make out, is by far the better of the two, more original in the strange grouping of the women as they wade, truer in the effect of strong twilight upon the ripples, more courageous in rendering the crude sunset atmosphere on the low fields of the island beyond. Mr. Keeley Halswelle is a new name in landscape art. For many years he has sent from Rome rather conventional figure-pieces, in which we are free to confess that we have taken no manner of interest. But he has returned to England, and he has made quite a new start by rendering, in a broad and striking style, passages of still water, full of silvery reeds, and broken only by "the innumerable lily." He has painted these aquatic perspectives under afternoon skies almost surcharged with heavy, silver-shot clouds, skies that press upon the sense of the spectator with some measure of painful exaggeration. But the general impression of nature is new and valuable, and places Mr. Keeley Halswelle in a more prominent position than he ever held before. Finally, it must not be overlooked that Miss Clara Montalba has this year far outstepped all English painters of her sex by her noble picture of "St. Mark's," and that Mr. Logsdail displays a new and valuable feeling for architectural detail in three striking, though harsh and dry, paintings of Flemish life.

What we have said about the vagaries of the hanging committee does not hold true of the placing of the sculpture, which seems to have been carried out under some new and happy inspiration. The dreadful shelf which used to run round the sculpture gallery, on which the busts were arranged side by side, like so many decapitated

heads, gives way this year to a series of pedestals, one for each individual work. The principal figures, too, instead of being crowded round the walls of the central hall, are placed in such isolation that they can be well seen from all sides. Sir Frederick Leighton, in addressing the guests at the Academy dinner the other day, bade them notice that sculpture in England was waking from its long slumber. We certainly find reason to endorse his words. Is Mr. Thornycroft the "fated fairy Prince" who has wrought this magic change? His "Teucer" is certainly the best statue of 1881, as his "Artemis" was of 1880, and he has progressed in originality and learning since last year. His conception of the brother of Ajax is a very fine imaginative study, carried out with much more force and ease than we are wont to find in English sculpture. The modelling of the head alone is something quite new to those who have been accustomed to see at the Academy year after year nothing better than smooth adaptations of debased Roman copies of Greek work. In exhibiting the "Teucer," Mr. Thornycroft places himself on a level with the best younger French sculptors of our time, and claims kinship with such men as Idrac and Albert-Lefevre. Mr. George Lawson, in his "Cleopatra," shows something of the same instinct for style and for the modern grand manner; but his statue is marred by certain technical shortcomings. Mr. Lawson has modelled more satisfactory compositions than this. The beautiful workmanship of Mr. Armistead's two marble bas-reliefs is so very considerable, that we pause to consider why the pleasure they give us is not more complete. The answer, probably, should be that the sculptor has wantonly, since accident is out of the question in so great a master of technique, disobeyed the law that in bas-relief faces must be treated in profile. We cannot desire to see the courageous experiment repeated. In iconic sculpture the Royal Academy presents nothing so considerable as Mr. Boehm's exquisitely finished bust of Mr. Gladstone. We welcome, in bronze, the equestrian group, called "A Moment of Peril," by Mr. Brock, which was exhibited in plaster last year, and which has now been bought under the Chantrey Bequest. In spite of a tiresome error in natural history, it is a noble work, which will advance the reputation of Foley's best pupil. We are sorry to miss the name of Mr. Woolner from the list of exhibitors in 1881. All the names in sculpture hitherto mentioned have long been favourably before the public. Of fresh candidates for distinction, Mr. Lee, with his striking statue of "Cain," seems to be moving forward on the soundest principles; but it would be well to bear in mind the names of Mr. Percival Ball, Mr. Onslow Ford, and Mr. Roscoe Mullins. The President was certainly right, and English sculpture is showing signs of revival; she has two great dangers to be ware of, pseudo-classicism on the one hand, and Italian smartness on the other.

EDMUND W. GOSSE.

## ENGLISH AND EASTERN HORSES.

### PART II.—ENGLISH HORSES.

As soon as our three most illustrious Eastern colonists, the Byerley Turk, the Darley Arabian, and the Godolphin horse of unknown parentage, had established themselves and their families in the land, the breeding of the English race-horse may be said to have consummated itself. Older foreign sires helped to feed the descents for awhile; thus Brilliant has little or nothing to do with the Byerley Turk, and King Herod is perhaps the last horse of renown who is a stranger in blood to the Godolphin. Still the three families were inextricably intertwined one hundred years ago, and have gone on combining and recombining themselves ever since, so that for all practical purposes there are three genealogies, and three only, still in their pristine vigour. Setting aside exceptional animals, from 1750, let us say, to 1815, or thereabouts, the English race-horse was perhaps at his best. The two-year-old races, though creeping in during the latter half of this period, were not yet very general; there were, consequently, fewer wretches, and the good, swifter or not swifter, were of a more valuable sort and a richer national possession. So says Mr. White, the historian of the British turf, though I frankly confess that I do not rate his authority very highly; so says Colonel Hamilton Smith, who in depth of knowledge, both scientific and practical, about the *Equidæ*, stands, one may say, alone; so said Mr. Lawrence, the famous veterinary surgeon and historian of the horse; so say, I believe, most men who have paid attention to these matters, except those professional turfites, whose main object it is to sweep away stakes and pocket bets without being bothered.

The real difference between the old set and the new set of animals seems to be this: that whereas the earlier runners thought nothing of contesting three four-mile races in a week, and kept their power of doing this year after year, the modern flyer, who accomplishes three miles once in his career, and does not break down until after he has ceased to be a colt, is considered a prodigy. By all, however, except mere book-makers, the preservation of a fine breed of horses cannot but be looked upon as the true object of racing. I trust, therefore, that my readers will bear with me whilst I discuss the subject, even though I discuss it at some length. The optimists have two arguments, each of which I admit has some force, and I do not wonder that they cling to them, seeing that in the face of an enormous mass of evidence directly against their theories, they have absolutely nothing else to rely upon.

Admiral Rous's position is that Arabs and half-Arabs are worthless as against our present running horses, whereas from 1700 to 1750 they distinguished themselves; therefore our older horses must have been worthless too. There are, however, several things to be taken into consideration. We learn, to begin with, that Markham's Arabian was thoroughly well beaten in every race he ran for—by the same process of reasoning, therefore, we might infer that Atlas or Bay Malton would have stood no chance against the running horses of James I. But, as Mr. Blunt points out, the pure Arab is bred and trained for quite other purposes. Neither he nor his ancestors have been accustomed or taught to race in our sense of the word. The qualities of the Arab family are such, no doubt, as to insure superiority to his descendants in that respect also, with time, and after instruction, but his normal superiority is one of a somewhat different kind. Pure Arabs we may therefore put aside for the present.

With regard to half-Arabs like Childers, Regulus, Brocklesby Betty, and so on, there are also several points to be taken into consideration.

In the first place the Arabs of 1750 were most carefully sought out and purchased at any price.

Secondly, these were, as I have said before, mated with the very best mares.

Thirdly, it is doubtful whether, even when every effort had been made, the most perfect specimens of the race were attainable except at long intervals, and then by accident. Both here and in India, Sir David, Honeysuckle, the Byerley Turk, the Lister Turk, the Darley Arabian, the Godolphin Arabian, seem to have been caught by a happy chance. And it is worth considering whether some superstition may not have been at work in the Oriental mind, urging it to get rid of horses with ominous markings. I recollect being told by an old Indian uncle of mine that it was in that direction purchasers ought to look out for a really superior Eastern horse. Sir David accordingly was the best Arab ever landed in India, but there was some mystery about him. He came in a most miserable condition, and when put to the stud failed to become a sire,<sup>1</sup> the native horse-dealers telling us at the same time that we never should see his like again. Honeysuckle, also a very brilliant specimen of his kind, was unfortunately burnt to death on board ship in a voyage up the Ganges.

In the fourth place, when horses did not appear on the turf until they were five, six, or seven years old, the half-Arabs had time to

(1) As the Arabs ride, we are told, only mares, a stud horse, who, like Cedric, the winner of the Derby in 1824, Langtonian, or even the Earl, was practically useless for the future, became useless altogether, whatever his personal qualities might be.

develop. Under the present forcing system our three-year-olds are abnormally good, as compared with themselves later on. Most of them, I really believe, instead of improving, fade and dwindle away; at any rate the improvement between three and five years old is comparatively nothing to what it used to be. Now the son of an Arab, who is no race-horse in our sense of the word, would probably require the full time due from Nature for the proper development of his family in order to reach the maximum of his excellence—this time we never give them now.

And lastly, what is the condition of the Arab himself at present? This is what Colonel Hamilton Smith says: "When, therefore, we take together all the qualities of the Arabian horses, and compare them with other races, we may find some of greater single power, but none endowed with so much to endear, to admire, or to use. This opinion we are justified in passing, since neither Asia nor Europe can boast of a horse in all or in some respects superior or equal, which is not mainly indebted to the Arabian blood for the estimation which it has obtained, *but it is doubtful whether the great qualities of these animals are not now rapidly on the decline, the wants and expectations of the people evidently taking another direction.*" In confirmation of this opinion one has only to turn to Mr. Blunt's article in the *Nineteenth Century*. There we learn how miserably the wretched animals are now starved, fettered in helpless inaction, and otherwise ill-treated; how, in consequence of the continual sale of their horses, the mares, whom till recently they wished to keep, are appropriated in great herds to a single male, and so on. The old stories of the foal being brought up in the tent, and treated as a favourite child, are now quite obsolete; on the contrary, if the Arabs were bent upon trashing, as we Yorkshiremen say, and ruining their breed, they could not take a straighter road to that goal than they seem to be doing at present. Even Sir Charles Bunbury's invention of two-year-old races can hardly have been more mischievous to us than is the present Bedouin system to the Arab. I would submit to all impartial readers these reasons taken altogether, and then ask them if the principal argument of the optimists has not, after the manner of their favourite Rowley Milers, sprung a back-sinew at least, if not irretrievably broken down. Now, unless this Anti-Arabic inference is held sufficient, they have, like their pets again, hardly a leg to stand upon. The whole array of recorded facts is dead against them, as we shall show in a rapid recapitulation of the principal statements which have from time to time been noted down in the history of horse-racing. The other argument of the optimists just worth noticing is derived from the habit in which our ancestors indulged, of riding alongside of the competitors during the last half mile or so of an interesting race. It is argued from this that the

racers could not have been going any pace, and were worth very little. This inference is altogether an unreasonable one. The riding sportsmen of this class who maintained their equality with the running horses up to the winning post were, I should say, few in number, men, no doubt, like Mr. Jennison Shafto, of match-against-time notoriety, weighing probably less than the twelve stone carried by the racers, and mounted on fleet hacks, selected and fitted for that particular kind of work.

What may be the case now I know not. The five-furlong wretch in fashion may be as fast as a hunting leopard over his miserable distance. But in my youth it was notorious that for a spurt many half-bred nags (such as Mr. Clifton's old hunter Nottingham) were swifter than almost any four-legged creature to be found, and further back, in the middle of the last century, Hell-fire Dick on the Rocket gelding could show the way, for a quarter of a mile, to every race-horse in the world. Nags of the same kind would no doubt be common enough, there being a demand for them, and would be used with various degrees of success to gallop alongside the course against horses who had already struggled through three miles and a half, under heavy weights, but I can draw from that fact no such inference as the optimists insist upon, and do not mean to be convinced.

To begin like, or rather unlike, the ram in the fairy tale, at the beginning. The first recorded race of great importance is the match between the semi-mythical Yorkshire horse Merlin and an unnamed antagonist, possibly the semi-mythical Dragon, belonging to Tregonwell Frampton, the patron saint, or sinner, of all succeeding blacklegs. For the aggressive sharp practice of Frampton and the defensive sharp practice on the part of Merlin's owner, I must refer the reader to White. It may be said, in the spirit of John Scott's remark about some ingenious Americans, "That we should not have been able to teach those gentlemen *much*." Each thought that he had outwitted the other, and therefore both parties were naturally confident of success. Enormous sums were betted, and finally Yorkshire was successful. It is not easy to accommodate Merlin's received pedigree to any probable time, but I suppose that if Merlin's dam were sister, as they say, to the great-grandam of Bay Bolton, a horse foaled in 1705, she must have been a sister younger by fifteen or twenty years, which would enable us to fix the date of the match either quite at the end of the seventeenth century or quite at the opening of the eighteenth; and this is not incompatible with another statement, that Merlin was alive as a stud horse in 1714. The Helmsley Turk indeed (Merlin's grandsire) is popped down in the *Stud-Book* as though he had been introduced by the first Duke of Buckingham; but this, if we compare the time when Mr. Felton lost his hat in August, 1628, with



the foaling of Woodcock by Merlin in 1715, and still more with the foaling of a filly by the Helmsley Turk out of Dodsworth's dam, after the death of Charles II., is obviously a mistake. The introducer of the Helmsley Turk must have been the gentleman who died "in the worst inn's worst room," as, indeed, any Rothschild might do to-morrow, if he broke his neck out hunting and was carried thither in a hurry. This race of Merlin's is now principally interesting to us as probably the earliest in which a horse still known to us by name is engaged, and secondly as originally exhibiting the true Yorkshire temper, with its keen intensity of interest and absorbing jealousy of the South—which continued so remarkable a characteristic of the people north of Trent, till the railways, "cranking in," mixed up everything together. The following rude verses are part of a ballad relating to the match, and were quoted in *Bell's Life in London* some fifteen or twenty years ago:—

"Now when they came to the second mile-post,  
 They seemed to run very gay,  
 Jerry said, 'If you can no faster go,  
 Come let us whip away—away.'  
 "And when they came to the third mile-post,  
 They seemed to run very true,  
 Jerry said, 'If you can no faster go,  
 I must and will leave thou—leave thou.'  
 "And now little Merlin has won the day,  
 And all for his master's gain;  
 There were four-and-twenty Yorkshiremen  
 Guarded him to his stable again.  
 "And as they rode through Newmarket,  
 Many curses on them did fall—  
 A curse light on each Yorkshire knight,  
 Their horses, and riders and all."

The same Yorkshire feeling I endeavoured to express in more modern phrasology, through rhymes which excited some attention in their day—though now out of print. The race referred to in them was that of 1827, in which Mr. Peter's Matilda defeated Mamcluke, the winner of the Derby, after a most anxious struggle.

"And every corner of the North  
 Has poured her hardy yeomen forth;  
 The dweller by the glistening rills  
 That sound among the 'raven Hills,  
 The stalwart husbandman who holds  
 His plough upon the Eastern wolds—  
 From Swale and Ure, from Crossfell wastes,  
 They roll along by dale and down;  
 Whilst from each grim and clouded town,  
 For once the sallow weaver hastes;  
 To gather thickly on the lea,  
 Still streaming from far homes, to see

If Yorkshire keeps her old renown,  
 Or if the dreaded Derby horse  
 Can tear the laurel from her course.  
 With the same look on every face,  
 The same keen feeling, they retrace  
 The Legends of each antient race.  
 Recalling<sup>1</sup> Beveller in his pride,  
 Or Blacklock of the mighty stride;  
 Or listening to some grey-haired sage,  
 Full of the dignity of age,  
 How Hambletonian<sup>2</sup> beat of yore  
 Such rivals as are seen no more:  
 How his old father loved to tell  
 Of that stern struggle, ended well,  
 When, strong of heart, the Wentworth Bay<sup>3</sup>  
 From staggering Herod strode away:  
 Of our first victory, handed on  
 Through the long years from sire to son,  
 Whilst subtle Frampton schemed in ruin,  
 And from Newmarket's baffled plain,  
 That triumph leapt like beacon fires  
 Across the sullen midland shires,  
 To fill with glee our reeling spires,  
 Whilst children started from their beds,  
 Those joybells<sup>4</sup> clashing round their heads,  
 To hear through shouting Yorkshire run  
 The news that Merlin's<sup>5</sup> race was won,  
 How Northern horses such as they  
 Would leave the panting South half-way,  
 But that the creatures of to-day  
 Are cast in quite a different mould,  
 From what he recollects of old," &c. &c.

Between Merlin and Flying Childers, the most celebrated names are those of Basto, Bay Bolton, Brocklesby Betty, True Blue, Chanter, Fox, and Bonny Black. Of the earlier among these we know little beyond their names; Chanter, however, is famous as the antagonist of Childers in 1722, being at that time twelve years old; Fox and Bonny Black also reach the time when races at Newmarket begin to be recorded, and from the era of Flying Childers English racing has proceeded with a steady and continuous advance. The legends about the horse in question are so well known that it is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon them. If his stride, like that of Eclipse, when extended, covered twenty-five feet, it was eight inches longer than the strides of the Flying Dutchman and Voltigeur when they were struggling head to head opposite the York Stand in 1851. The two horses, whilst the contention was at its height, reached

(1) From 1817 to 1821.

(2) Hambletonian and Diamond, 1799.

(3) Bay Malton and King Herod, 1766.

(4) When Beeswing, in 1842, won that great Southern trophy, the Ascot Cup, Northumberland, of one spirit with Yorkshire in the matter of racing, insisted upon having the bells of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, rung in her honour, and rung they were.

(5) Merlin, say 1700.

over exactly the same space of ground, and that space was twenty-four feet four inches. The portraits of Flying Childers commonly represent him with his hind legs stretching abnormally far back. If, by some exceptional leverage power, he could bring these hind legs perfectly under him when he galloped, his length of stride and his superior speed would be not unreasonably accounted for. He won two matches and received some forfeits at Newmarket, but his greatest achievements were not performed in public; he is said to have given Fox, almost the best runner of his time, 12 lbs., and to have beaten him a quarter of a mile over the Beacon course; which is very much as if a dark three-year-old had met Robert the Devil last year at Doncaster and reached the goal before Robert had come to what is called the end of the white rails.

It is worth remarking that Fox at this time belonged to the Duke of Rutland, as did the hitherto invincible Bonny Black, and that the Duke, on withdrawing this famous mare from the turf, challenged any horse or mare in the kingdom to run four times round the race-course (about fourteen miles and a quarter); whether this challenge was aimed at Childers, then six years old, and whether it gives evidence of the Duke of Rutland's belief, judging through Fox, that Childers, in spite of his tremendous speed, might possibly be worn down in a very long race, we cannot say. The challenge was not accepted, and Bonny Black retired with all the honours of war. Why also she was never mated with Childers is a curious question; the blood of the Byerley Turk might have mingled with that of the Darley Arabian, some thirty-five years before the birth of Herod, and who can say what would have been the result? As the two Dukes were neighbours in the country, as well as associates at Newmarket, as one of them possessed the finest horse, and the other the finest mare in England, why so natural a union never took place must be left to the Mannerses and Cavendishes to explain. The sons of Childers, Blacklegs, Plaistow, Second, Blaze, and Spanking Roger, all came into competition with the progeny of the Godolphin Arabian and of Partner, and are perhaps entitled to rank with them—certainly not higher. In the next generation, with the exception of Blaze, and of Snap, who was excellent both on the turf and at the stud, they more or less disappear, whilst the Godolphin family sweeps everything before it. The following anecdote as to the purchase of Childers, preserved at Cantley, may perhaps be new to my readers; with it we will take leave of the "unwinged flyer," as the Moorish poet quoted above would have called him.

The Duke of Devonshire was in the habit of buying annually some of Mr. Childers's "young things"; on one occasion a dispute arose between them, as to whether the sum due from the Duke to the Squire was to be calculated in guineas or pounds. "Throw in,"

exclaimed the Duke, "that ugly little white-faced Devil looking over the gate yonder, and guineas it shall be." No sooner said than done: Childers went with the lot to Chatsworth, and was there used as a hack. Returning one day with letters across the moor, he passed the exercising ground of the Duke's accepted racers. The boys jeered at him as he went by, crying out, "Come 'now, let us see what that wonderful high-bred nag of yours can do." This invitation was straightway accepted, and the curiosity of Childers's critics satisfied at once. It is needless to add that the horse was immediately put into training, and the Chatsworth post-pony found himself at once transformed into the pride and terror of Newmarket. His comparatively small size was considered at first, I suppose, to unfit him for racing. The same thing happened with Gimcrack afterwards—some such accident disclosed his superiority, and the wondering groom rushed to tell his master that the "little Cripple colt could beat them all." How do these instances square themselves with the Rous-Galloway theory? Between Childers and Eclipse little more than forty-five years intervened, and during all this time, whenever superior power was shown, or imagined, the regular formula was—this is the best horse since Childers. That was said of Lath, foaled in 1732; of the Duke of Devonshire's Atlas, foaled in 1752, and doubtless of many others in the excitement of some unexpected victory. But after the advent of Eclipse, this formula dropped. For the first time men recognised a race-horse equal, or if not absolutely equal to the typical Flyer, yet good enough, in Cambridge phraseology, to be bracketed with him. Now we always wonder why Admiral Rous and his supporters have invariably assumed that the men of those times were incapable of forming an opinion worth attending to. There are now hundreds of people in all ranks of life, from Duke to tout, who must be perfectly competent to compare and contrast Isonomy with such a horse as Touchstone, foaled in 1831, and both of them with celebrated racers, such as Bay Middleton, Stockwell, Gladiateur, Blair Athol and others who come in between. Why then are we to suppose that the English sportsmen of one hundred and twenty years ago judged without reason in these matters, and spoke without thought? There must at least have been the same number of men in 1769 who could recollect 1722 and the ensuing years, as there are now to recollect 1830. If a man heard, as I heard from John Scott, long after 1828, that Velocipede, though not the luckiest, was the best three-year-old he had ever trained;<sup>1</sup> and if that man has, as I have, the most perfect recollection of Velocipede's appearance, size,

(1) The last Derby I have witnessed (for I have left off going to races) was won by Pretender, the last St. Leger by Silvio; and I should say, taking a shot at the probabilities of the case, that Velocipede could, to speak mildly, have given Pretender 21 lbs., and Silvio a stone or more.

shape, points, and style of going, he naturally thinks that he is able to institute some sort of comparison between him and Robert the Devil; or between Robert the Devil and twenty other horses, equally distinct as Velocipede along the lines of his memory. Is such a power confined to the latter part of the nineteenth century? and if not, what was there to hinder my great-grandfather, under similar circumstances, from putting Sedbury, and Lath, and Regulus, and Mirza before his eyes, whilst Eclipse was gaining his victories; and weighing them in the balance of judgment against Eclipse, whom he saw, and against Childers, whom he could perfectly recollect? In fact, no man ever heard of this marvellous advance through the generations till quite the other day. The utmost that Sir Charles Bunbury, the inventor of two-year-old racing,<sup>1</sup> claimed for Smolensko, was that possibly he could have gone over the course with Shark at even weights, instead of at 10 lbs., as old Lawrence suggested. "But," continues the narrator "he afterwards, I believe, changed that opinion."

Whether, however, the old notion that Childers and Eclipse stand apart in a class from all others be sound or not, it seems certain that so great a superiority over all existing competitors never was found in any third champion. So that even if we accept Admiral Rous's statement, that Eclipse now would hardly carry off a £50 selling plate, with the winner to be sold for 200 guineas, this yet gives the pair a special distinction of their own.

I do not know when this wonderful improvement is supposed to have reached its maximum, but I assume that the present horses will not claim to be much better than Touchstone, Bay Middleton, and Beeswing, or Fleur-de-lis. Now, between Marske and Touchstone there are five generations; between Bay Middleton and King Horod, four; between Beeswing and Matchem, four; four also between Fleur-de-lis and Matchem, so that the improvement must have gone on at the rate of at least a stone per generation, since everybody must acknowledge that four stone<sup>2</sup> is a most moderate allowance for the best horse of the year to have given to so poor a competitor as Eclipse is thus supposed to be. Have the optimists ever considered, in connection with this point, certain horses who overlapped their own generation, and had to meet nephews and nieces at even weights over the course? Mirza,<sup>3</sup> we think, is an awkward

(1) *Subaudi multa.*

(2) Four stone I take to be about the average difference between A1 of any given year and his lowest thoroughbred contemporary, keepable in training for small selling races, like the Rous Eclipse.

(3) Mirza, by the Godolphin Arabian, foaled seventeen years after Lath, the son and heir; he ran some ten or eleven times, and never was beaten. He ended his career by defeating a grand field over the Beacon course at Newmarket, including his renowned nephew Matchem, and the equally renowned Jason, commemorated by Thackeray. Jason, also, is of a younger generation. We may add that Mirza was not brought out till he was seven years old.

horse for them, and Meteora<sup>1</sup> a very awkward mare. Hambletonian and Diamond may also be mentioned as running on among the *post-nati* unsurpassable to the last. But the horse to whom we wish to call particular attention is Medoro, by Cervantes out of a Sorcerer mare, foaled in 1824. He was of the same generation as Altisidora and Tramp, foaled in 1810; as Orville, foaled in 1799; as Eleanor, foaled in 1798, and actually one generation higher up and nearer to the Darley Arabian than Catton, foaled in 1809. In spite of this, he was one of the best horses of a good year, with nothing to show that he was in any respect obsolete (except that he certainly had good legs); and my readers will see hereafter that the fastest mile-and-a-quarter race discoverable in the Calendars was won by him against two powerful opponents, each of them two generations farther off from the one common ancestor than he was. If, then, Mirza, by the Godolphin Arabian, and Meteora, by Meteor, could defeat nephews and nieces and the like; if Medoro could conquer his grand-nephews and the like in 1830, we begin to doubt of this continuous improvement, so loudly boasted of, and may fairly desire to ascertain the positive as well as the relative merits of Eclipse, if they happen to be ascertainable. The only clue to them seems to be his race against Tortoise and Bellario in 1770 at York. It is thus described:—"20 to 1. In running 100 to 1 on Eclipse. Eclipse took the lead at starting, and when at the two-mile post was *above a distance*<sup>2</sup> before the others. He won with uncommon ease." Now both Tortoise and Bellario belonged then to the first rank of horses, the rank which included Bay Malton, Gimcrack, Antinous, Beau Fremont, and King Herod. A year or two before there had been a famous contest at York, between Bay Malton, Herod, Beau Fremont, and others. On account of the great interest awakened this race was carefully timed. Bay Malton went over the York four-mile course (always dull and inelastic, and generally more or less heavy in an English August) in 7 m. and 43½ s.; and yet Eclipse could have beaten horses of much the same stamp as Bay Malton 600 yards or so over the same ground four years afterwards. We may add that 7 m. and 43½ s. continued to be good average time for similar races at York, when Haphazard and his successors contested them fifty years later; and we must leave our readers to decide whether these calculations are easily reconcilable with the selling stakes theory alluded to above. It may not be out

(1) Meteora, the best mare of her time, was a late grand-daughter of Eclipse; she won her four last races in the year 1810, forty years after her grandsire had retired from the turf. It is needless to add that her competitors, with hardly an exception, were lower down in the generations than she was.

(2) It is probable that Captain O'Kelly, after having shown that he could distance, or double distance, his opponents, refrained from doing so because, as we learn, there was heavy betting between Bellario and Tortoise for the second place.

of place here to point out what the average thoroughbred horse of that day could do in races against time, about which there can be no mistake. Mr. Hall's Quibbler, in 1782, practically accomplished twenty-four miles within the hour. In 1756 Mr. Jennison Shafto, on ten different horses, galloped fifty miles in 1 h. 49 m. and some odd seconds. The four third-rate animals who drew old Queensberry's carriage in his well-known match in 1750 overpowered their jockies at the start, and ran away, doing the first four miles in 9 m., with wheels behind them; and finally, in 1760, the celebrated Mr. Johnson (whoever the celebrated Mr. Johnson may have been) rode one mile at York, for 100 guineas, standing upright upon his saddle. "He was allowed three minutes to ride it in, but he accomplished the task in two minutes forty-two seconds." The name of the horse he elected to stand upon is not even thought worth mentioning. Why, then, are we to disbelieve every statement handed down to us about the pace of these old encounters—because it pleases Admiral Rous and his adherents to go on knocking our two-year-olds to pieces, and to breed from fast weeds and cripples rather than stout horses, in order that two-year-old races may be more readily won? Lord Stradbroke, at any rate, differs as much from his brother, so far as sound opinions in this matter are concerned, as Eclipse differed, in racing power, from his cadet, Garrick. This is what *he* says:—"For more than sixty years I have had great experience in breeding all sorts of horses, and have taken great interest in their enduring qualities. I believe that horses *have* deteriorated of late years. My firm belief is that there are not now four horses in England that could run over the Beacon course in eight minutes, which, in my younger days, I have seen constantly done."

If any confirmation of Lord Stradbroke's opinion be needed, America will furnish it. The Americans maintained our old English system of four-mile heats long after we had abandoned them; and though naturally, if we had kept upon the same lines, our horses ought to have retained their superiority, seeing that we intended to reserve all the best stallions, and still more, all the best mares for ourselves—to feed them, as it were, with the crumbs that fell from our table; still Prioress, and Optimist, and Starch (to say nothing of magnificent Old Lexington over the sea) brought home to all who could not keep their eyes close shut, the disagreeable truth that they represented Dorimant, and Shark, and Highflyer, and Hambletonian, over anything like a distance of ground, a great deal better than most of their English contemporaries.<sup>1</sup>

To proceed, however, downwards from Eclipse. Of the race between Firetail and Pumpkin, one minute four and a half seconds

(1) This, I need scarcely say, was written before the recent performances of Iroquois, Foxhall, and Don Fulano.

over the Rowley mile in 1773 ("decidedly less than a minute and a quarter," says another and independent eye-witness), any allusion to which always makes the optimists foam at the mouth with rage, we shall say nothing except that it was published over Europe, without being contradicted or questioned; and that both Pumpkin and Firetail could go four miles as well as one with perfect comfort to themselves, and, as must be clear to any one opening the *Racing Calendar*, did not break down before they had ceased to be colts, which is more than can be said of their most obvious modern rival—that brilliant cripple, Bay Middleton. His race with Elis for the Two Thousand Guineas Stakes in 1836 is, perhaps, the nearest approach to Firetail's wonderful performance. Indeed, if Bay Middleton had been able to start in 1773 on the other side of the course, with 7 st. upon his back (his proper weight), instead of 8 st. 7 lbs., who knows what might have happened?

After this there is nothing of startling interest before the famous match between Hambletonian and Diamond for three thousand guineas; both being colts of 1792, were seven in the spring of 1799—as we should say, rising seven, according to the older method of calculating age—when the match took place.

This match is always brought forward by the optimists as tending to show that the speed of our older horses has been exaggerated. "Eight minutes and a half," say they, "were occupied by these renowned horses in running over the Beacon Course, according to the best authorities; and therefore no preceding runner ever did it in less." It is obviously impossible, then, that Childers should have carried 9 st. over the same distance in  $7\frac{1}{2}$  m.; that Regulus should have completed his four miles at Newmarket in 7 m. 10 sec.; that Coriander, many years afterwards, should have repeated this remarkable performance; that Matchem should have beaten Trajan for the Whip in 7 m. 20 sec.; that Spectator, a year or two afterwards, should have run three 4-mile heats in 7 m. 50 sec., in 7 m. 40 sec., and 8 m. odd. All such absurd statements are quashed and put out of court by the simple fact that Hambletonian required  $8\frac{1}{2}$  m. to achieve his mighty triumph.

I must be permitted to say that this is all nonsense. In the first place I do not know why anybody assumes that  $8\frac{1}{2}$  m. is the most accurate timing of this great race; and secondly, if it were, it does not bear upon the general question in the smallest degree. I have seen four separate accounts of this match. One man, no doubt, says that it was run in  $8\frac{1}{2}$  m., adding, however, that "the first three miles were done at an easy gallop." He is a bitter partisan of Diamond's, had obviously lost his money, and his object being to prove that Diamond's rider had thrown away his chance by not forcing the pace, he naturally represents the race to have occupied the longest time possible. A second eye-witness tells us that the



race was finished in 8 m. But, according to him, Fitzpatrick on Diamond "rode booty." He also seems to have lost his bets and his temper on this memorable occasion. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that to me both these gentlemen seem to have been very great fools. A third narrator takes up the story a little later, reviews all that has been said upon the subject, and shows himself to be a much more competent judge.

He also is prejudiced, justly or unjustly, against Hambletonian, calls him a great swerving brute, and so on, stating that he was not whipped, because if he had been he would probably have collapsed at once—still he seems to know what he is talking about. Now he declines to fix the time at all, saying that as to that there was a great difference of opinion. Still he confirms nincompoop the first more or less by declaring that he has often seen the course run over by horses of inferior pretensions, under heavier weights, in a shorter time. He does not think, however, that Diamond could have won under any circumstances, believing that the larger and swifter horse could have laid off, whilst his smaller rival was exhausting his powers, to come up when his game little antagonist had blown himself by desperate exertions, and win as he liked. Lastly, there is a Yorkshire account which seems, whenever this great event was afterwards spoken of, to have finally prevailed—viz., that Hambletonian won in a canter; because whilst Diamond was terribly punished, Buckle never whipped him at all, and that the race was completed in 7 min. 15 sec.<sup>1</sup> This last assertion seems to me, I confess, not in accordance with the evidence; it was rather, I think, the North of England view what Hambletonian's great race ought to have been, than what it really was. Anybody can see that the slower of two horses is under some disadvantage in a match, as compared to what he would be in a race comprising a large field of competitors, and Diamond seems to have felt the difficulty of not having some one to make strong running for him without his distressing himself, and to have been hampered accordingly. As far as I can make out, all the early progress of the struggle was somewhat slow, Diamond's rider not caring to over-force his horse, but that when Hambletonian shot to the front in order to make use of his superior length and swiftness across the flat, the pace became exceedingly severe. Buckle is reported to have told Clift, the well-known jockey, that he had never been so fast in his life. This being so, they went together and measured Hambletonian's hoof-marks on that part of the course, finding, according to the account given, that for nearly a mile and a half he had covered eight yards at every stride. He was supposed, indeed, to have secured his victory by out-pacing and over-hurrying Diamond in that tremendous rush of speed.

(1) Still it shows what the receivable opinion then was as to the pace of a first-class race-horse.

As he answered the final call upon him with perfect gameness, the Newmarket abuse of him seems to be mere South-country spite against our Northern champion, and as a Yorkshireman, I must add, that taking everything into consideration, Diamond has no claim to take equal rank with him as a race-horse. It might almost as well be said that Lord Exeter's Beiram was on a level with Priam, because he once pressed him closely for the Goodwood Cup. Hambletonian won the St. Leger in 1795; he started, between 1795 and 1800, seventeen times, and one may say, never was beaten.<sup>1</sup> It is true that he lost a plate at York, by bolting over the rails and running off to his stable, on which occasion he is said to have cleared thirty feet in that single bound; but he turned the tables on his conqueror, if one can call him so, two days afterwards. Diamond, on the other hand, though certainly a frequent winner, was beaten no less than ten times in the course of his turf career, besides losing an eleventh race by running out of the course in emulation of Hambletonian. Hambletonian, moreover, during the whole of 1798 was lame, out of sorts, and out of training, so that it is probable that he had irrecoverably lost something of his natural excellence, whilst Diamond, I should say, was never so good as on that morning, either before it or after it. To crown all, it must not be forgotten that Hambletonian was conceding weight to him. Three pounds, it is true, may not amount to much over the Rowley mile, but when you carry it over the Beacon course it is quite another matter. Seven pounds between two horses perfectly equal has been there computed to make the difference of a distance of 240 yards. What difference three pounds might make I do not know, not 103 yards, I presume, but still several lengths at the least, and by so much was Hambletonian better than Diamond on that important April morning in 1799; whilst as three-year-olds, as four-year-olds, or as five-year-olds, there could be no comparison at all between the two racers. Hambletonian, moreover, as the direct ancestor of Blacklock, and as the sire of Camillus, Smuggler, Theresa, and other good horses, was greatly superior to his rival at the stud, though in that respect I admit he hardly equalled the expectations which were formed of him at first.

I have only to repeat that if this match occupied eight minutes and thirty seconds in running, the fact is satisfactorily explained above; it is at any rate clear that one hundred horses previous to, contemporary with, or coming shortly after these two celebrated antagonists, could have gone over the same ground with ease at a greater pace than that. The optimists, moreover, cannot be allowed to choose one race to draw their inferences from. The true conclusion can only be derived from an average of many races; I shall, therefore,

(1) He was also first favourite in every one of his races, from first to last.

proceed on my examination of the old calendars and lay before my readers a commonplace table of the performances of commonplace good horses, from the days of Careless and Bay Malton, till about forty years ago, when four-mile races, if not absolutely dead, had ceased to awaken any real interest. These turf memories are recorded by one John Orton, keeper of the match-book and clerk of the course at York. I must add that nothing can apparently be more capricious than Mr. Orton's selection of his timed races; and what is the more provoking, the contests which he leaves untimed are often the most interesting ones; thus, in 1770 and 1779, he tells us how Eclipse and Highflyer won their plates at York, but not how many minutes they spent in winning them. Neither do we hear anything in this respect of Benningbrough and Hambletonian, so that all Hambletonian's victories, including one over Benningbrough himself, and the still unforgotten struggle between Benningbrough and Benington in 1795 (this last omission, however, I am enabled to supply), are alike passed over in silence; as also is the memorable contest between Catton and Dinmont, on Wednesday, the 25th of September, 1816, about which the Yorkshire farmers were never tired of talking when I was a boy; whilst as for the southern horses, "*Urgentur omnes illacrymabiles carent quia vate sacro.*" No second Mr. Orton arose at Newmarket, and therefore the victories of Eclipse, Goldfinder, Shark, Dorinant, Highflyer, Potatoes, and the rest, are merely noted down without any description of them. This is unlucky, as over the fine turf at Newmarket in April and October, a more brilliant rate of speed was probably maintained than on or through the dull clays of York in August.

I am aware that it is the fashion to despise timing, and to affirm that it affords no test of merit, but surely this involves some confusion of thought. The comparison of one Derby with another is worthless, no doubt, because the two may have been run under totally different circumstances, but the same thing cannot be asserted of a comparison between two sufficient periods of successive races, and the optimists must indeed be hard put to it for an argument, if they try to shelter themselves under so transparent an equivocation.

Having just now adverted to Mr. Orton's capriciousness, I shall, before copying out his notices, say a word or two upon some remarkable racing events, which are either out of his immediate province (York, Hambleton, Epsom, and Doncaster) or else for some reason or other have been left by him without the required comments. I have already mentioned Childers, Regulus, Firetail, and Coriander; in more modern times, the King's Plate at Ascot, won by Château Margaux against Brownlock (I think in 1827), a dead heat between Château Margaux and Lamplighter at Newmarket (I fancy in 1828), and a King's Plate won somewhere or other by a horse called



Doncaster, on Saturday, September 19th, 1801. As to that, I shall simply remark that the ground was as hard as iron; that, like Beningbrough and Ormond, at York, Sir Solomon and Cockfighter both suffered defeat in the same Doncaster week; and that they also were supposed to have knocked themselves to pieces, for the time, by their violent exertions against each other. Having made these observations, I shall simply reproduce Orton, and leave my readers to form their own opinion.

"B. H. Sir Solomon, by Sir Peter. . . . 1 (4 miles)

B. H. Cockfighter, by Overton . . . . 2

11 to 8 and 6 to 4 on Cockfighter. Sir Solomon took the lead, had beat his antagonist three-fourths of a mile from home, and won by about a length and a half at the ending post. The first two miles were run in *three minutes*, and the whole of the four miles (a reputed four miles, I apprehend) in seven minutes and between ten and eleven seconds."

Whether these first two miles performed in three minutes were two measured miles or only half the then Doncaster four-mile course, I cannot say, any more than I can be certain whether the match, two days before the regular meeting, was really 4 miles or 3 miles 6 furlongs and 20 yards—the King's Plate distance; but at the worst it does not contrast unfavourably with that matchless performance of Robert the Devil, when he ran over the Cæsarewitch course, 2 miles 240 yards, in 4 m. 40 s. This pace of our existing flyer resembles much more the rate at which the famous Mr. Johnson rode his anonymous horse a mile at York in 1760 standing upright in the saddle, than Beningbrough's or Cockfighter's style of galloping.

Our averages must still wait a little, whilst I describe two other exceptional races, the most remarkable, I believe, of the present century. One, the Richmond Cup of 1815, which I have often heard described, the other Mulatto's victory over Fleur-de-lis and Memnon at Doncaster in 1827, which I witnessed myself. In October, 1815, there came together at Richmond, Filhodaputa, Doctor Syntax, Altisidora, Rosanne, and other horses of repute. Doctor Syntax, then four years old, was the winner, among many other races, of twenty gold cups in his turf career. Altisidora was a famous mare, belonging to Mr. Watt; she had carried off the St. Leger in 1813, and had been generally victorious both before and since that event. Rosanne was an excellent runner in Mr. Pierce's stud, half-sister to the famous horse Reveller. There were eight or nine competitors in all, but the four named were the most noteworthy. In spite, however, of the high reputation of Doctor Syntax, Altisidora and Rosanne, Filhodaputa, from the manner in which he had won all his engagements, including the great St. Leger a month before, was backed at odds against the field. There does not seem to have been any question of "an easy gallop for the first three miles" in this case, and when after going about half-way, Filhodaputa bolted, leaped the rails, and fell upon his knees, his antagonists were less than ever

disposed to let the grass grow under their feet. The pace, accordingly, severe from the beginning, at once became tremendous, and when Filhodaputa was brought back by his jockey to the spot where he had left the course, he was, I have been told, at least two hundred yards in the rear. Nothing daunted, however, he stretched out his long neck and poured himself upon his horses with unfaltering energy. Incredible as it may seem, he caught up Altisidora and Doctor Syntax, excellent as they both were, before the goal was reached, winning the race by half a neck, and accomplishing the distance, four miles, according to the old Sporting Magazine, in seven minutes. The Richmond Cup course in 1815 may have been, like York and Doncaster, something short of a measured four miles, or it may not; at any rate, let Robert the Devil, or Isonomy, or Rayon d'Or, do the same if they can, and they may do it without even bolting if they like. Again, in 1827, eight of the best horses to be found anywhere gathered together at Doncaster to run for the Cup, two miles and five furlongs. Longwaist, the stoutest and most enduring of all South country King's Platers; Starch, the champion of Ireland; Tarrare, the winner of the preceding St. Leger; Memnon, the winner of 1825; Fleur-de-lis, known all over the north as "the mare" *par excellence*; Reviewer, a three-year-old, of some pretensions; and Mulatto, during the whole of that year invincible. It so happened that Fleur-de-lis was deprived of her jockey, G. Nelson, who was claimed by Lord Scarborough, as being his first master, and put upon Tarrare; the result was that Fleur-de-lis, a difficult mare to control, became at once unmanageable. On she came past the stand the first time at least a dozen lengths in front of the seven others, who lay packed together as closely as a body of cavalry. Two hundred yards, however, beyond the stand the three-year-old colt found the pressure of the pace overwhelming, and stopped suddenly as if he had been shot. At the top of the hill Starch did the like. Before the Red House was reached Tarrare had followed their example. Between the Red House and the white rails Actæon, though not actually standing still, fell right away, and was soon something like a hundred yards behind. As they approached the ending post thus it was: Fleur-de-lis on the full stretch, still leading, but now hard pressed by Mulatto and Memnon; Longwaist untirable, but overpaced, still hammering away many lengths in the rear; Actæon, just able to maintain a lumbering canter, but absolutely out of the race, and the three others, viz. Reviewer, the ex-St. Leger winner, and the best horse in Ireland, with their clients surrounding them, like little black dots, on the far side of the course, slowly walking in. Fifty yards from home Mulatto and Memnon both passed the leader; by a desperate effort she caught Memnon once more, and made a dead heat with him, but failed to reach Mulatto, who won by about half a length. This race was finished off

in four minutes and twelve seconds. If the optimist can say to any four-legged creature now existing, with any chance of success, "go thou and do likewise," I shall be glad to learn his name.

From my point of view it may be as well to mention that, of the four horses who were able to gallop at the end of this gallant struggle, though Memnon and (I believe) Mulatto had been out at two years old once or twice, neither Whisker nor Manuella, nor yet Catton or Desdemona, their respective sires and dams, had ever been trashed by such premature exertions, whilst Fleur-de-lis (who unquestionably ought to have won) and Longwaist were clear of that disastrous innovation altogether.

I have noticed the above races as falling either at first or at second hand within my own recollection—there were doubtless others in the north, and many others at Newmarket and elsewhere, deserving special commemoration, which have naturally escaped me—and I now fall back upon Mr. Orton's commonplace records; I say commonplace deliberately—he always passes *sub silentio* any contest, the tradition of which has survived as not commonplace with the single exception of the match between Sir Solomon and Cockfighter.

"York, 1759.—4 (reputed) miles.

Careless by Regulus (lame) 1st.

4 and 5 to 1 on Careless, in spite of his lameness; run in 8 m. 8 s.

Bl. Cade by Cade, run in 8 m. 5 s.

York, 1762.

Skipjack. . . . 1

Engineer . . . 2

5 to 1 on Engineer and 7 to 1 against Skipjack. Engineer made such strong play, that he compounded within the distance. Skipjack won cleverly."

This is one of the races which we should be glad to know more about; but it is exactly as to such races that Mr. Orton holds his peace.

"York, 1763.

Beau Fremont, 7 m. 51 s.

York, 1766.

Bay Malton, 7 m. 43½ s.

The famous Herod broke a blood-vessel in his head whilst running this race.

York, August, 1795.

Huby, 1, run in 7 m. 30½ s.

Doncaster, 1802.

Alonzo, 4 miles (really something more than 3 m. 3 qrs.), 7 m. 8 s.

York, August, 1803.—4 miles (3 m. 7 f. and 30 yds). Haphazard (aged), 7 m. 51 s., won easy.

Haphazard, 7 m. 53 s., won easy. Remembrancer (won easy), 7 m. 52 s.

Haphazard, a good race, 7 m. 45 s.

Haphazard, won by half a head, 7 m. 32 s.

York, August, 1806.

Marcia, 7 m. 54 s.

Vesta, 7 m. 42 s., won easy.

York, August, 1804.

Lennox, 8 m. 30 s.

York, August, 1807.

Haphazard (won easy), 7 m. 47 s.

Grasior, 7 m. 55 s.

Remembrancer (four years old), won

Priscilla, 7 m. 56 s.

easy, 7 m. 50 s.

Cassio (four years old), 7 m. 43 s.

York, August, 1808.  
 Archduke (with the bridle out of his mouth), 7 m. 40 s.  
 Scud, 7 m. 52 s. (won easy).  
 Ranger, 11 m. 9 s.  
 Rosette, 8 m. 5 s.  
 Archduke (four years old), with the bridle in his mouth, 7 m. 54 s.  
 Desdemona, 8 m. 12 s.

York, Spring, 1809.  
 Ceres, 7 m. 56 s.

York, August, 1809.  
 Remembrance (six years), 7 m. 30 s.  
 Petronius (four years), 7 m. 25 s.  
 Theresa, 7 m. 35 s.

York, August, 1810.  
 Theresa (five years old), 7 m. 30 s.  
 Occator, four mile heats.  
 1st, 9 m. 33 s. 2nd, 8 m. 27 s.  
 Whitworth, 7 m. 35 s.  
 Mowbray, 7 m. 38 s.

The severest race ever remembered to have been contested over Doncaster course."

So I have always understood, but of course Mr. Orton does not give the time.

"1818.

Blacklock took the lead, made all the running, and nearly distanced his competitors (time of course not given).

Doncaster, 1818.  
 Blacklock . . 1      The Duchess. . . 2

The Duchess was completely beat, and pulled up half a mile from home. First two miles run in 3 m. 37 s.

York, August, 1819.  
 Ranter, 8 m. 53 s.      Reveller, 8 m. 14 s.  
 Blacklock, 7 m. 47 s.

One of the severest races ever run, St. Helena (who beat Blacklock in a two-mile race two days after) having pulled up a mile from home."

Looking at the time taken by Ranter, and still more by Reveller (perhaps the best horse of the period), it seems probable that the York ground in 1819 was in a dreadful state, which explains Mr. Orton's account of Blacklock's victory; in 1793, 1795, 1809, and 1810, on the other hand, I should suppose that the course must have been easier to travel over than usual.

After Blacklock's departure from the turf, Mr. Orton becomes more fitful and capricious than ever, and is no longer much worth following. I am particularly provoked with him for giving us the Doncaster Cup time in 1826, 1828, and 1829, races comparatively insignificant, and passing over 1827, the magnificent struggle described above. I can only say that everybody's watch on the top of the stand was out from first to last, and nobody dissented from the verdict of 4 m. 12 s.

Lisette, 7 m. 35 s.  
 Laurel Leaf, 8 m. 31 s.  
 Doncaster.  
 Two miles, Octavian (three years old), 3 m. 30 s.  
 Four (reputed) miles, Lisette, 7 m. 21s.  
 Trophonius, 7 m. 59 s.

York, August, 1811.  
 Octavian, 8 m.  
 Mowbray, 7 m. 38 s.  
 Oriana, 9 m. 38 s.

York, August, 1814.  
 Catton, 8 m. 33 s.

York, August, 1815.  
 Rosanno, 8 m. 8 s.  
 Altissidora (won easy), 7 m. 55 s.  
 Catton (won in a canter), 7 m. 49 s.

Doncaster, 1817.  
 Catton, 1st.  
 Dinmont, 2nd.



As for the shorter races, they were at first comparatively few, gradually becoming more numerous towards 1820. Still I find in looking through Mr. Orton's account of them that the two miles have been done twice in 3 m. 28 s., once in 3 m. 29 s., and constantly in 3 m. 30 s. or a second or two more than 3 m. 30 s. The fastest mile I can discover is a race of Bethlem Gabor's, 1810, in 1 m. 40 s.;<sup>1</sup> the fastest mile and a quarter, the Constitution Stakes in the York Spring Meeting, 1830, when Medoro, six years old, beat Laurel and Cistertian by half a head, 1 m. 56 s.; a three-mile race in 1808 is marked down at 5 m. 5 s., another later on at 5 m. 15 s. Altisidora is credited with a two-mile race in 1815 in the wonderfully quick time of 3 m. 5 s.; but, as she is said to have won in a canter, this is probably a misprint—an 0 perhaps may have dropped out after the 5.

There is nothing, I think, in these records to encourage the belief that our horses are swifter than they formerly were; and if not swifter they certainly are not sounder, stouter, or more vigorous of constitution. Champions of the turf, like the Flying Dutchman or Voltigeur, who besides possessing all the brilliant qualities claimed for the moderns happened also, both of them, to inherit real legs from Catton, might possibly have been as good as Haphazard or Filhodaputa for a single four-mile race, though I doubt even their power of accomplishing three four-mile races in a week for years together; but as to the bulk of their contemporaries and successors, if they were asked to do anything of the kind, God help them! Voltigeur's victory in the Flying Dutchman's handicap for 1852 is as nearly as possible on a level with the best two-mile performances forty years before, but it is not better, if indeed quite as good; whilst how he would have behaved against the horses of 1800 in a four-mile contest is a matter of conjecture.

The race in question is worth noticing, not only on account of the unusual pace at which it was run (3 m. 29 s.), but also as marking the late Mr. Ianson's wonderful accuracy of judgment. The then Sir William Milner had a good deal to do with the management of Voltigeur for that race, and satisfied himself—backing his opinion very freely—that he was certain to win. His friends pointed out to him that Mr. Ianson's little mare, Haricot—also five years old—was receiving 2 st. 5 lbs. from her great antagonist, and that she had won thirteen races in the preceding year. "Oh," was the invariable answer, "Haricot is out of training; Ianson was riding her about all last autumn as a hack." When the morning arrived, however, Haricot was by no means out of training; but, on the contrary, to use the accredited expression, as fine as a star. "Why, Mr. Ianson, I thought Haricot was out of training." "Oh no, Sir William," was the

(1) In the north, mile races hardly existed for many years after they had become common at Newmarket.

prompt reply, "she is a light little mare, and hacking her about quietly at the back end of the year is as good training as she can have; *but she is very well to-day.*" Sir William's face, after the manner of Milner faces, grew at once particularly long. "Do you mean," he stammered out, "that she is going to win?" "No, Sir William, I think not," answered Ianson; "if the ground had been the least heavy, I should have beaten you to a dead certainty; as it is, I think Voltigeur will pull through by the skin of his teeth." How Voltigeur, going up as straight as an arrow, just caught the light-weighted one on the post and secured the handicap by half a head, is known to everybody who cares for such matters. The race, however, was an exceptional race, and Voltigeur, by uniting the Blacklock stride with the Catton legs, was an exceptional horse. Two miles in less than three minutes and a half is never done now; whilst four miles is never done at all. The figure cut by Stockwell, Kingston, and Teddington, all three first-class racers, as racers go, when they pretended to run against each other for the Whip, can hardly be forgotten by any one fond of horses, who is able to look back for thirty years.

The causes of this degeneracy are not far to seek. It is not only that two-year-olds are shattered and destroyed before they reach mature life, but that the desire to win two-year-old races leads men to choose the wrong kind of stud-horse for their breeding establishments. The unsound flyer is resorted to, rather than a more perfect animal who may not be so fast over five furlongs, because he is more likely to put into your pocket the Champagne Stakes, or the Middle Park Plate. Speed—speed—speed—for the Jockey Club and its adherents, occupies the place of Demosthenes' action—action<sup>1</sup>—action—in oratory. The first beginnings, or threatenings rather, of this evil habit date a good way back—from the time, indeed, when three-year-old colts became the most important members of the stud in place of older horses, but the mischief then was partial only, and not irreparable. We might think it of doubtful advantage to pick out Selim and Rubens, rather than Quiz, as the fashionable representatives of the Woodpecker line; but, still, Selim and Rubens were fine horses, and there was plenty of stoutness and soundness to be found by those who elected to hunt about for them. Now, however, Diogenes may well look about with his lantern for an honest horse, as he looked of old for an honest man. As we come near our own time, Velocipede and Voltaire are the only scions of Blacklock really followed—wonderful gallopers both—but infirm from the beginning. Whilst Malek,<sup>2</sup> Laurel, Brownlock, either go abroad, or are left un-

(1) I think, properly understood, that Demosthenes's formula might still be the better one of the two even at Newmarket.

(2) Malek was own brother to Velocipede, and though by no means his equal as a runner, much sounder and more powerful. Even in point of racing he might, I think, have come nearer to him if he had been only moderately well trained, but the sort of

noticed in a corner; Rowton, again, the gamest horse I ever saw run, is pounced upon by the Americans; Château Margaux, Longwaist, Granby, all belonging to the old school, found no patrons; Reveller also, and Fleur-de-lis, the best male and female representatives of the enduring Matchem line, go abroad, or otherwise disappear; whilst Prince Charlie is left to roar in luxury at home. Horses even more faulty than he become the popular favourites, whilst, as to our finest mares, they keep reminding us of their existence in the shapes of Gladiateur and Rayon d'Or. And these reminders, I fear, will increase in number till the mischief is past mending.

The remedies are simple enough, if only there were a chance of getting them adopted. The one true remedy is that men of high rank and large fortunes should cease to be racing tradesmen, and, reverting to the practice of their ancestors, should breed in the hope of rearing the finest horses, and not merely with a view to grasp the largest stakes. For the Duke of Devonshire, who owned Flying Childers, for the Duke of Rutland, who bred Bonny Black, and others like them, the race was mainly valued as a test of merit. They had their faults, I dare say; but, on the Turf, it was the victory, not the money prizes, that they coveted. Let their example, then, be imitated; nay, even supposing it desirable that an ordinary stud should still be maintained, a certain number of the foals each year, bred carefully for higher ends, might be kept apart, allowed to develop themselves, and brought out at six or seven years old, to run matches against one another, or contest the Alexandra Plate, &c., without having been first ruined in colthood. I should have thought that persons might be found to regard such experiments as more interesting than to cultivate the herd-book, and exhibit short-horns—clumsy, characterless brutes—that give neither good beef, like the Scotch, nor good milk, like the Alderney, but possess only the ignominious privilege of fattening easily in early youth, like the Tichborne claimant.

Another remedy, or rather palliative, is of a different kind. I pointed out to Mr. Gladstone some years ago that the Queen's Platos were perfectly useless in effecting what they were intended to effect, and that their conditions should be altered. Since then a step in the right direction has been taken, but it does not go far enough. The fact, however, of such a change having been acquiesced in, renders further improvements easier. According to the proposed scheme there should be three Queen's Plates of £1,000 apiece, and three only, *for English* management he had to encounter at the hands of his owner—an easy-going and somewhat indifferent old squire—may be judged of from the following anecdote:—Just before the St. Leger of 1827 his jockey was galloping him up and down before the Stand somewhat freely to exhibit his form and his graces. "Really," said one eager voice, "that is a very fine horse of Sir William's, and very fine action too." "True," replied his more experienced companion, "he is a very fine horse, and he has very fine action; but it is a pity, isn't it, that they should have put off *beginning to train him* till now?"

*horses alone* (it is not our business to help on the studs of Germany and France); one of these plates—a two-mile race—should be for four-year-old colts, carrying a certain specified weight; the other two, as arranged, for older horses and a longer distance. But in order to secure the required object, it should be enacted that, unless each race is completed within a given time, half the money is to be retained, and used to increase the same plate for the following year. Thus, unless the two-mile race is finished off under 3 m. and 30 s., the three-miles under 5 m. 15 s., and the Beacon Course under 8 m., any horse winning, but not fulfilling these conditions, will have to leave £500 behind him for some stouter animal hereafter. By this method we should have a good chance of gradually accumulating large stakes, and getting the right sort of horse to compete for them. If, when the sum has mounted to £7,000 or £8,000, Mr. Blunt can carry it off with one of his enlarged and developed Arabians, so much the better, though I own I should like to see a Barb “drinker of the wind,” developed in a like degree, entered against him. Few things would give me, in my old age, a keener pleasure of its kind, than to hear at the close of a gallantly contested four-mile struggle—contested according to the traditional pace of Matchem or Flying Childers—the shouts (and if there is to be a real shout we must have the race in Yorkshire) of “Maharbal wins!”

One word about the portraits of celebrated horses, which, if we examine and compare with one another, may help us to institute a comparison between the past and the present; and I have no more to say. These portraits differ much in character; but I think that great allowance must be made for the varying skill of the artists: the famous Eleanor, for instance, disappoints me, but I should doubt much whether that is her fault; somebody else may have been the poor creature, and not Eleanor.<sup>1</sup> To begin at the beginning, Childers, as might be expected from my Cantley legend, is neither a very tall nor a bulky horse, but every inch of him looks thoroughbred, and, to adopt old Stephen Davis’s account of a renowned stroke oar at Oxford, “He is all brass wire.” Of Eclipse I have seen four sketches; of these I need particularly mention only two—one in Hamilton Smith’s book, where he is standing by himself without saddle or bridle, and reminding me somewhat of Stockwell, but that Stockwell was coarser and less blood-like; and another, in which he is represented at the fullest of all possible gallops—his style of going with his head low is that of a greyhound, and you at once feel disposed to accept M. de St. Bel’s statement that he could cover twenty-five feet in his stride. Hambletonian is odd-looking, with many excellent points, but not particularly handsome; his head and neck being high in air after the manner of a giraffe. Diamond, though

(1) I have seen another portrait of her since in her own home at Barton, which is much more racing-like.

smaller, as we know, is very compact, strong, and effective. Sir Peter Teazle looks like carrying sixteen stone to hounds, with mighty arms recalling those of the Flying Dutchman; but his power does not interfere with his quality, which is first-class. Highflyer and Benington, especially the latter, belong to the very noblest type of race-horses. If anybody can look at them and retain his confidence in our modern superiority, he and I see with different eyes.

There is still one more of the great departed to whom I would call particular attention—Dorimant, by Otho (dam, by Babraham, of the Godolphin Arabian line); he was the best, or nearly the best, racer of his day; better than Shark, or Potatoes, or Dictator, and capable, I think, of disputing the primacy with Highflyer. Highflyer, no doubt, beat him the only time they met; but it was Dorimant's last appearance in public after a career that had lasted much longer, and been filled up with much harder work, than that of his unconquerable antagonist. His pedigree, moreover, is a singularly interesting one, and the cross ought to have been of great value among our somewhat restricted and continually narrowing alliances. He came down from the Darley Arabian through a separate and somewhat peculiar line of ancestors—a line apart from the Childerses altogether. His failure to influence our blood stock permanently I have always deeply regretted; he was the sire of several good horses, but his owner, Lord Ossory, seems to have kept him entirely for his own stud; his opportunities, therefore, of making a lasting impression were few, and the family has died out. His portrait represents, I think, absolutely the most powerful blood horse I have ever seen, and he is galloping seemingly with great resolution. I should not say, judging from his appearance, that speed had been his forte; but if the late Daniel Lambert had wanted a hunter, there was the horse for him. Oddly enough, of all the portraits I have looked up, the eminent, or rather pre-eminent Waxy presents the meanest figure. I should have pronounced him, if he had been shown to me without a name, to be a cleverish cover-hack; but again it is impossible to decide whether he has been fairly treated by the artist.

I may say, in conclusion, that if any Croesus at the Antipodes were anxious to try a new and interesting experiment, there are the zebras ready to his hand; the Congo daw, or *Hippotigris antiquorum*, possesses, as far as I can judge, the raw materials of a racer in a far higher degree than any of the true wild horses. The quagga, again, possesses more strength, and I dare say there are a dozen other varieties scattered over the vast African continent, with special gifts and energies, valuable for future combinations. Thus an Austral horse, in time and with good fortune, might be developed out of the striped equidæ, which should put the original achievement of the first shepherd king, as an *ἰππόδαμος*, to shame.

FRANCIS H. DOYLE.

## THE VISIONS OF SANE PERSONS.

IN the course of some recent inquiries into visual memory, I was greatly struck by the frequency of the replies in which my informants described themselves as subject to "visions." Those of whom I speak were sane and healthy, but were subject notwithstanding to visual presentations, for which they could not often account, and which in a few cases reached the level of hallucinations. This unexpected prevalence of a visionary tendency among persons who form a part of ordinary society seems to me suggestive and worthy of being put on record. In a previous article<sup>1</sup> I spoke of the faculty of summoning scenes at will, with more or less distinctness, before the visual memory; in this I shall speak of the tendency among sane and healthy persons to see images flash unaccountably into existence.

Many of my facts are derived from personal friends of whose accuracy I have no doubt. Another group comes from correspondents who have written at length with much painstaking, and whose letters appear to me to bear internal marks of scrupulous truthfulness. A third part has been collected for me by many kind friends in many countries, each of whom has made himself or herself an independent centre of inquiry; and the last, and much the most numerous portion, consists of brief replies by strangers to a series of questions contained in a circular that I drew up. I have gone over all this matter with great care, and have cross-tested it in many ways whilst it was accumulating, just as any conscientious statistician would, before I began to form conclusions. I was soon convinced of its substantial trustworthiness, and that conviction has in no way been shaken by subsequent experience. In short, the evidence of the four groups I have just mentioned is quite as consistent as could have been reasonably desired.

The lowest order of phenomena that admit of being classed as visions, are the "Number forms" to which I have drawn attention on more than one occasion, but to which I must again very briefly allude. They are an abiding mental peculiarity in a certain proportion of persons (say 5 per cent.), who are unable as adults, and who have been ever unable as far back as they can recollect, to think of any number without referring it to its own particular habitat in their mental field of view. It there lies latent but is instantly evoked by the thought or mention of it, or by any mental operation in which it is concerned. The thought of a series of consecutive numbers is therefore attended by a vision of them arranged

(1) See a previous article on "Mental Imagery," September, 1880.

in a perfectly defined and constant position, and this I have called a "Number form." Its origin can rarely be referred to any nursery diagram, to the clock-face, or to any incident of childhood. Nay, the form is frequently unlike anything the child could possibly have seen, reaching in long vistas and perspectives, and in curves of double curvature. I have even had to get wire models made by some of my informants in explanation of what they wished to convey. The only feature that all the forms have in common is their dependence in some way or other upon the method of verbal counting, as shown by their angles and other divisions occurring at such points as those where the 'teens begin, at the twenty's, thirty's, and so on. The forms are in each case absolutely unchangeable except through a gradual development in complexity. Their diversity is endless, and the Number forms of different men are mutually unintelligible.

These strange "visions," which are extremely vivid in some cases, are almost incredible to the vast majority of mankind, who would set them down as fantastic nonsense; but they are familiar parts of the mental furniture of the rest, where they have grown naturally and where they remain unmodified and unmodifiable by teaching. I have received many touching accounts of their childish experiences from persons who see the Number forms, and the other curious visions of which I shall speak. As is the case with the colour blind, so with these seers. They imagined at first that everybody else had the same way of regarding things as themselves. Then they betrayed their peculiarities by some chance remark which called forth a stare of surprise, followed by ridicule and a sharp scolding for their silliness, so that the poor little things shrunk back into themselves, and never ventured again to allude to their inner world. I will quote just one of many similar letters as a sample. I received this, together with much interesting information, immediately after a lecture I gave last autumn to the British Association at Swansea<sup>1</sup> in which I had occasion to speak of the Number forms. The writer says—

"I had no idea for many years, that every one did not imagine numbers in the same positions as those in which they appear to me. One unfortunate day I spoke of it, and was sharply rebuked for my absurdity. Being a very sensitive child I felt this acutely, but nothing ever shook my belief that, absurd or not, I always saw numbers in this particular way. I began to be ashamed of what I considered a peculiarity, and to imagine myself, from this and various other mental beliefs and states, as somewhat isolated and peculiar. At your lecture the other night, though I am now over twenty-nine, the memory of my childish misery at the dread of being peculiar came over me so strongly, that I felt I must thank you for proving that, in this particular at any rate, my case is most common."

The next form of vision of which I will speak is the instant association of colour with sound, which characterizes a small per-

(1) See *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1880.

centage of adults, but appears to be rather common, though in an ill-developed degree, among children. I can here appeal not only to my own collection of facts, but to those of others, for the subject has latterly excited some interest in Germany. The first widely known case was that of the brothers Nussbaumer, published in 1873 by Professor Bruhl, of Vienna, of which the English reader will find an account in the last volume of Lewis's *Problems of Life and Mind* (p. 280). Since then many occasional notices of similar associations have appeared, but I was not aware that it had been inquired into on a large scale by any one but myself. However, I was gratified by meeting with a pamphlet a few weeks ago, just published in Leipsic by two Swiss investigators, Messrs. Bleuler and Lehmann. Their collection of cases is fully as large as my own, and their results in the more important matters are similar to mine. One of the two authors had the faculty very strongly, and the other had not; so they worked conjointly with advantage. As my present object is to subordinate details to the general impression that I wish to convey of the visionary tendency of certain minds, I will simply remark, first, that the persistence of the colour association with sounds is fully as remarkable as that of the Number form with numbers. Secondly, that the vowel sounds chiefly evoke them. Thirdly, that the seers are invariably most minute in their description of the precise tint and hue of the colour. They are never satisfied, for instance, with saying "blue," but will take a great deal of trouble to express or to match the particular blue they mean. Lastly, no two people agree, or hardly ever do so, as to the colour they associate with the same sound. I have one of the most extraordinary diagrams of these colour associations that has, I suppose, ever been produced. It has been drawn by Mr. J. Key, of Graham's Town, South Africa. He sent me in the first instance a communication on the subject, which led to further correspondence, and eventually to the production of this diagram of colours in connection with letters and words. I have no reason to doubt its trustworthiness, and am bound to say that, strange as it looks, and elaborate as it is, I have other written accounts that almost match it.

A third curious and abiding fantasy of certain persons is invariably to connect visualised pictures with words, the same picture to the same word. I have collected many cases of this, and am much indebted to the authoress, Mrs. Haweis, who sees these pictures, for her kindness in sketching some of them for me, and her permission to use her name in guarantee of their genuineness. She says:—

"Printed words have always had faces to me; they had definite expressions, and certain faces made me think of certain words. The words had no connection with these except sometimes by accident. The instances I give are few



and ridiculous. When I think of the word *Beast*, it has a face something like a gargoyle. The word *Green* has also a gargoyle face, with the addition of big teeth. The word *Blue* blinks and looks silly, and turns to the right. The word *Attention* has the eyes greatly turned to the left. It is difficult to draw them properly because like 'Alice's' 'Cheshire cat,' which at times became a grin without a cat, these faces have expression without features. The expression of course" [note the *naïve* phrase "of course."—F. G.] "depends greatly on those of the letters, which have likewise their faces and figures. All the little *a*'s turn their eyes to the left, this determines the eyes of *Attention*. *Ant*, however, looks a little down. Of course these faces are endless as words are, and it makes my head ache to retain them long enough to draw."

Some of the figures are very quaint. Thus the interrogation "what?" always excites the idea of a fat man cracking a long whip. They are not the capricious creations of the fancy of the moment, but are the regular concomitants of the words, and have been so as far back as the memory is able to recall.

When in perfect darkness, if the field of view be carefully watched, many persons will find a perpetual series of changes to be going on automatically and wastefully in it. I have much evidence of this. I will give my own experience the first, which is striking to me, because I am very unimpressionable in these matters. I visualize with effort; I am peculiarly inapt to see "after-images," "phosphores," "light-dust," and other phenomena due to weak sight or sensitiveness; and, again, before I thought of carefully trying, I should have emphatically declared that my field of view in the dark was essentially of a uniform black, subject to an occasional light-purple cloudiness and other small variations. Now, however, after habituating myself to examine it with the same sort of strain that one tries to decipher a sign-post in the dark, I have found out that this is by no means the case, but that a kaleidoscopic change of patterns and forms is continually going on, but they are too fugitive and elaborate for me to draw with any approach to truth. My deficiencies, however, are well supplied by other drawings in my possession. They are by the Rev. George Henslow, whose visions are far more vivid than mine. His experiences are not unlike those of Goethe, who said, in an often-quoted passage, that whenever he bent his head and closed his eyes and thought of a rose, a sort of rosette made its appearance, which would not keep its shape steady for a moment, but unfolded from within, throwing out a succession of petals, mostly red but sometimes green, and that it continued to do so without change in brightness and without causing him any fatigue so long as he cared to watch it. Mr. Henslow, when he shuts his eyes and waits, is sure in a short time to see before him the clear image of some object or other, but usually not quite natural in its shape. It then begins to change from one object to another, in his case also for as long a time as he cares to watch it. Mr. Henslow has zealously made repeated experiments on himself, and has drawn what he sees. He has also tried how far

he is able to mould the visions according to his will. In one case, after much effort, he contrived to bring the imagery back to its starting point, and thereby to form what he terms a "visual cycle." The following account is extracted and condensed from his very interesting letter.

The first image that spontaneously presented itself was a cross-bow; this was immediately provided with an arrow, remarkable for its pronounced barb and superabundance of feathering. Some person, but too indistinct to recognise much more of him than the hands, appeared to shoot the arrow from the bow. The single arrow was then accompanied by a flight of arrows from right to left, which completely occupied the field of vision. These changed into falling stars, then into flakes of a heavy snow-storm; the ground gradually appeared as a sheet of snow where previously there had been vacant space. Then a well-known rectory, fish-ponds, walls, &c., all covered with snow, came into view most vividly and clearly defined. This somehow suggested another view, impressed on his mind in childhood, of a spring morning, brilliant sun, and a bed of red tulips: the tulips gradually vanished except one, which appeared now to be isolated and to stand in the usual point of sight. It was a single tulip, but became double. The petals then fell off rapidly in a continuous series until there was nothing left but the pistil, but (as is almost invariably the case with his objects) that part was greatly exaggerated. The stigmas then changed into three branching brown horns; then into a knob, while the stalk changed into a stick. A slight bend in it seems to have suggested a centre-bit; this passed into a sort of pin passing through a metal plate; this again into a lock, and afterwards into a nondescript shape, distantly suggestive of the original cross-bow. Here Mr. Henslow endeavoured to force his will upon the visions, and to reproduce the cross-bow, but the first attempt was an utter failure. The figure changed into a leather strap with loops, but while he still endeavoured to change it into a bow the strap broke, the two ends were separated, but it happened that an imaginary string connected them. This was the first concession of his automatic chain of thoughts to his will. By a continued effort the bow came, and then no difficulty was felt in converting it into the cross-bow and thus returning to the starting point.

I have a sufficient variety of cases to prove the continuity between all the forms of visualisation, beginning with an almost total absence of it, and ending with a complete hallucination. The continuity is, however, not simply that of varying degrees of intensity, but of variations in the character of the process itself, so that it is by no means uncommon to find two very different forms of it concurrent in the same person. There are some who visualise well and who also are seers of visions, who declare that the vision is not a vivid visualisation, but altogether a different phenomenon. In short, if we please to call all sensations due to external impressions "*direct*," and all others "*induced*," then there are many channels through which the induction may take place, and the channel of ordinary visualisation in the persons just mentioned is very different from that through which their visions arise.

The following is a good instance of this condition. A friend writes:—

"These visions often appear with startling vividness, and so far from depending on any voluntary effort of the mind, they remain when I often wish them

very much to depart, and no effort of the imagination can call them up. I lately saw a framed portrait of a face which seemed more lovely than any painting I have ever seen, and again I often see fine landscapes which bear no resemblance to any scenery I have ever looked upon. I find it difficult to define the difference between a waking vision and a mental image, although the difference is very apparent to myself. I think I can do it best in this way. If you go into a theatre and look at a scene, say of a forest by moonlight, at the back part of the stage, you see every object distinctly and sufficiently illuminated (being thus unlike a mere act of memory), but it is nevertheless vague and shadowy, and you might have difficulty in telling afterwards all the objects you have seen. This resembles a mental image in point of clearness. The waking vision is like what one sees in the open street in broad daylight, when every object is distinctly impressed on the memory. The two kinds of imagery differ also as regards voluntariness, the image being entirely subservient to the will, the visions entirely independent of it. They differ also in point of suddenness, the images being formed comparatively slowly as memory recalls each detail, and fading slowly as the mental effort to retain them is relaxed; the visions appearing and vanishing in an instant. The waking visions seem quite close, filling as it were the whole head, while the mental image seems further away in some far off recess of the mind."

The number of persons who see visions no less distinctly than this correspondent is much greater than I had any idea of when I began this inquiry. I have in my possession the sketch of one, prefaced by a description of it by Mrs. Haweis. She says:—

"All my life long I have had one very constantly recurring vision, a sight which came whenever it was dark or darkish, in bed or otherwise. It is a flight of pink roses floating in a mass from left to right, and this cloud or mass of roses is presently effaced by a flight of 'sparks' or gold speckles across them. The sparks totter or vibrate from left to right, but they fly distinctly upwards: they are like tiny blocks, half gold, half black, rather symmetrically placed behind each other, and they are always in a hurry to efface the roses: sometimes they have come at my call, sometimes by surprise, but they are always equally pleasing. What interests me most is that when a child under nine the flight of roses was light, slow, soft, close to my eyes, roses so large and brilliant and palpable that I tried to touch them: the *scent* was overpowering, the petals perfect, with leaves peeping here and there, texture and motion all natural. They would stay a long time before the sparks came, and they occupied a large area in black space. Then the sparks came slowly flying, and generally, not always, effaced the roses at once, and every effort to retain the roses failed. Since an early age the flight of roses has annually grown smaller, swifter, and farther off, till by the time I was grown up my vision had become a speck, so instantaneous that I had hardly time to realise that it was there before the fading sparks showed that it was past. This is how they still come. The pleasure of them is past, and it always depresses me to speak of them, though I do not now, as I did when a child, connect the vision with any elevated spiritual state. But when I read Tennyson's "Holy Grail," I wondered whether anybody else had had my vision,—"*Rose-red, with beatings in it.*" I may add, I was a London child who never was in the country but once, and I connect no particular flowers with that visit. I may almost say that I had never seen a rose, certainly not a quantity of them together."

A common form of vision is a phantasmagoria, or the appearance of a crowd of phantoms, perhaps hurrying past like men in a street. It is occasionally seen in broad daylight, much more often in the dark;

it may be at the instant of putting out the candle, but it generally comes on when the person is in bed, preparing to sleep, but is by no means yet asleep. I know no less than three men, eminent in the scientific world, who have these phantasmagoria in one form or another. A near relative of my own had them in a marked degree. She was eminently sane, and of such good constitution that her faculties were hardly impaired until near her death at ninety. She frequently described them to me. It gave her amusement during an idle hour to watch these faces, for their expression was always pleasing, though never strikingly so. No two faces were ever alike, and they never resembled that of any acquaintance. When she was not well the faces usually came nearer to her, sometimes almost suffocatingly close. She never mistook them for reality, although they were very distinct. This is quite a typical case, similar in most respects to many others that I have.

A notable proportion of sane persons have had not only visions, but actual hallucinations of sight, sound, or other sense, at one or more periods of their lives. I have a considerable packet of instances contributed by my personal friends, besides a large number communicated to me by other correspondents. One lady, a distinguished authoress, who was at the time a little fidgeted, but in no way overwrought or ill, said that she saw the principal character of one of her novels glide through the door straight up to her. It was about the size of a large doll, and it disappeared as suddenly as it came. Another lady, the daughter of an eminent musician, often imagines she hears her father playing. The day she told me of it the incident had again occurred. She was sitting in a room with her maid, and she asked the maid to open the door that she might hear the music better. The moment the maid got up the hallucination disappeared. Again, another lady, apparently in vigorous health, and belonging to a vigorous family, told me that during some past months she had been plagued by voices. The words were at first simple nonsense; then the word "pray" was frequently repeated; this was followed by some more or less coherent sentences of little import, and finally the voices left her. In short, the familiar hallucinations of the insane are to be met with far more frequently than is commonly supposed, among people moving in society and in normal health.

I have now nearly done with my summary of facts; it remains to make a few comments on them.

The weirdness of visions lies in their sudden appearance, in their vividness while present, and in their sudden departure. An incident in the Zoological Gardens struck me as a helpful simile. I happened to walk to the seal-pond at a moment when a sheen rested on the unbroken surface of the water. After waiting a while I

became suddenly aware of the head of a seal, black, conspicuous, and motionless, just as though it had always been there, at a spot on which my eye had rested a moment previously and seen nothing. Again, after awhile my eye wandered, and on its returning to the spot, the seal was gone. The water had closed in silence over its head without leaving a ripple, and the sheen on the surface of the pond was as unbroken as when I first reached it. Where did the seal come from, and whither did it go? This could easily have been answered if the glare had not obstructed the view of the movements of the animal under water. As it was, a solitary link in a continuous chain of actions stood isolated from all the rest. So it is with the visions; a single stage in a series of mental processes emerges into the domain of consciousness. All that precedes and follows lies outside of it, and its character can only be inferred. We see in a general way, that a condition of the presentation of visions lies in the over-sensitiveness of certain tracks or domains of brain action, and the under-sensitiveness of others; certain stages in a mental process being vividly represented in consciousness while the other stages are unfelt. It is also well known that a condition of partial hyperæsthesia and partial anæsthesia is a frequent functional disorder, markedly so among the hysterical and hypnotic, and an organic disorder among the insane. The abundant facts that I have collected show that it may also coexist with all the appearances of good health and sober judgment.

A convenient distinction is made between hallucinations and illusions. Hallucinations are defined as appearances wholly due to fancy; illusions, as misrepresentations of objects actually seen. There is, however, a hybrid case which deserves to be specifically classed, and arising in this way. Vision, or any other sensation, may, as already stated, be a "direct" sensation excited in the ordinary way through the sense organs, or it may be an "induced" sensation excited from within. We have, therefore, direct vision and induced vision, and either of these may be the ground of an illusion. So we have three cases to consider, and not two. There is simple hallucination, which depends on induced vision justly observed; there is simple illusion, which depends on direct vision fancifully observed; and there is the hybrid case of which I spoke, which depends on induced vision fancifully observed. The problems we have to consider are, on the one hand, those connected with induced vision, and, on the other hand, those connected with the interpretation of vision, whether the vision be direct or induced.

It is probable that much of what passes for hallucination proper belongs in reality to the hybrid case, being an illusive interpretation of some induced visual cloud or blur. I spoke of the ever-varying patterns in the field of view; these, under some slight functional

change, might easily become more consciously present, and be interpreted into fantasmal appearances. Many cases, if space allowed, could be adduced to support this view.

I will begin, then, with illusions. What is the process by which they are established? There is no simpler way of understanding it than by trying, as children often do, to see "faces in the fire," and to carefully watch the way in which they are first caught. Let us call to mind at the same time the experience of past illnesses, when the listless gaze wandered over the patterns on the wall-paper and the shadows of the bed-curtains, and slowly evoked faces and figures that were not easily laid again. The process of making the faces is so rapid in health that it is difficult to analyze it without the recollection of what took place more slowly when we were weakened by illness. The first essential element in their construction is, I believe, the smallness of the area upon which the attention is directed at any instant, so that the eye has to move much before it has travelled over every part of the object towards which it is directed. It is as with a plough, that must travel many miles before the whole of a small field can be tilled, but with this important difference—the plough travels methodically up and down in parallel furrows, the eye wanders in devious curves, with abrupt bends, and the direction of its course at any instant depends on four causes: on the most convenient muscular motion in a general sense, on idiosyncrasy, on the mood, and on the associations current at the moment. The effect of idiosyncrasy is excellently illustrated by the "Number forms," where we saw that a very special sharply defined track of mental vision was preferred by each individual who sees them. The influence of the mood of the moment is shown in the curves that characterize the various emotions, as the lank drooping lines of grief, which make the weeping willow so fit an emblem of it. In constructing fire-faces it seems to me that the eye in its wanderings follows a favourite course, and notices the points in the pictures at large that coincide with its course. It feels its way, easily diverted by associations based on what has just been noticed, and so by the unconscious practice of a system of "trial and error," at last finds a track that will suit—one that is easy to follow and that also makes a complete picture. The process is essentially the same as that of getting a clear idea from out of a confused multitude of facts. The fancy picture is dwelt upon, all that is incongruous with it becomes disregarded, while all deficiencies in it are supplied by the fantasy. These latest stages are easily represented after the fashion of a diorama. Three lanterns are made to converge on the same screen. The first throws an image of what the imagination will discard, the second of that which it will retain, the third of that which it will supply. Turn

on the first and second, and the picture on the screen will be identical with that which fell on the retina. Shut off the first and turn on the third, and the picture will be identical with the illusion.

Visions, like dreams, are often more patchworks built up of bits of recollections. The following is one of these :—

“ When passing a shop in Tottenham Court Road, I went in to order a Dutch cheese, and the proprietor (a bullet-headed man whom I had never seen before) rolled a cheese on the marble slab of his counter, asking me if that one would do. I answered ‘ yes,’ left the shop and thought no more of the incident. The following evening, on closing my eyes, I saw a head detached from the body rolling about slightly on a white surface. I recognised the face but could not remember where I had seen it, and it was only after thinking about it for some time that I identified it as that of the cheesemonger who had sold me the cheese on the previous day. I may mention that I have often seen the man since, and that I found the vision I saw was exactly like him, although if I had been asked to describe the man before I saw the vision I should have been unable to do so.”

Recollections need not be joined like mosaic-work ; they may be blended, on the principle I described two years ago, of making composite portraits. I showed that if two lanterns were converged upon the same screen, and the portrait of one person was put into one and that of another person into the other, the portraits being taken under similar aspects and states of light and shade, then on adjusting the two images eye to eye and mouth to mouth, and so superposing them as exactly as the conditions admitted, a new face will spring into existence. It will have a striking appearance of individuality, and will bear a family likeness to each of its constituents. I also showed that these composite portraits admitted of being made photographically<sup>1</sup> from a large number of components. I suspect that the phantasmagoria may be due to blended memories; the number of possible combinations would be practically endless, and each combination would give a new face. There would thus be no limit to the dies in the coinage of the brain.

I have tried a modification of this process with but small success, which will at least illustrate a cause of the tendency in many cases to visualise grotesque forms. My object was to efface from a portrait that which was common among persons of the same race, and therefore too familiar to attract attention, and to leave whatever was peculiar in it. I proceeded on the following principle :—We all know that the photographic negative is the converse (or nearly so) of the photographic positive, the one showing whites where the other shows blacks, and *vice versâ*. Hence the superposition of a negative upon a positive transparency of the same portrait tends to create a uniform smudge. By superposing a negative transparency of a composite portrait on a positive of any one of the *individual* faces from which it was composed, all that is common to the group ought

(1) I have latterly much improved the process and hope shortly to describe it elsewhere.

to be smudged out, and all that is personal and peculiar to that face ought to remain.

I have found that the peculiarities of visualisation, such as the tendency to see Number-forms, and the still rarer tendency to associate colour with sound, is strongly hereditary, and I should infer, what facts seem to confirm, that the tendency to be a seer of visions is equally so. Under these circumstances we should expect that it would be unequally developed in different races, and that a large natural gift of the visionary faculty might become characteristic not only of certain families, as among the second-sight seers of Scotland, but of certain races, as that of the Gipsies.

It happens that the mere acts of fasting, of want of sleep, and of solitary musing, are severally conducive to visions. I have myself been told of cases in which persons accidentally long deprived of food became subject to them. One was of a pleasure-party driven out to sea, and not being able to reach the coast till nightfall, at a place where they got shelter but nothing to eat. They were mentally at ease and conscious of safety, but they were all troubled with visions, half dreams and half hallucinations. The cases of visions following protracted wakefulness are well known, and I also have collected a few. As regards the effect of solitariness, it may be sufficient to allude to the recognised advantages of social amusements in the treatment of the insane. It follows that the spiritual discipline undergone for purposes of self-control and self-mortification have also the incidental effect of producing visions. It is to be expected that these should often bear a close relation to the prevalent subjects of thought, and although they may be really no more than the products of one portion of the brain, which another portion of the same brain is engaged in contemplating, they often, through error, receive a religious sanction. This is notably the case among half-civilised races.

The number of great men who have been once, twice, or more frequently subject to hallucinations is considerable. A list, to which it would be easy to make large additions, is given by Brierre de Boismont (*Hallucinations, &c.*, 1862), from whom I translate the following account of the star of the first Napoleon, which he heard, second-hand, from General Rapp:—

“ In 1806 General Rapp, on his return from the siege of Dantzic, having occasion to speak to the Emperor, entered his study without being announced. He found him so absorbed that his entry was unperceived. The General seeing the Emperor continue motionless, thought he might be ill and purposely made a noise. Napoleon immediately roused himself, and without any preamble, seizing Rapp by the arm, said to him, pointing to the sky, ‘ Look there, up there.’ The General remained silent, but on being asked a second time, he answered that he perceived nothing. ‘ What!’ replied the Emperor, ‘ you do not see it? It is my star, it is before you, brilliant;’ then animating by degrees, he cried out, ‘ it has never abandoned me, I see it on all great occasions, it commands me to go forward, and it is a constant sign of good fortune to me.’ ”



It appears that stars of this kind, so frequently spoken of in history, and so well known as a metaphor in language, are a common hallucination of the insane. Brierre de Boismont has a chapter on the stars of great men. I cannot doubt that fantasies of this description were in some cases the basis of that firm belief in astrology, which not a few persons of eminence formerly entertained.

The hallucinations of great men may be accounted for in part by their sharing a tendency which we have seen to be not uncommon in the human race, and which, if it happens to be natural to them, is liable to be developed in their over-wrought brains by the isolation of their lives. A man in the position of the first Napoleon could have no intimate associates; a great philosopher who explores ways of thought far ahead of his contemporaries must have an inner world in which he passes long and solitary hours. Great men are also apt to have touches of madness; the ideas by which they are haunted, and to whose pursuit they devote themselves, and by which they rise to eminence, has much in common with the monomania of insanity. Striking instances of great visionaries may be mentioned, who had almost beyond doubt those very nervous seizures with which the tendency to hallucinations is intimately connected. To take a single instance, Socrates, whose *daimon* was an audible not a visual appearance, was subject to what admits of hardly any other interpretation than cataleptic seizure, standing all night through in a rigid attitude.

It is remarkable how largely the visionary temperament has manifested itself in certain periods of history and epochs of national life. My interpretation of the matter, to a certain extent, is this—That the visionary tendency is much more common among sane people than is generally suspected. In early life, it seems to be a hard lesson to an imaginative child to distinguish between the real and visionary world. If the fantasies are habitually laughed at, the power of distinguishing them becomes at length learnt; any incongruity or nonconformity is noted, the vision is found out and discredited, and is no further attended to. In this way the tendency to see them is blunted by repression. Therefore, when popular opinion is of a matter-of-fact kind, the seers of visions keep quiet; they do not like to be thought fanciful or mad, and they hide their experiences, which only come to light through inquiries such as these that I have been making. But let the tide of opinion change and grow favourable to supernaturalism, then the seers of visions come to the front. It is not that a faculty previously non-existent has been suddenly evoked, but one that had been long smothered is suddenly allowed expression and to develop, without safeguards, under the free exercise of it.

FRANCIS GALTON.

## A CONSERVATIVE VIEW OF THE IRISH LAND BILL.

BEFORE proceeding to analyse some of the details of the Bill, it will be well, I think, in the first instance, to lay down a few general principles, which should always be steadily kept in view, and afterwards to examine how far the present Bill is in accordance with those principles.

Since the report of the Bessborough Commission, and more especially since Mr. Gladstone's speech on April 7th, in which he endorses the opinion expressed by that Commission, it may, I think, be taken for granted that the great majority of the landlords of Ireland are not the rapacious monsters which they have been generally described to be at Land League meetings during the last two years. The Premier's words are "they have stood their trial as a rule, and they have been acquitted," and the words of the Report, supported by overwhelming evidence, are still more explicit; they are as follows :—

"Though the amount of rent was always at the discretion of the landlord, and the tenant had in reality no voice in regulating what he had to pay, nevertheless it was unusual to exact what in England would have been considered as a full or fair commercial rent."

and further on:—

"The credit is, indeed, due to Irish landlords as a class, of not exacting all that they were by law entitled to exact. But their forbearance has been the result, not merely of kindness of disposition, but also of common honesty, which forbade them to appropriate the results of their tenant's labour in improving the soil."

On the other hand, however, it must be admitted, that a certain class of Irish landlords have acted harshly and arbitrarily towards their tenants, so as to justify the following words of Mr. Gladstone: "A strong and conclusive reason for this legislation is, that a limited class of Irish landlords have been distinguished by conduct which has not been the characteristic of the preponderating number of landlords, and their conduct has been described as arbitrary, and many of their proceedings as harsh and cruel."

The first principle, therefore, which, in my opinion, should be laid down, as an inference from these two facts, is this, that the changes to be made in the law should be such as may be necessary to coerce the latter class of landlords to do what it is now admitted that the great majority have hitherto done, and that the former class of landlords should not be punished for the sins of their brethren, at least in a pecuniary point of view; that if it be necessary, as I con-

ceive it is now necessary, that they shall surrender certain rights and privileges which they have hitherto never enforced, but which others have abused, they shall not at the same time be deprived of their property, so far as its money value is concerned, without due compensation for their interests.

The second general principle should, I think, be, that any court or commission, which is to have the ultimate decision of these many important issues, should be above all impeachment as to its impartiality, and, particularly, that the persons who are to compose it, should in no way be viewed by the country as purely party men, or as having the least interest as to their future, in accommodating themselves either to the views of any political party on the one hand, or to the dictates of mob law or popular pressure on the other. The third general principle, I conceive, should be, that there should be some prospect of finality in legislation on this matter, and that the measure should be such, that, if all parties honestly combine to solve the question, once for all, as a great social question, the platform gained as the result of concessions made on public grounds by those whose private interests are undoubtedly invaded, should not be immediately made the basis of operations for a new agitation.

The fourth and last principle for which I wish to contend is, that the principles of political economy, though necessarily laid aside to a certain extent, in a great crisis of public affairs, should be so far kept in view, that their inevitable results in the long run should be foreseen, and care taken lest the same evils, on account of which such large present sacrifices have to be made, shall again recur, perhaps in a still more aggravated form than at present.

It will be my endeavour, on the present occasion, to submit the Bill to the test of these four principles with an earnest desire to do it complete justice.

In applying the first of these principles, let us examine into those circumstances which serve to distinguish the one class of landlords from the other. What are the reasons which render the tenants on some estates, and mostly on the Ulster estates, prosperous, contented, and happy, while on others they continue in poverty, discontent, and misery? There are, no doubt, many causes which combine to occasion these results; much may be put down to difference of race, and much to over-population in certain districts; but I do not propose to discuss these causes at present; it is rather the differences of tenure and of the relations between landlord and tenant to which I wish to call attention. I shall take a well-managed estate in Ulster as the typical case. What causes the difference in its favour? It is not the existence of the three F's upon it, but it is undoubtedly the existence of a modified form of the three F's. There is not Fixity of Tenure, but there is Security of Tenure. There is a valuable

right of Sale, Fair Sale, though not necessarily Free Sale, but above all, there is undoubtedly Fair Rent. It is the last of the F's, Fair Rent, which is in reality the most important. In those cases where tenancies have been handed down through generations from father to son (and I maintain that these form the bulk of the holdings in Ireland in spite of all outcry to the contrary) the other two F's have never come into play. Where evictions have not taken place, and where tenants have not sold out and taken their departure, the question of Fair Rent has been the factor, so far as the mere relation of landlord and tenant is concerned, on which the prosperity of the tenant has mainly depended. It therefore becomes at once the interest of all those landlords who have asked for nothing but fair rents to see that this F at least is made universal. This class of landlords have now been declared, on the highest authority, to form the majority of their class, and I feel confident that on full consideration they will be ready to say, "We are anxious to see that nothing but Fair Rents shall be asked, only show us an impartial tribunal to which such a question may be referred."

It is curious to observe the different order in which the three F's are taken under different aspects of this question. The Bessborough Commission start with Fixity of Tenure, placing it first, on the grounds that

"Occupiers have, as a general rule, acquired rights to continuous occupancy, which, in the interests of the community, it is desirable legally to recognise."

Fair Rent they place second on the ground that

"Fixity of Tenure, without Fair Rent, is an absurdity."

And the third F, Free Sale, they deduce as a logical consequence of the recognition of the other two. They say:—

"We consider that the tenant upon whom has been conferred fixity of tenure, at a Fair Rent, will be in a position differing little from that of a legal owner of property in the soil; and that he ought not to be deprived of any of the ordinary incidents of property. Therefore he should be at liberty to sell his interest; that is to say, his right of continuous occupancy, the improvements made by himself or his predecessors in title, and all the title he has in the land, in any way he wishes."

On the other hand, Mr. Gladstone, in his Land Bill, places the right of Free Sale first, Fair Rents next, and Fixity of Tenure he makes the third, as the result of the intervention of the Court in respect of the other two.

To my mind, the all-important question is that of Fair Rent, and it should be always placed first, because every tenant who wishes to remain where he is can only do so if his rent be such as to allow him a fair margin to live upon, and every landlord who is satisfied that the rent he receives is a fair rent, cannot wish either to disturb his

tenant for merely arbitrary reasons or to object to his sale of his interest, provided no reasonable objection can be taken to the successor he proposes to substitute.

In the application of the first general principle which I have laid down, the question of Fair Rent is therefore the cardinal one by which the Bill should be tested. The next inquiry then must be, does the Bill secure the adjustment of a Fair Rent—that is, fair to the landlord as well as fair to the tenant? for, of course, if the rent be not fair to both parties, it is only a misnomer to call it a fair rent at all. Another important question intimately connected with this one is, does the Bill act impartially between landlord and tenant in the endeavour to secure a Fair Rent? The following is the definition of a Fair Rent in the Bill :—

“A Fair Rent means such a rent as in the opinion of the Court, after hearing the parties and considering all the circumstances of the case, holding, and district, a solvent tenant would undertake to pay one year with another: provided that the Court, in fixing such rent, shall have regard to the tenant's interest in the holding.”

And it is further directed that the tenant's interest shall be estimated either with reference to the Ulster custom, or to the scale of compensation for disturbance in districts where the Ulster or any corresponding custom does not exist. Assuming for the present that an impartial tribunal has been secured to determine this question, I say that this definition, so far as I have quoted it, is a good definition of Fair Rent—a just description of it. When the advocates of Free Sale have hitherto attempted to define the value of tenant-right, they have used almost identical language, they have generally described it as “such sum as a solvent person would give to an outgoing tenant for his interest, subject to the rent which the tenant has paid, or such reasonable rent as may be substituted therefor.” But I have to remark at this point, in relation to the second question which I have asked above, that the Bill is not impartial between landlord and tenant. It allows the tenant by himself to apply to the Court to fix what the fair rent is, and it allows the tenant and landlord conjointly to do so, but it does not allow the landlord by himself alone to do so. But why should the landlord not have an equal right with the tenant in this respect? No reason can fairly be assigned for such an omission. By the Bill, the only way in which the landlord can apply to the Court, if the tenant refuses to co-operate with him, is by raising the rent, and so forcing the tenant into the Court; that is, by taking a step which immediately causes bad blood, when in reality he is only anxious to get ordinary justice, and is perfectly ready to leave the decision of the question to an impartial tribunal. Moreover, the moment the landlord takes such a step, which he may have been obliged to take

contrary to his wishes, he becomes liable to be mulcted in a fine equal to ten times the excess of the rent which he proposed in order to raise the question, over what the Court may eventually decide to be a Fair Rent. Now it is not impartial justice to allow the tenant to appeal to a Court, not being liable to any fine in case the Court does not take his view, but to subject the landlord to a special fine, under exactly similar circumstances, in case he applies to the Court in the only way left open to him by the Bill. It seems clear that Clause 7 (Secs. 1 & 2) should be amended on this point. To place the landlord in this position is to repeat that mistake of the Land Act of 1870, though in another way, which has been so well pointed out in the Report of the Bessborough Commission. Under that Act no machinery was provided by which a landlord could have a Fair Rent determined by authority, so that in case of a dispute, he is obliged to commence by an eviction, and the tenant has to look for compensation after he has lost his holding, a result which probably neither party wished for.

Impartial justice between landlord and tenant also requires that this Court shall be a Court of Arbitration, in every case, as to the value of the tenant's interest as well as of that of the landlord. This principle is partly, but not fully, admitted in the Bill; I must therefore enlarge a little upon it. The fact is, that the total value of the holding at any period consists of the sum of two values, one represented by the landlord's rent, and the other by the tenant's interest. It is impossible that any Court can decide upon the value of one portion without practically deciding upon the value of the other at the same time. This is admitted in the definition of a Fair Rent, which I have stated to be a good definition for this reason. The value of the tenant's interest, whether under the Ulster custom or under the scale of compensation for disturbance, has to be estimated before the Court can arrive at the value of the landlord's interest as estimated by a Fair Rent. The entire difficulty in the working of the Court will consist in the unravelling of these two factors. But why should the Court not then declare the value of the tenant's interest, so that the landlord might know the amount he would have to pay for pre-emption in case of a sale during the statutory term? It is in relation particularly to this question that the interests of the community at large, as represented by the third and fourth principles I have laid down, come into play. It is contrary to the public weal that the occupying tenants at any time should be ground down by excessive payments for the land they occupy, and so far as the general community is concerned, it makes no difference whether these excessive payments are made to the landlord in the shape of excessive rent, or to an outgoing tenant in the way of excessive tenant-right under free sale. If there be one point on which we may agree

with the programme of the Land League, it is this, that that land hunger, that excessive craving for land at any price, which is a characteristic of the Irish people, should be kept under some sort of control, but if it be right, as the leaders of that association contend, that no man should take a farm from which another has been evicted for non-payment of an excessive rent, we may, I think, fairly demand, in a correlative manner, that no man should take a farm for which an excessive tenant-right is demanded under the pressure of Free Sale. Many of the differences which have arisen between landlord and tenant have been caused by the struggle to see which of them is to get the benefit of the land hunger which exists in the country. To an Ulster landlord it seemed natural enough, in many cases, to think that he was asking too low a rent, when he saw fabulous sums offered for tenant-right, sums which he knew to be far beyond the value of the tenant's interest; and in other parts of Ireland where tenant-right was not acknowledged, many landlords have no doubt been tempted to raise their rents when they found persons, not in occupation, ready to offer any rent to obtain that occupation. The typical Ulster estate to which I have referred, and on which the greatest prosperity exists, is one on which the Ulster custom has not been subject to abuse on the part of either landlord or tenant. Where the landlord has not gradually raised his rent so as to confiscate a part of the tenant's interest, and where the tenants in occupation have either been there for successive generations, or have purchased the tenant-right of their holdings at reasonable figures, there you will find the greatest amount of prosperity and contentment.

It is on this account that I have objected to the words "Free Sale," and have proposed to substitute for them the words "Fair Sale." The object of all such sales should be, that the outgoing tenant should get the full and fair value of his interest, including under these words not only the value of his improvements, but that of his occupancy right. In the interest, however, of the landlord, of the incoming tenant, and of the community at large, the value of this interest should be left to the arbitration of the same Court as that which fixes the fair rent due to the landlord. If this be not done by the Bill, impartial justice will not be meted out. I think it was the intention of the framers of the Bill to secure the carrying out of this principle, and if the first clause stood alone it would be carried out, because it provides that

"The tenant for the time being of every tenancy to which this Act applies may sell his tenancy for the best price that can be got for the same," subject, amongst other regulations, to this one: "On receiving [such] notice the landlord may purchase the tenancy for such sum as may be agreed upon, or, in the event of disagreement, may be settled by the Court to be the value thereof."

This section, however, can be defeated, so far as Ulster landlords

are concerned, by the powers conferred upon the tenant under Clause 7. The tenant who is going to sell (as under Clause 1) may first apply to the Court (under Clause 7) to fix the "judicial rent" of his holding, and then he may proceed to sell. The Ulster landlord, who, under those circumstances, applies to the Court to have the tenant-right valued for the purpose of pre-emption, finds himself excluded by Sec. 9 of Clause 7, from having that value fixed, though every other landlord can have it done.<sup>1</sup>

This matter can only be corrected, and the two parts of the Bill brought into harmony, by the omission of the exception in Sec. 9 of Clause 7. Subject to these corrections, I am satisfied that the Bill carries out the first principle for which I have contended, always, however, on the assumption that the arbitrating tribunal is above all suspicion as to its impartiality.

This brings me naturally to the second general principle with which I commenced, and a consequent examination into the constitution of the Court, with which so much responsibility will rest. It matters not so much about the Courts of First Instance, as about the ultimate tribunal, the Land Commission. There will be no more difficult problem to solve in connection with this whole matter than to secure a commission in which both landlord and tenant will have confidence. Its first constitution will be of the greatest importance, for future commissions will be largely guided by the principles laid down, and the precedents created, by the decisions of the first commission. Unless the persons named in the Bill are persons whose names will command universal respect, one or other portion of the agricultural community will think that they are going to be robbed, and there will be a consequent outcry, of which one most likely result will be immediate danger to the Bill in one or other House of Parliament. For the purposes of Part V. of the Bill, viz. the acquisition of land by tenants, the purchase of landlords' estates, and emigration, the duties of the Land Commission will be principally executive or administrative, so that the question of impartiality will scarcely arise in that connection. It is in the matter of determining what is a Fair Rent that that quality will be tried to the utmost. The objection which may be urged against the settlement of rent by authority, such as that of the proposed Land Commission, is stated so well in the Report of the Bossborough Commission, and bears

(1) Sec. 9 Clause 7 is as follows: "On the occasion of any application being made to the Court under this section [clause] to fix a judicial rent in respect of any holding *which is not subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom*. . . . the Court may fix on the application of either landlord or tenant a specified value for the holding; and where such value has been fixed, then if at any time during the continuance of the statutory term the tenant gives notice to the landlord of his intention to sell the tenancy, the landlord may resume the holding on payment to the tenant of the amount of the value so fixed, together with the value of any improvements made by the tenant since the time at which such value was fixed."



so forcibly on the difficulties which will surround this tribunal, that it is worth being quoted :—

“It will be said that the principles on which the tribunal proceeds in deciding what, in each case, is a fair rent, will be open to criticism, will invite objection, and will be the mark in future times of political agitators; that a new movement will speedily be begun to modify these principles in a popular sense; that elections will turn upon it, and a league be formed to promote an alteration of the law; in a word, that no final settlement can be effected which depends upon the acquiescence of Irish tenants possessing political power in the decisions of constituted authority.”

It will therefore require a very strong, a very just, and a very independent tribunal to be established, if the working out of the Bill is to be a success. Should it fail in these respects any amount of confiscation of the property of the landlords may ensue. The responsibility under this head will lie altogether with the Government.

The application of the third and fourth principles which I laid down at the commencement of this article has reference chiefly to the latter part of the Bill, viz. that dealing with the creation of peasant proprietors. Though there are, no doubt, many economic difficulties in the way of a large scheme for this purpose, still there can be no doubt that the social and political advantages which would arise from increasing the number of owners of land, as so many extra barriers against revolution, are sufficient, to a large extent, to outweigh the more theoretical objections of political economy; but if there is to be provision made against a recurrence of the present state of affairs at regular intervals, so far as that state is connected with bad seasons and times of distress, care must be taken that there be not created a race of pauper proprietors, under the high-sounding title of peasant proprietors. It is for this reason that it appears to be so necessary to require that the tenant who wishes to become a proprietor shall be able to pay down one-fourth of his purchase-money. Under the Bill no provision is made to prevent the tenant from borrowing this fourth from the money-lender. Either such a provision should be introduced, or the State should advance the whole sum. As far as the question of actual security is concerned, I am satisfied that the State might advance the entire purchase-money, because such sum would not in reality be much more than two-thirds of the entire value of the holding, when the tenant's interest is added to that of the landlord; but the reasons for requiring the payment of one-fourth from the tenant purchaser are chiefly of a moral nature, viz. to serve as a sort of hostage for industry, an indication that the tenant had been previously a person of such thrift, as to give fair promise that for the future he would be a successful peasant proprietor. And if this be really the reason, then security should be taken in the Bill that the tenant before becoming a peasant proprietor should show that he really had the one-fourth

in his possession without having to go to the money-lender. The remarks of one of the Ulster members at the time of the introduction of the Bill on this matter were very much to the point. He said, "if the tenant could pay three-fourths of the purchase-money by instalments to the Government, and the other fourth to the money-lender, he would be better able to pay the whole amount if it were advanced by Government." And he might have added, that if the tenant were unable to do either, he must fail as a specimen of the new peasant proprietor. A strong objection has been brought against advancing such large sums to Irish tenants, viz. that in bad times, it may become a premium on revolution, because that there will then be the danger of the periodical agitators pointing out to the people that the simplest remedy for all their grievances, and the simplest mode of escaping from their debts to an alien Government, will be to throw off the yoke of that Government and strike for independence at once. There is no doubt that this is a possible danger in the future, and the British taxpayer must look it straight in the face. It is, however, a danger which would only be formidable should the times closely follow the period of purchase, but it will diminish from year to year as time passes on. The security of the Government would be enormously increased in ten years, and as the period of thirty-five years approached its close, "honesty might then be the best policy," as it would be scarcely worth the tenants' while to run any risk of losing all for the sake of the small outstanding balance.

Our experience in relation to the class of peasant proprietors in Ireland is, of course, very limited; still, a good many of them have existed, and do still exist, in Ulster. Sometimes they have been most successful, and sometimes equally unsuccessful. As far as my own experience goes, those who seem to me to have succeeded best are those who have held perpetuity leases in their families for several successive generations, *i.e.* paying low rents, with practical fixity of tenure, but not with an absolute right of free sale. I have before me now one of these old leases (of 1763), in which provision was made, that if the tenant, his heirs or assigns, should at any time hereafter alien or demise all or any part of the premises to any person or persons, *other than a child or grand-child* of the person so aliening or demising without the landlord's consent, a further penal rent should become immediately chargeable; in fact, the rent was to become about double what it was. The object of such a clause as this seems to have been to keep the lands in the occupation of the same families, and so to prevent *alienation* or *sub-letting*. These are *the two rocks* upon which all schemes of peasant proprietorship run a chance of being shipwrecked, and the framers of these old leases did their best to steer clear of them. The Bill now

under discussion only provides to a very partial extent against the *future dangers of sub-letting*. So long as any charge remains due to the Land Commission, sub-letting is forbidden; but what is to become of the country after that? "*Après moi le deluge*" may be the answer; but in virtue of the third and fourth principles which I have laid down, it is the duty of the State now, in inaugurating a new state of affairs, to protect this country in the future from the return, in an aggravated form, of the evils we are endeavouring now to combat. These peasant proprietors, if they want to part with possession, should be forced to sell, but not allowed to sub-let. Otherwise the country will have to face a state much worse than the present, in which labourers will have become tenants at exorbitant rents, and the present landlords will be replaced by a class under the same name, but devoid of the education or culture which they possess, and certainly much less amenable to public opinion than they are. A change of occupancy should be accompanied by a complete sale of the fee-simple. There cannot be the least doubt that one of the greatest causes of the calamities which befel the people in the famine years was the state of poverty and multiplication at which they had arrived owing to the sub-letting which took place by a class of middle-men who arose in the country during the time of the great French war. The O'Connor Don, however, ably combats this view in his Supplementary Report as a member of the Bessborough Commission. He says:—

"I cannot justify the principle that a man should either keep land in his own possession or part with its occupancy for ever. This, in practice, would be found intolerable . . . . the public would not long bear a law which prevented two men from making a bargain, just in itself, useful to the public, and profitable to both parties. . . . The scheme of Fixity of Tenure and valued rents must be applied only to existing tenancies. Its application to them may be necessary and justifiable; but with this its existence must cease, and once it has established a large number of the occupiers in secure occupation of their farms, it must give place again to freedom of contract."

Now, with every respect to such high authority, it seems to me rather hard upon the present race of landlords to say that the principles of political economy are to be laid aside in this case (though it is admitted on the highest authority that the great majority of them have not abused their position), but that once they have been disposed of, the principles of political economy, in relation to the very same subject, are again to reign supreme. The argument, as stated above, in favour of freedom of contract for the future, entirely destroys all the argument in favour of disturbing existing contracts.

To complete any scheme of land legislation for the creation of peasant proprietors, it will be necessary to provide that the legal charges in ordinary transactions relating to land shall be immensely

curtailed, and be brought into some reasonable relation to the total value of the property in question, as well as to the amount of work done in the transaction. Lawsuits about wills and rights of way at present drag many of the small proprietors or perpetuity tenants into hopeless bankruptcy, and many a successful plaintiff in an action has been obliged to hand over the greater part of the value of his holding to his lawyers and attorneys, whose costs eat up everything. The only way in which it appears possible to enable one of these men to raise money upon the security of his farm, without the enormous costs of mortgages, is to create debentures to the value of a certain proportion of the land, say one half or three-fourths, all of equal value, like so many bank notes, and transferable from hand to hand, and to force a sale whenever the owner endeavoured to encumber the holding beyond the value of these debentures. Such sale would then require no searches, and thus the ruinous cost of ultimate transfer would be saved.

I have no doubt that many of the outrages which occur at all times in Ireland, in the way of family feuds, arise from the fact that the peasantry, when disputing with each other about land (quite irrespective of any question with the landlords) prefer to take the law into their own hands, in a rough and ready way, and trust to force and violence, rather than ruin themselves pecuniarily by going into law courts with their attorneys.

In connection with this subject of peasant proprietors, I would suggest that either in the present, or in some supplementary Bill, some law should be introduced against weeds. One badly managed farm, in the hands of a man over whom there is no control, may ruin many surrounding farms, or at any rate put their owners to serious expense. Though this may at first sight appear to be but a small matter, it is one of very great importance to Ireland, because at present we have no law against weeds, such as they have in Scotland. Year after year the Registrar-General has called attention to the great loss sustained by this country from weeds, and hitherto on well-managed estates, where the tenants are amenable, at least to moral influences, the growth and spread of weeds has been checked; but without some law upon the subject a large increase in the number of independent proprietors will certainly be accompanied by a large increase in the growth of weeds on the farms of the less industrious. A few years ago a case came within my knowledge where a fine farm of 500 acres was sown, year after year, with weeds, because a small holder in perpetuity who lived adjacent, persistently refused to cut down the weeds on his farm before they seeded. One year the large farmer offered, if allowed, to send his own men to cut down or pull up the weeds, but the peasant proprietor declined their services; and it cost the other £50 in the following year to remove the weeds,

which a few days', or even hours', work would have sufficed to destroy at the proper time. This peasant proprietor seemed to consider it to be an appendage to his proprietary rights that he should be at liberty to decide absolutely what should grow upon his own land without the slightest regard to that of his neighbours.

In the enlargement in the present Bill of what are known as the Bright's Clauses of the Land Act of 1870, in this matter of sale to the tenants, much practical improvement has been made, especially on two points, viz. (1) in charging the tenant a lump sum or percentage for expenses, instead of leaving him to the chances of an unknown wildness of costs; and (2) in guaranteeing the title to the new purchaser, so that no incumbrances of the former owner can at any time come against him. I know of one case where the Board of Works refused to advance the purchase-money to the tenants of an estate because a head-rent over the whole estate was larger than the value of the rental of any individual holding upon it. The present Bill prevents the recurrence of any case of that kind. But there was another cause of failure in the working of the Bright's Clauses of the Act of 1870, and no provision has been made to meet it in the present Bill. It is therefore worthy of attention for a moment.

The Board of Works have hitherto required as strict proof of the title of the tenant as of the title of the landlord, for which stringency, to my mind, there is not the slightest necessity. I gave full details of a case of this kind in my evidence before Mr. Shaw Lefevre's committee, in which the Board of Works refused to advance the proportion of the purchase-money because some of the children of the tenant were minors, and because the farm, which was held under a lease, had been dealt with by will. Now, it is of course obvious that great care is necessary in requiring proof of the landlord's title when he is selling, because the purchase-money is to go into his pocket; and every care must be taken that it is not paid to the wrong person, as the mistake would be irremediable. But the same necessity does not exist for proof of the tenant's title, nor should it be necessary to go into all the family arrangements made under tenants' wills (many of which are acted upon without being ever proved), because, if the purchase-money advanced be made chargeable upon the farm, it matters little who the next occupier is. If the wrong person should chance to be named as the peasant proprietor, the rightful owner of the tenancy can go to law to establish his rights, and if after such private lawsuit one occupier is ousted by another, this latter will immediately succeed to the privilege of becoming liable to the State for the instalments due on account of money advanced for the purchase. All such money can easily be made a charge against the holding, no matter who the occupier may be. Great care will therefore be necessary in amending the Bill on this point to secure, in the first instance, that the charge shall be

rather against the holding itself, and the occupier of it at any time, than against an individual; and, in the second place, that in guaranteeing the title to the tenant as against the incumbrances of the landlord an indefeasible title be not thereby granted to the wrong tenant. For example, here is a case which might easily occur. Just at the time at which the landlord's interest was being sold one of the tenants might die, and his rightful heir, either under a will or in a case of intestacy, might be away, perhaps in America. Some other relative might temporarily obtain the occupancy, and might appear before the Court as the tenant claiming the right to purchase. There being no dispute at that time he might easily be accepted by the Court amongst a large number of other tenants, and a conveyance might be made out to him and an indefeasible title thereby created, when shortly afterwards the right owner might turn up. This difficulty is a practical one, because it has already occurred, and the Court can only deal with such cases in either of two ways, either by requiring absolute proof of the title of the tenant who claims, as the Board of Works have hitherto done, or by acting as I have suggested, by having a certain amount of elasticity in the conveyance, making the charge certain as against the holding, but leaving it open to the Commission at any time to substitute the name of any person whom any other court of law may determine to have been the proper tenant at the time of purchase. If the first alternative be adopted a perfect flood-gate of legal costs against the tenant will be opened, not perhaps on the part of the Court, which may compound for all costs as proposed in the Bill, but from the tenant's own legal advisers who are to make out his title for the satisfaction of the Court.

As it has happened that many tenants who applied for advances under the Bright's Clauses of the Act of 1870 were refused, and had to borrow the total purchase-money elsewhere, some provision should, in all fairness to them, be introduced into the present Bill, to enable their cases to be reconsidered, so that even now they might be able to commence the system of instalments, and so gradually free themselves from what may at present be heavy incumbrances.

I shall conclude my criticisms of this Bill by a few remarks on some minor matters in it, which, in my opinion, need correction.

(a.) Amongst the statutory conditions (Clause 4) to which a tenant is to be bound there is the following:—"The tenant shall not do any act whereby his holding becomes vested in a judgment creditor or assignee in bankruptcy." This only forbids the tenant to commit any act of bankruptcy, which, however, he may be compelled by circumstances to do; but there is no penalty attached for not complying with this condition. The creditor or assignee might still get into possession, whereas the clause should have been drafted to prevent this latter occurrence. As the clause stands, if the tenant

were to lose his holding, it would go to the creditor, instead of reverting to the landlord, which latter was obviously intended.

(b.) A curious, and apparently unnecessary, distinction is made between a statutory term in a tenancy consequent on an increase of rent, and a statutory term in a tenancy consequent on the first determination of a judicial rent by the Court, viz. that in the former case, but *not in the latter*, a landlord may apply to the Court to resume the holding for some purpose having relation to the good of the holding or of the estate, or for the benefit of the labourers upon it. If any distinction were to have been made, one would have expected the apparent bonus not to have been given to the landlord in the case where he increased his rent, but in the other case, where the Court may have reduced his rent. There is no reason why the landlord should not be at liberty to apply to the Court in either case, on grounds entirely beneficial to the entire community, rather than to himself, and the Court should be free to decide on such applications according to the merits of each case.

(c.) When security of tenure is obtained for the tenant for one holding, viz. that on which he lives, freedom of contract might fairly enough be allowed in respect of other holdings held by the same tenant, if the landlord can show a separate contract for such extra holdings.

(d.) Clause 15 provides that, "If in the case of any holding the immediate landlord for the time being is deprived of his estate by title paramount, effluxion of time, or otherwise, during the continuance of any tenancy, the next superior landlord for the time being shall, for the purposes of this Act, during the continuance of such tenancy stand in relation of immediate landlord to the tenant of the tenancy, and have the rights and be subject to the obligations of an immediate landlord."

This clause provides well against such a contingency, as once happened, when the landlord died during an appeal on a land claim before the Superior Courts in Dublin, and the tenant's case consequently fell through; but it entails this great hardship on a landlord and on an estate, that on the fall of a lease, where sub-letting has gone on during the lease, though contrary to the express terms of the lease, and where, nevertheless, the landlord has found it impossible during the lease to enforce his rights against sub-letting (owing, perhaps, to the want of any penalty being attached to the condition, or for some other cause), the landlord may have to accept a greatly depreciated position of his property without any compensation being provided for him.

I have only to add, in conclusion, that under Clause 23, dealing with public bodies, ample opportunity will probably be given to the Land Commission to test the working of the Act. It will be much better for corporate bodies or charitable trustees no longer to have their funds

locked up in such insecure investments as Irish rents from occupying tenants have recently proved to be. It is obvious that when funds belonging to charities are not available, much distress amongst the deserving poor must ensue; and, as a Fellow of Trinity College and a member of the corporate body of that institution, I am satisfied that it is highly injurious to the educational interests of the country to have any uncertainty attending receipts from collegiate property, and that it is extremely desirable that the Government or the Land Commission shall take over all property in which the College is in direct contact with the occupying tenants, securing to us the full income which we have hitherto received, and recouping to us our large outlay on improvements, from which we anticipated in the future an ample return. As to the London Companies, who own so much property in Ulster, though they have been amongst the best of landlords and have contributed largely towards every improvement on their estates, we must, I think, all agree that at the present day they occupy altogether an anomalous position, and as the tenantry on their estates are generally most prosperous and industrious, owing to the long existence of Fair Rents, they will probably afford the best examples of success in the working out of a scheme of peasant proprietary.

One advantage of allowing the Land Commission to exercise this branch of its duties at as early a period as possible will be this, that in the routine of doing so they will be indirectly laying the basis for deciding, in relation to their other sphere of duty, what is a Fair Rent. When they purchase estates, or advance tenants *three-fourths* of the purchase-money of their holdings, they will *indirectly* be guided by the consideration of what a fair rent is, as the purchase-money will eventually come to be estimated at so many years' purchase of it, and when they advance *one-half* of the fine payable to a landlord when a tenancy is about to become a fee farm grant in perpetuity, they will *directly* have to decide this very question, for the proviso in Clause 19, Sec. (1 b.) on this point is, "Provided that no advance shall be made by the Land Commission under this section on a holding subject to a fee farm rent, where the amount of such fee farm rent exceeds seventy-five per cent. of the rent which, in the opinion of the Land Commission, *a solvent tenant would pay for the holding.*"

On a complete review of the Bill, we may now, I think, arrive at the following conclusions:—

1st. Fair Sale, rather than Free Sale, of his tenant-right is secured to the tenant by Clause 1, and if Sec. 3 be retained and made applicable universally, the landlord is reasonably protected. Mr. Gladstone himself is plainly pledged to the distinction involved in this statement, by the words of his opening speech, "We do not propose to introduce unregulated tenant-right. We have made provision in our Bill for preventing tenant-right passing into extravagance, and



for protecting the just rights of the landlords by bringing into fair competition the right of the tenant to assign, and the right of the landlord to get what the land is really worth."

2nd. Fair Rents ought certainly to be secured by Clause 7, if only the Court which is to have the power to determine them can be guaranteed to be an impartial tribunal; and if the clause be amended so as to secure to the landlord the same right of appeal as it gives to the tenant, and also so as to secure that the Court shall decide, on appeal, the value of the tenant's interest as well as the value of the landlord's fair rent, the landlord cannot, I think, complain.

3rd. Security of Tenure, rather than Fixity of Tenure, is also the principle which pervades the Bill, and to keep this so, it will be essential that Clause 4, which fixes the statutory conditions of tenure, shall be preserved in its integrity. On the one hand, then, the slothful, disimproving, or unprosperous tenant will *not be fired* in the holding—he will soon be sold out—while, on the other hand, the industrious, improving, and prosperous tenant will be amply *secured* against arbitrary eviction.

4th. If Sec. 1 of Clause 28 be strictly enforced by the Land Commission, so that they take care that tenant purchasers will afterwards "be in a position to work their holdings profitably," the purchase of estates by the Commissioners will not entail loss upon the public funds; and if the same guarantee can be given in the cases of direct sale from landlords to tenants, there will be every prospect of the creation of a peasant rather than of a pauper proprietary; and if the purchasers are prevented from sub-letting in the future a recurrence of the present evils will be avoided.

5th. Very great importance will attach to the successful working of Clause 26. A proper scheme of emigration is the only remedy for the congested state of the population along the west coast of Ireland, where, it is now well known, such overcrowding exists upon holdings of such wretched size that the people could not exist upon their lands even were their rents abolished altogether. Unless the hat is to be periodically sent round the world on the occurrence of bad seasons, and our country thereby degraded, this blot upon our civilisation should be rapidly removed.

6th. Finally, it is evident from all these considerations that everything will depend upon the constitution of the Land Commission. Should the members of it approach their work with the foregone conclusion that popular demands are to be satisfied at the cost of the landlords, and that the Liberal party is to make large political capital out of the result of the Act, then, indeed, is the look-out of the landlords a poor one; but if, on the other hand, those persons add courage and independence to strict justice and impartiality, it may be reasonably hoped that the Act which created them will be a success.

ANTHONY TRAILL.

## THE EMIGRATION AND WASTE-LAND CLAUSES.

THE Government in the new Land Bill proposes to deal with emigration and with the waste lands of Ireland, but does not attempt the solution of the pressing labourer's question. These three points are, however, mutually dependent and should be considered together, for that which benefits, or the reverse, the whole country population must affect closely the interests of the poorest section thereof.

There is probably no point in the Bill to which English opinion will prove so favourable as that providing for an extended emigration, properly conducted and assisted by Government. On the other hand, there is no point in the Bill to which Ireland at large, represented by the Land League delegates and Roman Catholic hierarchy, takes so much exception. Whence comes this difference of opinion, when we may suppose both parties desire the good of Ireland? Perhaps it may be that the one nation speaks from abstract theory, the other nation from practical experience. England looks at the individual alone, to whom emigration may be the means of giving a home and comfort; it also has been long fed on principles of political economy and the talk of surplus population; it does not stop to ask if there can be really a surplus population in one of the most thinly-peopled countries of Europe. It has its specific ready, and insists on applying it whether suitable to the case or not, as it has done before and as it will do again. Over and above these motives is another and the strongest, namely, that England sees in emigration the simplest means of evading a solution of our present political entanglement. Irishmen regard the question in a closer, more practical, I may say more scientific light; besides that, they are moved by the patriotic feeling that every man who is forced to leave the country is a loss to the national strength and unity; they consider the welfare of Ireland and of the home-abiding portion of the Irish nation.

In truth, if philanthropy were the only motive to cause the removal of the western population, it is little likely any Government would undertake it. Another motive, a more pressing one, lies behind. Ireland is at last sufficiently strong and united to cry aloud; it will no longer consent to drop down on the road of life, a resultant of bad laws, as it did after the famine. Ireland, through the Land League, has brought England to face the fact that an enormous proportion of her people are bankrupt, that they cannot live under the present system, and that they will not die peaceably as hitherto. What then is to be done? What more easy and more simple than that out of the superfluity of her wealth, also urged by

the prompting of an uneasy conscience, England should put her hand in her purse and get rid of her poor relation to her benefit and to his? But, lo! a new factor has appeared on the scene, a new entity hitherto unknown, the Irish nation. It, too, has something to say on the question. I will try to put into words what we as a nation feel. First, we appeal to our experience, and we ask, Is it not the fact that in 1879, after all the emigration of the last thirty-two years, we were very near a widespread famine? Is it not a fact that land has become actually waste which has once been cultivated; that the area under tillage has very largely decreased; that cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, horses, and fowl are fewer than years ago? Is it not a fact that while the nations of Europe with their large populations increase in wealth, Ireland with her ever-decreasing population barely holds her own? This makes us ask if mere depletion is to save us, and then we are brought to face the further fact that from a population of about five millions, last year nearly ninety-six thousand people left our shores. Now to us who stay at home the hundred thousand men and women who it is believed will leave Ireland this year are not ciphers. We see them grow up amongst us, and we know almost from childhood who will go and who will stay. Is it the delicate, the weak in body and mind, the old, the diseased, the drunken, the exhausted who go? Is it the listless, the idle, the feckless who labour early and late to earn the passage-money, who refuse to drink because drink means in America utter ruin? No; if there is a young man better than his neighbours, more steady, stronger in bone and sinew and self-help, that is the man who is reared for eighteen years of his life at the expense of the poorest country in Europe, only to end by taking away with him all he may have saved in his early youth, and all the strength and capacity that he as a unit of a nation might bring to his country. It is the same with the young women. We are so accustomed to emigration that we have to open our eyes wide, to force ourselves to stand still and look, or we forget what must be the mere physical degeneration resulting from a drain like this; what must be the weakness it will engender in a nation from which perpetually bleeds away its strongest, best, and soberest youth.

This is true enough, answers the Englishman, but if people cannot find work at home they must go; the laws of political economy are stern as the laws of nature, and where the demand is there surely will the supply go, granted that no extraneous cause interferes. It is true. No one in the present state of Ireland would directly stop it, but that is a different matter from Government assistance. Is a Government ever wise in exiling its people? Was the French Government wise when it drove forth its Protestant craftsmen? yet they were undoubtedly an element dangerous to the then established order, doubly dangerous as inspired by the infectious disease, religious

enthusiasm. Governments now do not drive their people away in the crude manner of those days, but they do it more effectually by allowing law to choke the natural courses and vents through which a nation expands, and by thus driving the full current into a channel too narrow to hold it. This Germany appears to be about, by breaking the course of each young man's life through her military system; England also, even as regards England alone, by maintaining an antiquated system of land prejudicial to agricultural interests. Ireland having felt the ill effects of the same more than has England, having also tried emigration and found it a quack medicine, now contends that though no immediate change can check natural emigration, it is not right to encourage it, but that in place of this, which has been tried and has failed, a change is required to give room for internal growth. She does not want a siphon to draw away her fertilising streams, but rather that the dams should be broken down, the weeds and sodden earth removed, that the river of her life should have room to pass, growing and swelling into a clearer and a nobler course each day.

Again they say, That too may be true, but here in the west are men, women, and children ready to die, or ready to commit murder rather than die, ready to fling themselves on the bayonets of the police, to see their women falling wounded and their men taken to prison untried, rather than give up little plots of stones and rush-covered bog. What is to be done with so desperate a disease? It is well to ask; it is a question that lies down with us at night and renews itself in the morning. It is certain that a large proportion of the population of the north-west of Ireland is absolutely in this condition—penniless, liable at any moment to become homeless, so deeply in debt that it is hard to understand how they can extricate themselves. It is also true that this distressed population was the source of the agitation; among them it took its rise, among them it has appeared in its most formidable shape, and for their cause in the abstract the nation is still fighting. They too were little to be blamed for their misfortunes. They were the labourers of England and Scotland, working there three-fourths of the year, paying fancy rents on worthless land, or the worth of which had been created by themselves. English wages failed for years consecutively, the rents were not paid from the land, but from wages, and what little the land could in itself pay in good years fell to nothing in the lean years. This class now in this extremity is opposed to another class in almost as great difficulties, the landlords and their hangers-on, creditors, relations, agents, clergy, and others, who desire to live as well as the poor. They cannot afford to lose at a stroke the rental of great districts, no matter how poor the people are; it made no difference to them whether their rents were paid out of wages or from the land, for

rent is in Ireland often more the price of a home than an agricultural product. Such as it was it has gone the way of all landlord property, eaten up by mortgages and settlements, insurance payments and dowries; any cessation of income means bankruptcy to the immediate receiver, who is responsible to all the others. Thus then stand the two classes who at this moment are holding one another by the throat, an absolutely bankrupt industrial class and a class living in apparent ease, yet wholly dependent on the earnings that the poor are not able to provide. Government steps in and says to the people, "Let go your hold, we will give you help, put you on board ship and give you a fresh start." It is a very simple, very effectual means of producing a lull, but may it not be done at too great a cost?

First, will or can the Government so control the emigration that it shall affect only these distinctly diseased parts? But the disease is not local, it exists in patches from north to south, if not from east to west. Can the Government say, From such a spot in Mayo, Donegal, or Kerry, we will take families who are owners of land in that overcrowded district? Suppose this is done, that families coming from a certain barony are assisted at a heavy cost, whereas those on the other side of the boundary are bidden to do for themselves; will not this be a sheer injustice, and one of those attempts at limiting a charity which, as a matter of course, draw applicants for the charity within the bounds of the district? Such a limited emigration would, however, be less harmful to the country than what the Government seem to have in view—an emigration more or less extending over the whole of Ireland. Now the certain result of this, in the part of the country with which I am best acquainted, would be the loss to us of an immense number of our best family men, and with them the best of our young blood. In those parts of Ireland where emigration has taken a strong hold already, as in Limerick, I really doubt if any young labourers' families would be left in a few years, supposing Government gave free or nearly free passages. Even as it is, though from their dependent position the labourers are underpaid and miserable throughout the year, there is often great difficulty in getting men and women enough for the harvesting. The merry days when the haymaking brought together troops of girls and boys are passed away; twenty years ago the fields were bright with young life, now a few old men or plodding workers go wearily through the day's toil without laughter and without jest.

The hope of the new Land Bill is that it will induce industry by giving birth to security; but industry must have hands, and if the farmers are deprived of their best labourers by the Government, a new difficulty will replace the old. Without doubt it is the best who will go, the men in the prime of life. They stay now because they can't go, but why should they then stay? Their relations are

in America, and every one of them has as many friends there as in Ireland. They do not now fear the sea, and above all, if they stay at home, they know that they must look forward to parting with child after child, and to being left alone to go down with sorrow to the grave. The old and delicate may remain, for the climate in Canada is trying; but the younger men who through early marriage have lost the chance of emigration, and who now begin to feel the pinch at home, will flock away in numbers far exceeding the expectations of the Government. Then again, if the Government take up State-aided emigration, is there not great reason to expect that the self-supporting emigration will be suddenly checked? If the Government refuse to help the single, what will be the result? Now the young abstain from marriage in order to emigrate and make a free start in America, then a premium will be put on the recklessness of mere boys and girls. It has been lately shown that Ireland is now a country in which early marriage is infrequent, and it must be remembered that owing to the immense numbers who emigrate single, the real proportion of what we may call our people (that is, including those who have but lately left our shores) who marry is still smaller than statistics show, but without doubt anything which should make marriage a step to Government-assisted emigration would break the bit in the mouth of the natural affections which has been placed there by desire of success abroad.

If the Government once begin, can they limit their operations? If a thousand persons want to go now, shall the Government select a hundred? Will they again put a premium on poverty, drink, and dirt? If so, plenty will be ready to qualify themselves. If otherwise, if help is to be given to those who have been able to earn part of the passage money, to the more prosperous, the more industrious, then we come back to the first objection, that we as a nation are to lose our best blood, and with it, though a matter of infinitely less cost, the sum of money they take with them. Putting the sum of money a head that each Irishman takes with him at half what the Germans are known to take, £10 for the German, £5 for the Irishman, see what a tax on a poor country that comes to on the natural emigration for this year alone,—five hundred thousand pounds. Add to this, say half the price of tickets, clothes, &c., the other half coming from abroad, and then conceive the emigration stimulated by the Government as I have supposed. What sum would it all amount to? Even as it is, without any artificial loss of population, the country is losing the first elements of life at an almost unprecedented rate: should we desire to add fuel to the flame? I look out on this fair and beautiful land, now, unconscious of its suffering and warring population, blooming into the eternal loveliness of spring, and I see in it the likeness of a watershed on the mountain top; from it flow

away two great streams, leaving their birthplace desolate and bare—the stream of wealth, education, and intellect which goes towards England with our absentee classes, and that other noblest stream, the strength and manhood that our nation in its poverty has reared, and which flows from us never to return.

Now, what class of the population benefits by this loss to the nation? Those who are left behind, is the ready answer. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright have boldly affirmed that the wages of the labourers are double what they were before the famine. Their authority is high, yet I venture to doubt it. Women's wages are double, and more than double, what they were in the dairy country, and for a few years of life, from sixteen to thirty, a woman may earn well here if she is strong enough for very hard, rough work, often going on from four o'clock in the morning till late at night. Dairy-farming is lazy work for the men, but tremendously hard work for the women employed, who, however, gladly earn good wages, with which they usually go to America when about three-and-twenty. If they stay at home they marry, children come, and their earnings are over, so we must turn to the men, whose wages must after all be the main thing. From 8d. to 1s. 2d. a day seems to have been the rate of wages before the famine, now we may say from 1s. 2d. to 2s. Surely man could not live on the wages then, so we must admit some improvement; but do not the people actually feel their poverty almost if not quite as much? Like Adam they have tasted of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, they cannot now go naked unashamed, they cannot now feed on dog's food and be satisfied. We have of late heard a great deal of the prices of farm produce, and how its value has risen: what has this done for the labourer but to make his little purse lighter than before? His children go to school on the whole wonderfully neat, if we remember what money can be spared to their clothes; he himself must now always wear shoes, his wife also if she counts herself a "very decent woman." All this has to be provided; the man is now to a certain extent a civilised being, not a savage; but having provided all this, does anything more than formerly remain for the actual food supply? Conceive rearing seven children, a wife, and yourself, sending the young to school, and keeping all clothed on 8s. a week, and you will perhaps understand that food is not more plentiful than it was in the old days, when good potatoes were 2d. a stone, and when neat clothes and schools were almost equally unknown.

Before the famine Ireland had gone so low, not through over-population, but through the stifling effects of all kinds of evil laws, that without emigration it is hard to see how she could have righted herself, and even now a serious check to it would be most harmful. But as far as the labourers and very small farmers are concerned, I

believe any artificial increase of the exodus would only further tend to lower their status by the encouragement of grazing at the expense of tillage. The next class that would be affected by an increased emigration are the artisans. Now, it is impossible for artisans to prosper in a wilderness of cattle, for they live by administering to the wants and civilisation of the population. Their own numbers are kept at too high a level by the trade rules, which admit sons and relations of tradesmen into the father's craft at an easy rate. If a man gets work as a mason he will earn four to five shillings, where the labourer earns one or two; therefore artisans will always put their sons to their trade though uncertain, in preference to a more certain though lower calling. The supply therefore of artisans will not be in proportion to the demand, but to other causes, and as emigration is not nearly so sure a resource to the artisan as to the labourer, they must trust mainly to home employment. To them therefore every family at home means houses to be built and repaired, and gear of every kind to be made, and they should therefore vote against emigration. So also should merchants, wholesale and retail, and so should the great manufacturers, English and Irish, and the men dependent on them. One hundred thousand mouths to be fed, one hundred thousand bodies to be clothed, going away yearly from Ireland: how great a loss does this mean to business of all kinds!

It stands to reason that trade must suffer if the people who support trade go, therefore the tradesman should vote against emigration; and what should the farmers, the main body of the people, think on this matter? Have they no interest in considering the home markets, and are they to see with equanimity the very Government that proposes to help them, taking with one hand what it gives with the other, giving them security to cultivate their lands while taking from them the men who are to do the work? It has been made plain that they do not wish to see Ireland emptied of its people, and have learnt to understand that they and the labourers are mutually dependent. With the interests of all these classes are bound up the interests of railway owners and others engaged in like business, for population is the first thing essential to their success, and even if the country were no richer than it is at present, supposing a thicker population inhabited it, more money would go into their pockets. Again, we have the priests, a class large in numbers and large in influence, out of all proportion to their numbers. The archbishops have expressed their feeling on the matter, a feeling more fervently alive in the hearts of the rural clergy, who are bound to their people by interest, by love, and by a sense of responsibility for their moral welfare.

One class only may benefit by clearing the land, that is the landlords. It is so where land is good enough to throw into pasture;



there "wealth accumulates and men decay." Where, however, the land is too worthless for this, I should suppose they will run the risk of seeing their land falling back into waste, thereby losing permanently whatever value the small tenements may have created on their tenancies. But if this question touches other than very limited districts it will affect the whole labour market of Ireland. At present the labourers are a sore in the landlord's side, for he does not see his way to bettering their state even if he is a man who cares about these things, yet there the people are, a living shame and blot on his property. Even if he should lose a little money by expatriating him the poor rates are relieved and his conscience is relieved. He has little or no pecuniary interest in keeping the people on the land, and naturally forgets that others have; he is therefore free to take the philanthropic view, saying, "Poor fellow, you starve here, go and do well elsewhere."

The Government and the English public have another thing to consider. When they have, against the expressed wish of a large proportion, I may say the main body of the Irish nation, spent a great sum of money in a sort of charitable investment, they will look to see that it is not a total loss. "Such loans shall be made repayable within the periods and at the rate of interest within and at which advances by the Board of Works" are repayable. Who then is to repay these loans? The emigrants, I suppose. But if these emigrants, as others have done before them, dislike the cold climate, the mosquitoes, and other inconveniences of Manitoba; if they remember that across the borders are their brothers, sisters, and friends; if, as is sure to happen in some cases, they have merely represented themselves as emigrants for Canada in order to get put across the water; if they then some morning leave the key in the door and disappear, and many will doubtless do so, what is to happen about the repayment of the loans? Land is a drug there; it is no security as it is here; the people are the valuable articles, but are unfortunately like quicksilver, hard to have and to hold, unless the place commends itself. Of course many would stay, but equally of course many would pass on to the States, and the whole of their expenses will be a dead loss to England and Canada. Again, another point should be considered by England: every Irish settlement in Canada will be a central point from which the desire to separate from England and unite with the States will spread, for the Irish love the States as they dislike England.

Now let us turn to the second point, the reclamation of waste lands. It appears, the Government propose to work this through companies, not in any way directly. Now, will the companies, to begin with, come on the scene? It shows great trust in their own success in quieting the country, that the Government appear to look

forward to a time when individuals will be found ready to risk money in Ireland in the creation of "future tenancies," and in searching out old titles for waste bogs. But granted the companies do appear, in what are they certain to benefit Ireland sufficiently to warrant the expenditure of public money? By the employment of labour? But the Government is going to emigrate the labourers from the very parts where the waste lands lie. Also it often happens that the ordinary backward agricultural labourer is unfit for navvy's work, and that, in fact, the companies would bring in their own men. Even if they do employ the home labourers what will be the result? The districts, always poor districts, will draw to themselves numbers of men (and whisky shops) who, flush of money for awhile, will be thrown off at the end of the time with no more hope than before. When reclamation is done, instead of a few companies as landlords we shall have many; we had hoped to get rid of our present companies, and behold! they are to be increased indefinitely. They will be able to dispose of their land in "future tenancies" at a fancy rent, and will very likely revive all over the country many of the evils which have caused the Land League. Must we, however, object to the reclamation of the waste lands? Certainly not; on the contrary, we have looked on them as one source from which we may gain help for the labourers.

We must reject the Government plan if we are to help them in the long-run, and look for another. My view is that far the best, most feasible, and most popular plan would be this. Where a landlord would not undertake himself to reclaim land within a short space of time, Government, through the Board of Works, should step in, buy up the land compulsorily at an estimated value, then proceed to arterially drain it, and do such work on it as could not be done by individual peasants. The land being still quite in the rough, it should be divided into many various-sized lots and sold under the clauses of the Act for encouraging peasant proprietorship. The men who were employed on the reclamation could then each look forward to a time when his industry and saving should give him a chance of buying a piece of land at a low price; he would rejoice in the thought of the little fields which should replace the swampy bog in which he is wading; he would have his eye on a pet corner for his cabin, he would picture to himself the liming and manuring, the first crop of marshy potatoes which should gradually give place to champions of floury glory; his heart would be in his work and hope before him; his earnings would be saved, the whisky shop would be left empty, and the first day he entered his shieling as a peasant proprietor would find him a contented man. The day reclamation is finished under the companies will mean a relapse into misery of the men employed, who, however, will have had a taste of Government

money and will clamour for more, even as they are doing now after the relief money; the day reclamation is finished under the other plan might mean a new and higher start to the best men employed.

This, I believe, is one means by which the labour question might be met. Another point has been put before me by one who knows the people thoroughly—a priest. He says that this above all is the moment to seize to buy ground for the labourers in order to provide them with independent plots. This moment, and for this reason. In the great difficulty of settlement between farmers and their creditors, landlords and others, any small sum of money would be an especial boon to the farmers, who, to retain their hold on the land, would willingly part to the Government with an acre here and there, sufficient to meet the labourers' wants. The Government might buy out entirely from the landlord or become a middle man, probably the simplest plan as avoiding difficulties of title, &c. The whole gist of the labourer's question lies in this, that he is dependent on the farmer for the roof over his head, and for the quarter of land on which he grows his potatoes; supposing he (as is the case with all the married men) is too poor to emigrate, he must hold to these or go to the workhouse. For this reason he cannot fight for proper wages, his home is a lien on him, it holds him down to poverty. What the labourer requires now in order to get a fair chance is a home held from an impartial landlord, then he could stand out for wages, now he cannot.

These three questions, emigration, waste lands, and the labourer's cause, are bound up in one. Cannot the Government, instead of injuring the nation and the rest of the country by helping the labourer to emigrate, help the rest of the country by keeping the man in it and giving him a chance to live? No one living in Ireland but must see that on every second field much employment might be found if only work could be set on foot. Our difficulty is not over-population, but ill-distribution of the people; indolence which the Government cannot directly cure; above all, want of hope. Peasant proprietorship means a new start, freedom, hope, and industry. We are like a crowd of men shut up in a room, we are suffocating one another, not because the room is too small, but because every window is nailed up. The nails are, settlements, entails, lawyers' fees, rights of way, want of registration of titles, double interests in the land. I do not see that the Government is drawing out the nails; it is trying to empty the room, it is whirling its great and intricate fan of Land Tenure round and round, and will stir up any amount of dust to the benefit of the lawyers, but except the two small openings toward peasant proprietorship, and fining down of rents, it has not really given us the fresh air.

CHARLOTTE G. O'BRIEN.

## HINDU HOUSEHOLDS.

THERE is perhaps no point of contrast, between the domestic life of England and that of the Hindus, more striking than the concentration of households amongst the latter. Father and sons, with the sons' wives and children, all congregate together under the one roof. That roof is enlarged to meet the enlarged requirements, but the establishment of separate homesteads appears to be opposed to national instincts, custom, and religion. But the enlargement is not always possible or convenient. The evils of overcrowding are plain, and yet they are submitted to, rather than cause a violation of custom, for custom and duty are convertible terms. When a Hindu can say of his opponent's argument, with truth, that it is a "new saying," or a "novel idea," it is looked upon as a crushing refutation.

None like to take upon themselves the responsibility of change, whatever the inconveniences experienced, none dare abruptly propose a separation. May we not in part account for the Hindu's dislike of travel by this feeling, the offspring of time-honoured custom? He has yet to learn that some customs are more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

I was talking to a tehsildar, or native collector of revenue in Oudh. He had recently been moved from Fyzabad to Utrowla, from the right to the left bank of the river Goomtee, one of the large tributaries of the Ganges. He had been compelled to leave the family homestead, and was inconsolable.

"What makes you so sad, Gunga Persand?" I asked him.

"Protector of the poor!" was his answer, "you are my father and my mother! The Commissioner Sahib transferred me from Fyzabad to Utrowla. I am sad because I have been obliged to leave my native land, and to dwell amongst strangers and foreigners."

"But you are still in Oudh," I suggested. "Fyzabad is not so far away. It is only at the other side of the river, and a little farther south."

"To me this is a different country, O lord of great might! and I am disconsolate."

"But look at us English, Babu," I urged. "We are ordered thousands of miles away from our homes, and we go without a murmur."

"It is true, mighty one," said Gunga Persand; "but you, Sahibs, drink English water (soda-water), and the strength of it enables you to bear up under all fatigues and sorrows."

His idea was that the effervescing force of the soda-water, which drove out the cork so violently, gave strength to the drinker of it. And I found on inquiry this idea was prevalent amongst both Hindus and Mohammedans.

In the town, or in the country, the senior of the family is the common father of all its members, and in this respect there has probably been little change for some thousands of years. No legal act is signed, no important business negotiated, no new connection formed, no family ceremony connected with birth, marriage, or death permitted, until the head of the family has been consulted in the first instance. Nor is this merely an idle ceremony. His voice is supreme, and all the members of the household so regard it. The head of the family looks for this attention on the part of all its members, and, in well-constituted households, he regards their interests as his own. Of course there are instances of favouritism and neglect; undue affection for one and enmity to another are sometimes exhibited. Nay, there are instances of a stranger's interest and welfare being preferred to those of the members of the household, but not commonly—nay, very rarely.

In a well-ordered household, several advantages arise from this system of domestic life. The interest of one is the interest of all. The relatives do not shrink from holding out a helping hand to the poor struggler, well-nigh overcome by the waves of adversity. Nor are complaints made if they are put to inconvenience thereby. They will sacrifice their own comfort, they will voluntarily retrench in their own expenditure, that the needy members of their household may not want. They feel a satisfaction in administering to the wants of their brethren, and this satisfaction is founded upon social and religious feelings of duty. There are such households, thousands of them, amongst the Hindus. I am not describing an ideal condition of things. But there are also many others in which strife and enmity reign supreme, and in addition to physical evils, the result of overcrowding, there are also envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness. This sometimes results from the wiles of the female members of the household, who, quarrelling amongst themselves, endeavour to inveigle the male members of the family into their quarrels. When separation or litigation occurs between the members of the Hindu household, woman is generally at the bottom of it. "The younger sons, with their wives and families, shall be maintained by the eldest son if he inherits the estate of his deceased father," says Manu, and Gautama similarly, "Whether the eldest son take the whole or only his share, the younger sons and their families shall be maintained by him as their father." Rather hard this on the eldest son if he only gets a share of the paternal estate!

There have been instances of young men using all the weapons of

the law against the head of their house, the patriarch of the homestead, and that unsuccessfully. Such men have been received again, penitent and repentant, with all the enthusiasm of the prodigal son's reception on his return. Such conduct is more than amiable, it is magnanimous; yet such conduct is to be met with frequently in the large towns and village communities of Bengal.

Another point, worthy of all commendation, is the impartiality with which rich and poor members of the community are invited to the festivities. Neighbours, living in the same village circle, are similarly treated, although no tie but a common residence in the same little republic binds them together. For, in truth, each village community is a little republic, with its own laws and regulations, its own municipal and departmental officers. The heads of the households form the local parliament. The headman, *lumberdar* or *malguzar*, is the president; the kanoongo is the justiciary; and the village chowkeedar, or constable, is the representative of the police authorities.

When the property of the different families united in the homestead is separate and their table common, dissensions will sometimes occur relative to the share of expenditure to be paid by each. Some of the members may be in no condition to pay their quota. In such cases mutual forbearance is necessary. Nor is economy forgotten. Luxuries that can be dispensed with are discontinued, and frugality reigns till peace and harmony are re-established.

On the death of the head of one of these households without leaving a will, confusion worse confounded is too often the result. It is like an ant-hill whose stores have been pillaged, a bee-hive that has lost its queen bee. There is much running to and fro; loud altercations mingle with wailings; every one is on the alert, and yet no one knows exactly what to do. The leaving behind of a formal will is of importance to all households wherever they are, in America, in Europe, or in Asia. But in the Hindu family homestead it is of double importance; without it altercation, litigation, and often ruin. A household of this kind ought to be as a fortress, and its inmates always armed against external aggression. But this cannot be the case when dissensions arise, the result of disputes as to property, or of the confusion incident on the death of the senior without a will.

In the daily distribution of food the younger members of a family are helped first, and the mistress of the household seldom attends to other matters until this important portion of the day's duty is complete. On occasions of festivity the male head of the household and its mistress are enjoined, both by social law and practice, to fast till the last guest has been served. Even then the mistress will not take her meal until her husband has finished eating; but this is a practice of self-denial familiar to the female members of Hindu

households. Festival days are very numerous in India, and well-constituted families pride themselves on a rigid attention to punctilious observances during such times.

The mistress of the family is usually content with the food left by the male members of the household. It is unusual for any particular food to be prepared for her especially when in good health. The thought of her being the head of the household is supposed to be sufficient to make her despise all deprivations. She does not seek personal comfort. She would have all the members of the household live happily and contentedly together. Brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, domestics and slaves are treated alike with consideration by the intelligent and devoted head of the family.

There is a certain simplicity in the domestic life of the well-regulated Hindu household that is very charming. For instance, at a feast or festival, all the members of the household consider themselves bound in honour to attend chiefly to the comfort and enjoyment of the guests. They never think of their own wants in comparison. It is only when the guests have been abundantly supplied and attended to that they think of themselves. Amongst the higher castes the food consists chiefly of wheat and maize, flour, grain, pulse, clarified butter or ghee, milk, and sweets. Fish and meats, particularly mutton and fowls, are not objected to by the lower castes if they can procure them, but beef is an abomination as coming from a sacred animal, and pork is abhorred as vile, and as containing the germs of disease. Only outcast Hindus partake of these last.

Like the Buddhists, the higher castes of Hindus reverence the sanctity of life. They are warned by their religious writings against shedding of blood, against the infliction of pain, against the taking of life. They hold every living animal as sacred as a human being; in Bengal, however, fish is very generally used as an article of diet by all classes in contradiction to their religious tenets. Nor does this abstinence from animal food impair the physical strength or warlike vigour of the best classes of Upper India. The Mahratta cavalry have been praised for endurance and courage by all our writers, and the Gurkas and Tilingas are admitted to make first-rate soldiers—wiry, obedient to discipline, ready to endure fatigue and hardship, and by no means deficient in energy or courage.

The household expenses are usually defrayed by the senior member or head of the family, who is supplied with funds by all the residents in the household possessed of separate incomes. It is not usual for any interference to be caused by the other members as to the details of the daily expenditure, nor is any attempt usually made to apportion those expenses ratably. The whole is done in a spirit of mutual conciliation and family affection; nor are quarrels

as to the nature of the provisions supplied matters of frequent occurrence. Living under the same roof and partaking of the same food constitute the chief ingredients of domestic concord and amity amongst the Hindus. Their system of caste renders the family circle much more exclusive than in Europe, and prevents much of that indiscriminate entertainment in which some European households apparently find their principal happiness.

In many respects the Hindu life resembles that of Ancient Greece. In both we find the same reverence for the family homestead, the same comparative freedom of women in the management of the households, and the same embodiment of mythological legends in the ancient history of the country. "The divine myths, the matter of their religion," says the great historian of Greece, "constituted also the matter of their earliest history. These myths harmonized with each other only in their general types, but differed invariably in respect of particular incidents. These divine myths served as primitive matter of history to the early Greek, and they were the only narratives, at once publicly accredited and interesting, which he possessed."<sup>1</sup> All this is equally true of the Hindu. And, again, "The family relations, as we might expect, are set forth, in our pictures of the legendary world of Greece, as the grand sources of lasting union and devoted attachment. The paternal authority is highly revered; the son who lives to years of maturity repays by affection to his parents the charge of his maintenance in infancy, which the language denotes by a single word, whilst, on the other hand, the Erinnys, whose avenging hand is put in motion by the curse of a father or mother, is an object of deep dread." "Not only brothers, but also cousins and the more distant blood relations and clansmen, appeared connected together by a strong feeling of attachment, sharing amongst them universally the obligation of mutual self-defence and revenge in the event of injury to any individual of the race."<sup>2</sup>

All this is as descriptive of the Hindu household as of the ancient Greek. In culture and civilisation the Bengalis are the Athenians of India. In one respect they are beginning to differ materially from the Athenians. They have no national costume. In ancient times doubtless the Hindus bedecked their clothing gorgeously with precious stones, pearls, laces, and embroidery. The turban and the robe were elaborately ornamented. But the Mohammedans put a stop to that. Their rapacity made the Hindus affect a simplicity in attire foreign to their habits and nature. That simplicity has now become a habit, and habit is religion.

Among the middle class a plain *dhuti* and *chudder* have been long in fashion, the *dhuti* wrapped round the loins and between the legs, with one tail pendent behind and two in front. A gown or outer

(1) Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 45, 46.

(2) *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 475.



robe, or *chudder*, hid the *dhuti* from view; but the *chudder* is now almost exclusively worn by the female sex and the orthodox Hindus. In the Hindu college of old the appearance of the students with their white muslin robes always reminded me of the students of Athens as described by Gaius and Polybius.

The want of a national dress is fatal to the picturesque in Bengali assemblies. In such a climate the very poor cannot be expected to put on clothes for ornament. They wear as little as possible. But, of the upper classes, the habiliments are various and wonderfully made. The turban is usually shunned as being inconveniently hot. An English hat, an Egyptian fez, a cap of nondescript parentage, velvet, or cloth, or silk, or muslin, takes the place of the good old turban. The orthodox Hindus are very severe on the vagaries in dress of the modern Bengali. "Scan him from top to toe," writes K—— in the *Indian Mirror*, "and you will see a mixture of Moghul, Burmese, Chinese, Jew, and Turk;" the modern European might have been added—for some of the worst features of our dress young Bengal patronises. "Not to be outbid in fashion, collars, neckties, and coats have lately come into vogue. In those that have the modesty not wholly to despise their national costume, you may see a frock or jacket peeping out from underneath the *dhuti* and *chudder*." "It is an outrage on decency and good manners," observes K—— indignantly, "when young men in these mongrel gala dresses obtrude themselves upon their elders and their betters." And again, waxing wroth, he exclaims indignantly, "The modern Hindu of Lower Bengal is a hybrid mixture, referable to no recognised standard. The best skill of the tailor makes him at best a harlequin on the stage, or Jacko perched on a goat in martial attire—a curious mixture of odds and ends." This is very severe, but it can do nobody any harm, and it is amusing as an instance of the orthodox Hindu's indignation at the novelties and frivolities of young Bengal.

The direct charity of Hindu householders is too often indiscriminate. But it is in accordance with habits long cherished, and with the precepts of religion. The late Babu Mutty Lall Seal established an *attitshala*, or almshouse, not far from Calcutta, on the Barrackpore road, where from four to five hundred travellers are daily fed. He used to seat himself in the verandah of his home there, and watch the poor being fed. In his later days this constituted one of his principal pleasures. He was a man of great wealth, a friend of Europeans, and yet a man of the simplest tastes. On one particular Sunday, while seated with some friends near the avenue where the poor were being fed, he observed one of them most greedily devouring the food, utterly unmindful of all that was passing around. The benefactor earnestly watched the progress of the poor hungry man's meal, as he feasted on the rice and curry gratuitously bestowed on

him. When that was concluded the Babu asked him whether he had been in want of food. "I left Barrackpore for Calcutta yesterday morning," said he, "and have had no food for forty-eight hours. I am feeble and lame and travel slowly." The benevolent Babu could hardly restrain his tears as he remarked to his friends around him that he was amply compensated for all that his charity cost him by that one case. Nor did the poor wayfarer leave without substantial marks of the benevolent rich man's favour.

On another occasion Babu Mutty Lall Seal was told by a neighbour, that before he began to distribute his charity the poor could hardly get two meals a day, but since the opening of his almshouse they were able to purchase ornaments from their savings. Here was the effect of that very indiscriminate charity so much decried in Europe, and not without reason. "I gain a double object by my charity," was the benevolent Babu's reply. "I not only feed them now, but contribute to their support in the future." The ornaments are often the only savings-bank known to the people of India. Direct charity is more practised and appreciated by the Hindus, notwithstanding the abuses that often flow from it, in consequence of the pleasure experienced in witnessing the happiness conferred before their eyes. The pleasure is immediate and considerable, whilst the evil effects are remote, hidden, and uncertain. There is scarcely a *thakur bari*, or shrine, an *attitshala*, or almshouse, where paupers are not seen daily in numbers being supplied with cooked food, and such religious and charitable endowments are scattered plentifully over the land. Feeding the poor seems to constitute one of the principal means of worshipping the gods.

Of Western scholars who have studied the ancient literature and religion of the Hindus, few have been more successful than Professor Max Müller. In his Hibbert Lectures he gives us the following account of the Hindu family. "There are still Brahmanic families in which the son learns by heart the ancient hymns, and the father performs day by day his sacred duties and sacrifices; whilst the grandfather, even though remaining in the village, looks upon all ceremonies and sacrifices as vanity, sees even in the Vedic gods nothing but names of what he knows to be beyond all names, and seeks rest in the highest knowledge only, which has become to him the highest religion, viz., the so-called Vedanta, the end and fulfilment of the whole Veda. The three generations have learned to live together in peace. The grandfather, though more enlightened, does not look down with contempt on his son or grandson, least of all does he suspect them of hypocrisy. He knows that the time of their deliverance will come, and he does not wish that they should anticipate it. Nor does the son, though bound fast by the formulas of his faith, and strictly performing the minutest rules of the old

ritual, speak unkindly of his father. He knows he has passed through the narrower path, and he does not grudge him his freedom and the wider horizon of his views."

There may be something ideal and theoretical in this sketch of the Hindu household, but it is that which a study of the sacred books would lead us to anticipate. Certainly in old age the practice of charity is held to be far superior to the outward observances of sacrifice and ritualism. It is at the period of the Doorgah Poojah that this practice of charity is seen in its fullest play in Bengal. Men, women, and children, the learned and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the proud Bruhman and the despised Chandul, all welcome the approach of this festival with the greatest delight. The husbandman lays aside his plough, the merchant his account-books, the artisan his tools, the landed proprietor his agricultural cares. All partake of the general mirth.

The goddess Doorgah is the female principle by whose influence the universe was created. She is the wife of the somewhat dissolute Shiva, and is said in olden times to have destroyed a giant called Mohesa, who had been a persecutor of the gods, as well as of men. Possessed of ten arms, which grasp different kinds of weapons, the goddess supports her right leg on a lion, and her left on the shoulder of a giant whom she has conquered—Mohesa, perhaps—and into whose heart a serpent from one of her arms strikes its deadly fangs. Over her head is a painted arch on which are exhibited her numerous attendants in the battle-field, and the carnage caused by the depredations of the giant. On her two sides stand, in graceful positions, her two daughters, the goddess of prosperity and the goddess of wisdom, whilst close to them are placed Ganesha and Kartica, Ganesha with a head like that of an elephant, and the fair Kartica riding on a peacock.

The worship of Doorgah lasts three days. The image is usually made of straw and clay, decorated profusely. On the fourth day it is thrown into some sacred river or lake. The preparatory rites and ceremonies in the household are numerous—ablutions, prayers, preparation of particular kinds of bread, and ritual observances. Then on the first great day of the feast the image is supposed to be animated with the spirit of Doorgah, and to that spirit the religious adorations are rendered. Not the goddess only, but her attendants also, to the right and left, all receive their share of homage and worship. On the second day the whole household attends the bathing of the image, which is done with great solemnity and devotion. The widows fast altogether on this day, in the hope of getting peculiar blessings from Doorgah, and freeing themselves from the stain of earthly desire. On the third day sacrifices and rejoicings are celebrated with loud and noisy demonstration. Kids, sheep,

and buffaloes are the animals sacrificed, according to the means of the households. The Brahmans are daily feasted with sweetmeats, fruits, and curds. And doubtless much of the benefit to be derived from the celebration depends upon the way in which the Brahmans are treated.

The fourth and concluding day of the feast is the most important. Sacrifices are again offered, and after going through a round of religious adorations, the officiating priest dismisses the goddess and implores her to return next year. The dismissing ceremony being complete, the females of the household pour out their lamentations at the near prospect of the departure of so beneficent a deity. The goddess is then presented with gifts, and the dust of her feet is rubbed on the foreheads of her votaries.

Nothing now remains but to consign the image, from which the divine spirit is supposed to have departed, to the waters. Borne on the shoulders of stout porters, the idol is paraded through the streets with great pomp. The neighbourhood resounds with music and singing. The acclamations of the worshippers are heard above the din. At length arrived at the water, the image, with all its trappings and tinsel ornaments, is cast into the waters, the poor subsequently vying with one another in rifling the goddess of her decorations. On returning from the immersion the priest sprinkles the votaries with holy water, and offers them his benedictions. They embrace each other with enthusiasm, and usually wind up the festivities with draughts of a solution of hemp leaves, which produces a slight intoxication. Sweetmeats are liberally distributed at the same time. What the feast of Purim was to the Jews, what the Beiram is to the Mohammedans after their long annual fast, what the Christmas festivities are to the Christians, that the annual worship of Doorgah is to the households of Bengal. There is hardly a Hindu family in the country which does not provide new clothes for the festival. For months before, all classes are eager to lay by something for the great ceremonial, tradesmen, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and the agricultural population, differing as they may in other respects, agreeing in this.

W. KNIGHTON.

## MEN AND WOMEN.

### A SEQUEL.

IN the paper which appeared some time ago<sup>1</sup> in this Review under the first part of the above title, I endeavoured to show the substantial similarity between men and women as human beings, and to found upon their common participation in all the fundamental characteristics of human nature the justice of women's claim to an equal participation in all social and political rights derived from it. An able man-friend, after reading it, said, "I entirely agree with you, and yet I cannot help feeling that when the women have got all they ask for they will find it dust and ashes in their mouth." Others, both men and women, expressed the same feeling in other words; and even where the justice of the women's claim was admitted to be unanswerable, there was an instinctive recoil from accepting the establishment of their equality and independence as the last word on the relations between men and women. The writer, certainly, never considered it as such. It was the word that seemed most needful to be spoken at the time to help the solution of the practical questions at issue, and I tried to speak it as clearly and impartially as might be. But it dealt, and could deal only with one side of the relations between men and women—that which is created by law, custom, or public opinion—and therefore depending on conditions of time and place and more or less largely modified by them. To complete the subject, we must deal with the other side and the relation established by nature, which is unchangeable, independent of time and place, and which must, therefore, ultimately govern all the others. This is what I purpose attempting now, and by bringing out the fundamental differences between men and women on which that relation rests, as I before brought out their fundamental similarity, to show how equally unfounded are the fears and hopes of the two parties who look to the emancipation of women from the restraints hitherto imposed upon them, as likely to revolutionize society and radically change the old relations of the sexes.

Frederic Robertson has said somewhere that difference of sex interpenetrates the whole moral and mental as well as physical constitution, and that every thought, feeling, and act of life takes its tinge from the manhood of the man and the womanhood of the woman. This is an exaggerated statement, for there are, undoubtedly, many thoughts, feelings, and actions into which the influence of sex does not enter at all; but it is true that the life of men and women in all their relations to each other is permeated and

(1) "Men and Women," Fortnightly Review, November, 1879.

governed by difference of sex. No removal of artificial differences will remove or alter this. No increase in the freedom of intercourse, the *camaraderie* tending to establish itself now between the young of both sexes, will efface their consciousness of the difference, or make men and women stand towards each other as men towards men and women towards women. They will always wish to be pleasant in each other's eyes, and will, consciously or unconsciously, fall into what a clever friend of the writer's calls "peacocking." Where there is not attraction there will be repulsion, but never indifference, except as the result of exclusive love for one, who then becomes the only one of the sex to the lover, man or woman, to whom all others are henceforth indifferent. The more absolute the freedom allowed by human laws, the more clearly will the natural law assert itself, keeping men and women distinct and never interchangeable notes in the music of humanity, their very distinctness creating its harmony.

Even in the closest family relationships the difference of sex makes itself felt. The feeling of the father for his daughter, of the brother for his sister, of the mother for her son, of the sister for her brother, differs in some essential quality from that of the parent for the child of the same sex, of brother for brother, or sister for sister. And the reason is, that difference of sex introduces the element of the unknown—the sense of a mystery which can never be altogether fathomed. In the vulgar mind, the unknown—which is yet too near and in too familiar contact to be an object of terror—is apt to inspire dislike as alien, or contempt as a foolish riddle not worth reading. Here we find the origin of much of men's common contempt for women; and, let me add, of the almost equally common contempt of women for men. Mrs. Poyser is by no means the only one of her sex who believes that if women are fools, God Almighty made them so to match the men. In finer minds, the unknown excites the imagination, becomes the source of the ideal, and touches every feeling into which it enters with "the light that never shone on land or sea." Hence the chivalrous worship of women by men—the heroic idealisation of men by women, and all the poetry of love in both—love, the mystery of mysteries, the transfiguration of the physical impulse man shares in common with the lowest of the brutes, into the most divinely human of all passions.

On this attraction of sex rests the whole fabric of society, for it is the basis of the family, and the permanent moral character it assumes in marriage is the primary element of civilisation in its strict sense—the fitness of man to live in organized, law-governed communities. In my former essay, I said that marriage, in the sense of a permanent union between man and woman under special social sanctions, was as distinctively human as articulate speech. It

is the first step by which man is raised above the condition of the beasts of the field into a member of an organized body—the family, tribe, or state—all derived from the blood-relationships created and defined by marriage; and it will be found that the position of woman under the law of marriage, and the view taken of marriage itself in any society, gives the truest measure of its moral health and the character of its civilisation.

To prove this position by the history of marriage would require almost as many volumes as I have pages to dispose of, and, as before, I must rest my case on certain broad, undisputed facts which govern the rest. The conditions of marriage involving the condition of women as a sex may be broadly divided into three. 1. Marriage as the possession of the woman by the man, won and held by the strong hand, or bought from her father or male relations, whose property she is till made over to the husband. Under this form of marriage the woman is entirely passive. She is simply a chattel, with no more voice in the matter than the cattle for which she is often exchanged; with no rights, properly so called, whatever, and, of course, can suffer no dishonour if a stronger than her husband carries her off to be his possession in turn so long as he can hold her. 2. Marriage as a legal contract for the perpetuation of the family, determined by social considerations alone, without reference to individual inclinations on either side. Under this form of marriage the woman is almost as passive as under the former. She is simply the necessary instrument in the constitution of the family, and her rights are derived solely from the position she holds in it. 3. Marriage as the free choice of the individual man and woman, binding their lives together in the closest union possible to humanity. In this, the highest form of marriage, the woman holds the higher, though often the harder position, for she is free to accept or reject the man who sues her. She must be wooed, and not unwooed be won; and the physical strength of the man bows down in homage before the spiritual power of the woman. The history of these three forms of marriage is coeval with the history of civilisation, but their limits cannot be assigned by fixed dates. They overlap each other at their border-lines, and all that can be marked with tolerable distinctness are the periods during which one becomes predominant, and gives the general rule under which the others occur only as exceptions. As all three forms have their roots in the constitution of man as an individual and social being, with physical and moral wants, all three will be found existing together, the predominance of one or the other being governed by the predominance of one or the other element under special conditions of life, the higher appearing sporadically, as it were, under the reign of the lower, and the lower holding its ground under the general predominance of the higher.

A very cursory glance at the different stages of society in which each of these forms of marriage has attained predominance, will suffice to show that they correspond with different and well-marked degrees of human development. The first form of marriage prevails among all savage and semi-barbarous populations. It is, virtually, that of all polygamous communities, whatever in other respects their stage of civilisation, although the second is closely mixed up with it from a very early period, owing to the importance attached to blood-relationships. It is only a form of the right of the strongest; and submission to that right is the whole duty of women under it. The husband is disgraced if, through defeat in war, his wives become the spoil of the conqueror; but if he can, in his turn, spoil the spoiler and take back his wives, they suffer no loss in his estimation for this transfer of possession. Even among the Greeks of the Homeric age we find queens and princesses passing into the possession of the victors in war without any loss of personal honour, and Menelaus takes back Helen, and reinstates her as wife and mistress in his household, apparently none the worse in his estimation for her ten years' sojourn in Troy with Paris.

We see the second form of marriage predominating wherever the family obtains a high importance, and it may be looked upon as marking a decided advance in civilisation, the establishment of organized communities, with a settled law and order to which physical force is subordinated. The woman has yet no rights as an individual human being under it, but no more has the man. The community is all in all, and the individual is regarded simply as a member of it, having only the rights inherent to his position in the family, tribe, or state. Under conditions favourable to public virtue, this form of marriage may be compatible with a high tone of social morals, and in the best days of republican Rome the wife and mother held a place almost as high as in England to-day. But this is an exceptional phase, and we find it perishing in Rome so soon as the one moral bond which embraced and held together all the others—patriotism—was relaxed and lost in the greed of conquest and the strife of individual ambitions. Even the virtuous Cato exchanges wives with his friend without apparent loss of reputation to any of the parties concerned.

In fact, that which we may call the tribal form of marriage contains within itself the germ of moral corruption, by subordinating moral to material interests. Its ruling principle is the security of the family and family inheritance through legitimacy of descent, and the consequence is at once a moral inequality between the wife and the husband. The faithfulness of the wife is the indispensable condition for the attainment of its purpose, and is, therefore, enforced upon her by every sanction society can devise. The faithfulness of



the husband does not affect it, and if he chooses to compensate himself for the matrimonial fetters imposed upon him in the interests of his family or his order by unlimited license in other directions, society looks on with indifference, if not with complacency. This is the form of marriage which substantially prevails still in France and all the countries of Latin race, with what effect upon morality there is no need to dwell upon here.

The third form of marriage, as the free choice of the individual man and woman, voluntarily binding their lives under a common obligation to leave all others and hold to each other only until death, can become predominant only in free societies, where the rights of the individual are recognised and protected by law. Christianity, which first asserted the rights of the individual human being in virtue of his humanity, contained in principle this form of marriage. Its fundamental doctrine, the divine origin and destiny of every human soul, which makes of every child of man a child of God and heir of eternal life, is antagonistic in its very essence to every form not only of slavery but of privilege founded on race, caste, or sex. It is the Magna Charta of human freedom, and, from the very first, women were included under its provisions. Their possession of souls, endowed with the same rights and privileges as the souls of men, was, happily, never contested, and this spiritual equality involved equality in all the rights that belong to the human being as such—to a person as distinguished from a thing. One of its first and most important effects was the change it wrought upon the view of marriage. Christ laid down no law of monogamy—though it is virtually contained in the command to the man to cleave to his wife so that they twain shall be one flesh—but, by making the man and the woman moral and spiritual equals, he virtually excluded polygamy, which rests on the inferiority of women. His followers, by symbolising the union of Christ and his Church under the form of marriage, gave to the latter the highest sanctity, and stamped it as a spiritual no less than bodily union.

Had I space, it would be worth while to show how the monastic spirit in the early centuries of Christianity, and the celibacy of the priesthood enforced by the Church of Rome, has lowered the Christian ideal of marriage by changing it from the highest union of body and soul into a necessary concession to human weakness and worldly interests. But in spite of all, the element brought into human life by Christianity could never again be wholly eradicated. It was the leaven which sooner or later leavened the whole mass.

A learned German writer so fully recognises this influence of Christianity on the relations between the sexes, that he writes an elaborate preface to one of his novels,<sup>1</sup> to justify himself for having

(1) *Eine Egyptische Königstochter*, Georg Ebers.

introduced a love-scene in the modern sense between personages of the sixth century B.C., and quotes sundry passages from Greek and Roman writers in support of his view that such love belongs to human nature, and has existed in all times, though only as an exception before the great revolution in thought and feeling produced by Christianity. He need not have gone so far for learned authorities in the matter. The oldest love-story in the world, which has remained the type of true love ever since, Jacob serving seven years for Rachel, "and they seemed unto him but a few days for the love he had to her," tells the same truth to the most unlearned. And not only in the Bible, but in the legends of almost every tribe of the human race, in every stage of barbarism or civilisation, we find some tale of true love, stronger than all opposing forces, woven like a thread of pure gold through the rough and ugly web of common life, and proving it an original and undying element of human nature.

The union springing from such love as this is at once the perfect type and the complete realisation of the union in human nature of flesh and spirit, the human with the divine. There is no perfect love which does not embrace both. The so-called Platonic love, the love of souls only, is not true love; it is scarcely true friendship, for even friendship requires that human and corporeal touch of hand, and voice, and eye, through which alone in this life heart can speak to heart. Still less is fleshly passion without the love of the soul, true love. It is but animal impulse, only so much higher than the impulse of the brute as it is stimulated by the beauty of the object desired and not by sex only. True love finds its only completion in true marriage, because it must fill and reign over flesh and spirit, mind and body alike. Two human beings must be fused into one through all their powers, and their united life must be the life of their whole humanity, lived through its full compass of sense and affection, will and conscience, faith and hope—and a belief in its immortality is a part of its very essence. Love is in truth life raised to its highest power, for

"Love  
Lives not alone immured in the brain;  
But with the motion of all elements,  
Courses as swift as thought in every power,  
And gives to every power a double power  
Above their functions and their offices." <sup>1</sup>

And not only does love exalt the human, it interprets the divine. Dante's Beatrice, the one true love of his earthly life, becoming his guide and interpreter to the highest heaven, is not a cold allegory, but the embodiment of a living truth—that love is the purifying flame, cleansing and bearing upward the earth-stained soul. Its first touch in the human heart, vibrating through every sense,

(1) *Love's Labour's Lost*, act iv. sc. 3.

will awaken, if never awakened before, faith in that which transcends all sense, the intuition of the Divine. The life of man and woman to whom it remains unknown, or its full fruition is denied, remains imperfect, and falls short of its full capacities of being and happiness.

This may seem a hard saying, seeing to how few is this perfect love given. But is it saying more than the poets, philosophers, and moralists, of all times and countries, have gone on saying from the beginning, that perfect happiness is for the few only, and that the multitude must put up with such shreds and shadows of it as they can get? None the less is it of inestimable value to all to have an ideal which shall preserve us from taking the shadows for the reality, the shreds for a sufficient garment, and keep alive in us that "divine discontent" which is the spring and strength of all higher aspirations.

Let me not be supposed, however, to mean that there is no true marriage but such as follows this unique and perfect love. That would be too narrow, hopelessly, the number of lawful marriages; for alas, such love is as rare as all other supremely beautiful things, and multitudes of men and women, by no means inferior, often very superior in other respects to the average, seem to be incapable of it. Whether they are really incapable admits of doubt, as I am inclined to believe that this apparent incapacity is really due to the absence of the right touch to wake it into life. Mrs. Oliphant, in one of her novels,<sup>2</sup> with her usual keen insight into human nature, brings a commonplace, sensual, hardened man of the world under this mysterious touch from a beautiful woman entirely destitute of worldly advantages, and his whole nature is at once metamorphosed by it. He of all men, the one who would have seemed to himself and to others most incapable of this all-absorbing, all-transfiguring love, becomes suddenly possessed by it, and his grossness is shamed into purity, his cynicism into reverence, his selfishness is lost in self-forgetfulness. The fanciful idea that we are all but half souls, and that our other half exists somewhere and must be found to make our life complete, may have some truth in it for all the ridicule it has provoked. It has, at least, enough truth to warn those who marry for worldly considerations alone, of the very real danger they run of finding after marriage their capability of love awakened by some other than the husband or wife to whom they are bound.

But there is a marriage without love, in the sense of passion, which is second only to the perfect marriage of supreme and perfect love. It is the marriage which follows a true and fast friendship between man and woman; their union being determined by conscious and deliberate choice on definite grounds of esteem and

(1) *For Love and Life.*

suitability, instead of that mysterious, involuntary, inexplicable attraction which is the essence of love, and which has no reason to give for itself except that it is. Such a marriage is the highest form of friendship, in which tenderness takes the place of passion, and yet gains through the difference of sex an exquisite charm, a glow and warmth transfiguring friendship into a reflection of love. Such marriages stand on indefinitely higher ground than the common run even of so-called love matches, made on the impulse of momentary passion, fancy bred, which having no deeper root dies as rapidly as it was born. No question is more difficult to determine, when an attachment springs up between young people, than this, whether it be of the true or spurious kind, and whether, when the ferment has worked off, it will leave wine or vinegar on the lees; nor how far the interference of parents to put an end to it is justifiable. There can be no doubt that, in the case of the very young, it is not only the parents' right, but duty, to insist that the attachment shall be submitted to the only possible tests—time and absence, or absolutely interdicted when the bad character of one or other of the parties is ascertained; but if the love so tried is not found wanting, then it will have proved its right to prevail. Every true love story is but the repetition of the primeval legend—God bringing the man and the woman together in a Paradise peopled by them alone—and what God hath joined together let not man put asunder.

One word here on friendship pure and simple between men and women, the possibility of which is so often doubted or denied. I venture to affirm that friendship, frank, loyal, and absolutely free from any conscious thought of sex, is not only possible, but frequent, between men and women of healthy, well-conditioned minds. It is the affection of brother and sister, springing from the affinities of the moral nature, not of blood, and like that of brother and sister may continue to subsist, though the parties to it each love and marry in another direction. But a friendship so tender and intimate as this, springing up *after* the marriage of one or both, will stand on different and far more delicate ground. In a true marriage, the husband and wife ought to find in each other all that the affection of a person of the other sex can give them; but in the happiest marriage there is room besides for the friendship of man with man and woman with woman. Just because life is so intimately bound up with a person of another sex, the want arises for communion with one of your own, one who shares your masculine or feminine nature, and with whom therefore you have that freemasonry which is impossible between those of different sexes. It is common to find husbands objecting to their wives' female friends, and wives looking with jealous eyes on their husbands' male friends, a proceeding as foolish as it is unworthy, for such friendships are the natural satisfaction of a legitimate want; but

an intimate and tender friendship formed with a person of the other sex after marriage, may well be looked upon with disquiet by the one of the married couple left out of it. It could scarcely arise if the marriage were really happy; and if unhappy, if any rifts of disappointment or disillusion mar its perfect union, such a one-sided friendship, be it ever so pure and frank in its beginnings, will always be perilous, and no wise husband or wife will risk its insidious charm. This does not apply, of course, to the friendship which is felt and shared by husband and wife alike, and in which they really stand as one to the friend, who loves and is loved equally by both; nor to the friendship between a married woman no longer young and a much younger man, which is one of the most beautiful of relations, having always a maternal character on the one side and a filial one on the other, seldom if ever mingled with any other influence of sex. This can scarcely be so safely said of the friendship between an elderly man and a young girl. The paternal feeling is by no means so generally strong in men as the maternal in women, and the sensual feeling is much stronger, while the difference of years is to them rather a charm than a barrier, appealing as it does to their special masculine instinct to protect, and at the same time to rule, the object of their affection.

I cannot leave the subject of marriage without one word on the question which so vitally affects its character, the possibility of divorce. It is of the very essence of marriage in its highest form that it should be indissoluble. The Church of Rome at once recognised and gave the highest sanctity to the indelible character of the marriage vow by placing it among the sacraments; and the law of civil marriage in all non-Protestant countries has equally maintained its indissolubility; its permanence, in fact, makes it what it is. Take that away, reduce marriage to a legal partnership which may be dissolved at the will of the parties who entered into it, and society loses its fixed basis in the family, which becomes as it were fluid, composed and decomposed at the pleasure of individuals. Ought then divorce never to be permitted? I think our English law has hit the right mean by permitting it only where the breach of the marriage vow by one of the parties has virtually dissolved it already, thus releasing the other from a bond which has become a pollution; but no grosser insult was ever offered to women than the inequality in the grounds of divorce established between the man and the woman by that law, nor a more insidious attack directed against the morality of their relations. The infidelity of the wife is sufficient to release the husband; but the infidelity of the husband is not sufficient to release the wife unless he has added to it personal ill-usage. As well might her case have been included under the law against cruelty to animals. She may be set free if her husband has ill-treated

her as he might his horse or his dog, but if he only outrages her in that which is dearest and most sacred to her womanhood, she must remain bound in a union become the most degrading of slaveries. Against this monstrous inequality of men and women before the law, and also against the inequality of the social punishment awarded to each for the same crime, I would protest and urge my fellow-women to protest with all the force of moral indignation that is in me.

The same class of considerations must force us once more to look at the darkest side of the relations between men and women where that inequality between them prevails in its fullest and most destructive force. The evil has been well called *the social evil*, for it is the poison working at the very sources of life, the worm secretly gnawing at the root of organized society. That root, as we have seen, is marriage, and every illicit connection outside marriage tends to social disorganization and disintegration. It is a true instinct that has led the extreme revolutionists of the continent to include marriage, with God and property, in their list of proscriptions, for marriage means law as opposed to lawlessness, stability as opposed to instability, order as opposed to anarchy in human relations. Its deadliest foe is the licence which takes its rights and refuses its duties. Is it not strange that all the legislation directed to restrain and minimise the licence rests upon the assumption that it is a necessary evil, an unalterable condition, and aims only at securing as far as possible impunity to the man by throwing the whole penalty on the woman guilty of it?

I am not blind to the frightful difficulties surrounding this subject—those we have inherited from the past, besides those created by social and political conditions in the present. Much, however, would be gained if moralists, and especially educators, would face the problem, instead of, as now, systematically evading it, and if legislators could be brought to recognise that they indefinitely increase its difficulties by laws which confuse the moral sense of the people, and break down the surest safeguard of morals, respect for women. I do not believe in morality by Act of Parliament, or that a people will be forced into purity any more than sobriety by legislative enactments. The history of this miserable subject but too clearly proves how vain would be the attempt to put down licentiousness by law. The hope of real and large improvement lies in improved moral education for both sexes, and the changes in public opinion which would follow from it. All that law can do is to use its educational power, so continually forgotten, on the right side instead of the wrong. If school first taught the boy, and the law in later life taught the man, that this form of lawlessness is as intolerable in civilised society as any other, and to be punished alike in both parties to it, we might look hopefully for a vital change in the

moral estimates of society. Licentiousness would not be put an end to, but it would come to be seen and judged for what it is, the irreconcilable enemy of civilised society; and the social brand stamped equally upon the men and the women guilty of it would infallibly confine it in time to the class of social outlaws. One generation has seen the fall of duelling and the extinction of habitual drunkenness amongst gentlemen. In how many may we hope to see the fall of our present one-sided morality, and purity of life become as essential to the man as to the woman who would hold an honoured place in society?

Virtuous women, little as they think it, have much to answer for in this matter. In their just horror of the sin they are pitilessly hard upon the sinner of their own sex, but by no means so hard, perhaps not hard at all, on the sinner of the other. And while visiting the full penalty of the sin upon the woman who has fallen, they seldom ask themselves what they have done to save her from falling. Too many mistresses of households and workshops are criminally careless in the arrangements they make for the young women in their employment as servants or work-women.<sup>1</sup> The motherly counsel and help that every young girl wants and should get from the older woman placed in authority over her, is too often replaced by sharp admonitions unsoftened by a grain of womanly sympathy or kindly advice, and care for their moral conduct is summed up in a general prohibition against "followers." Again, the power to help is seriously curtailed by real or assumed ignorance of all that frightful side of human life lying beneath the cleanly, decent surface of society. The mothers of sons whose health of body, mind, and soul is imperilled by it—of daughters who, though too carefully guarded, perhaps, to suffer directly, must, as women, suffer indirectly in their dearest interests from it—must avert their faces and close their eyes and ears lest their feminine delicacy should be shocked by these nauseous realities. The heroic women who have descended into this terrible arena to fight the battle of womanhood and rescue their sisters from a worse than Egyptian slavery, are mentioned, if mentioned at all, with bated breath and uplifted eyes, as something too shockingly unfeminine in their audacity. Yet let me speak it in deepest earnestness and solemnity, it is here that lie the issues of moral life or death, freedom or slavery for women. No political, no educational, no professional equality will avail her till she obtains moral equality with man in the primal relation between man and woman.

(1) It was discovered by a lady belonging to the Society for Befriending Young Servant Girls, that in a great London thoroughfare, the smaller shopkeepers having only one servant, were in the habit of turning her into the street, that the family might have the house to themselves during the convivial hour of supper. ;

Let us go back now to the happier aspects of that relation. Marriage, which gives it its permanent and human character, gives also the permanent and fundamental divisions of labour between the sexes. The man becomes the father, the woman the mother, and the work of both is marked out by their respective functions. Society is, in fact, the family on a large scale. Looked at as a whole the work of each generation is to bring the next into the world ; to provide for and train it till it is ready to take up the work in its turn, and to transmit to it the inheritance received from its predecessors, not only undiminished but enlarged and improved. The fathers' share in this work falls necessarily to the men, the mothers' to the women. That many men and women do not marry or become parents, does not affect the general result, for they can reckon only as exceptions. The rule is marriage followed by offspring, and the normal relation will govern the individuals who remain outside of it. The father's work is to protect and provide for his family, and, as a necessary consequence, to rule it in its relations to the world without. He is responsible for it to the society of which he is a member, and power must go with responsibility. The mother has to bear the long pains and cares of motherhood ; to cherish, guide, and help her offspring through the many helpless years of infancy and childhood ; to rule over the internal arrangements of the household, and be the manager and dispenser of the resources provided by the man. The qualities and aptitudes essential to each for the performance of the work thus allotted to them by nature, will be found on examination to be those which are specially characteristic of sex, and make up what we call manliness and womanliness, as distinguished from their common human nature. Strength and active courage, the power and desire to protect and work for, and to rule while protecting, the objects of his affection, which are indispensable to the father, are the special characteristics of the man's manliness. Patient tenderness, the strength and courage of endurance rather than action, love of order and aptitude for the organization of details, the quick insight and sympathy which give influence, these are the indispensable requisites for the mother, and these are the special characteristics of the woman's womanliness. And as in the man's affection there is always something of the protecting, overruling tenderness of the father, so in the woman's there is always something of the cherishing, influencing tenderness of the mother. The love of each for the other unconsciously recognises this difference. The woman is invested in the eyes of the man who truly loves her with something of the sacredness which belongs to the mother, and his love for her is tinged with reverence. The man, on the other hand, is invested in the eyes of the woman with something of the authority that belongs to the father, and her love for him has an element of submissiveness, of willing self-sur-



render to his protecting strength. So true is this that the genuineness of the love on either side may be safely tested by it. The woman who feels that there is no reverence for her in her lover; the man who feels that there is no submission, no self-surrender towards him in the woman who professes to love him, may rest assured that true love is not there. There may be passion on the man's side, and affection on the woman's, but not love.

Each sex again has the defects of its qualities, to use a French expression. Strength and the desire to rule become arrogance and tyranny in the man; tenderness and the desire for influence sink into weakness and cunning in the woman. But although these defects may make us feel the man to be hateful, the woman despicable, they do not give us the sense of discord, which jars upon us when we meet the faults of the man in the woman, and *vice versa*. A weak man—I am speaking of moral weakness—or a hard woman, does not strike us only as imperfect, but unnatural. You may love the man in spite of his weakness, and respect the woman in spite of her hardness, but you will scarcely love the woman or respect the man.

These differences are as unalterable as the difference of sex, from which they spring; no change in law, custom, or public opinion will affect them, and they will to the end of time govern the general relations and the division of labour between men and women. If every profession and social position were thrown open to women to-morrow, as I trust they will be in course of time, we might feel sure that whatever temporary disturbance might be caused by the suddenness of the change, in the long-run, and as a rule, women would obtain permanent hold only of those which are compatible with their primary function of motherhood. Those whose disposition and abilities will lead them to throw themselves into and succeed in the work generally done by men, will always remain exceptions, and the world will be the richer for not having fettered them by law in the exercise of their exceptional powers. Let us remember in England that if the law had forbidden a woman to mount the throne, we should have had Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, instead of Queen Victoria, to reign over us. And who cannot recall instances where an ancient family would have been saved from ruin and disgrace if the headship of it had fallen to its daughters instead of its sons?

The women who rebel against these limits imposed by sex may take comfort from the thought that a vast quantity of the best work of the world is of no sex. It is the work of preserving and enlarging the general inheritance of mankind, of, to use the now stereotyped expression, leaving the world better than we found it. Moral progress, knowledge in all its branches, art in all its forms, literature, culture,—these offer inexhaustible fields in which every advance will reveal a new horizon, every conquest new worlds to

conquer, and in which there will be no question of men or women, but only of the human powers each individual can bring to the common stock of humanity.

But before men and women can think of the next generation they have to provide for their own lives in the present, and so, after all, the first question to both is the bread-winning one. For the immense majority of the race the question is not what work they would choose or are most fitted to do, but by doing what they can earn their daily bread. This question is really at the bottom of the women's-rights movement. The first right they claim is the right to live and to make the best they can of their lives. The problem of due provision for women was, as I showed in my former paper, solved in various ages and states of society by taking care that the number of women at large in the community should not exceed the demand of men who would undertake to provide for them. According to the age or country, female infanticide, polygamy, slavery, conventual institutions were the means by which this relation between demand and supply was maintained; but in our time and country, at all events, all these means have long been out of date, and the result is a large excess of women over men, and these women, with the exception of the infinitesimally small number of well-provided gentlemen's daughters, must provide for themselves or starve. Hence they naturally demand that, since society allows them to live, and live at large, it shall also allow them to find the means of living wherever they can, and not send them to fight the battle of life in a closed field and with their hands and feet tied. The intrinsic reasonableness of this demand is beginning to force itself on men's minds. One barrier after another is being thrown down, and the fall of the remainder is only a question of time. This is all the more certain, that the emancipation of women from artificially imposed shackles is a necessary part of the great movement of emancipation going on throughout the world, under the impulse of one of those ruling ideas which are the ultimate governing forces in human history—the idea of humanity, with its inalienable right of moral freedom. It is, as we have seen, the fundamental idea of Christianity, deposited by it in the human conscience, but doomed to be latent there till—the time being ripe and the soil prepared—towards the end of the last century it forced its way to the light and became an element of practical politics. Before it serfdom, caste, and slavery have been gradually disappearing from the civilised world. The divine right of kings over their people, of one set of human beings to make serfs or slaves of another, of one social class to pre-eminence above the rest, is being merged in the divine right of the human being over himself, his faculties, his work, and its products. This is the right the woman claims to share equally with the man.

The first result, however, as regards the labour question is and must be additional pressure in all the employments hitherto closed to women which they can possibly undertake and in which they see a chance of bettering their condition. They have been forcibly kept out of the running and been practically told, when they urged their claim, that unless their lives were in some way useful to men, the men saw no necessity for their living. They can scarcely be expected to remain satisfied with the answer, or to refrain from pressing in where the gates are open to them, at last, because it causes the men inconvenience; but if they and the friends who wish to serve them are wise, they will direct their labour as much as possible into new channels—into the new kinds of work created by new discoveries and applications of science, of which men have not actual or prescriptive possession.

One point must be touched upon here before leaving this subject, *i.e.* the much-disputed question of the justice or expediency of regulating by law the labour of adult women. At first sight it seems entirely right and just to the women to protect them, as the weaker side, against the exactions of the stronger, whether employers or, as too frequently happens, their own natural protectors, fathers and husbands. Nor can any one, having real regard for the higher interests of society, not wish that mothers of families might be saved from all labour which forces them to abandon their homes, and which fatally interferes with their proper mothers' work: the bearing, rearing, and training of children healthy in body and mind, in a home made happy and orderly by the mother's care and government. But, alas! here again comes in the terrible question of bread. The adult woman, married or not, may answer: It is better to live hardly than not to live at all. The mother may say: It is better for my children, since I have them, to get bread and shelter in ever so miserable and unmothered a home, than to get neither, or have to seek them in the workhouse; and thus it appears that the laws<sup>1</sup> intended to protect women would really increase their disadvantages.

One of the great fears of men from the independence of women is lost it should make them indifferent to marriage; but the disinterested well-wishers of women will, instead of regretting their comparative independence of marriage, do all in their power to encourage them *not* to marry till they meet with the man who compels their love or highest friendship, and is, therefore, the only man they ought to marry. Many a woman, who would not have yielded to worldly inducements only, has been beguiled into marriage without love by this legitimate craving to escape from the aimless vacuity, the hopeless narrowness of a life without one large interest, one outlet

(1) This does not apply to the laws prohibiting the labour of women in mines, which was directly destructive of decency and morality.

for activity. Let us hope that this state of things is passing away. It cannot pass too soon for the dignity of women and the happiness of married life. The single woman, standing in honourable and honoured independence, whether inherited or earned, freely choosing and following her own path in life, is the product of a higher civilisation—one in which might has ceased to be right, and the idea of human freedom has prevailed over that of caste and privilege. Such women will add indefinitely to the moral forces of society, but none the less will they be women, with the woman's desire for the love of man, as men desire the love of woman, to round their lives into the perfect fulness of life neither can have without the other.

And none the less will these women, whether that life be theirs or not, be compelled by the force of natural law to take their share in the woman's, that is the mother's, work in the world. Let us look more closely at what that work is, apart, of course, from purely physical functions. The woman, in virtue of her motherhood, is the natural educator of the race, the natural helper and comforter of the helpless and comfortless, and therefore the natural guardian of the poor and minister of charity. She is the natural physician of her own sex and nurse of both; the natural counsellor of the combatants in the active struggles of life, which, being withdrawn from them by the conditions of her motherhood, she can survey with the calmer, clearer vision of a looker-on. She is, above all, the natural ally and upholder of law and order, as against lawlessness and anarchy; of the ideal, as against the material; of moral, as against physical force; the natural priestess of all the pieties and sanctities of life, and therefore of religion, the supreme piety, the holy of holies. Surely no woman need complain that her woman's work is not large enough and noble enough to satisfy her ambition.

And yet, I fear, not a few women will read the above passage with a smile very like a sneer, and pronounce it the old twaddle about women's mission in a new dress. They will above all scorn the idea that women have any special duty or interest in connection with religion, which, because of the too frequent alliance between spiritual and temporal despotism in the past, they will—following the tendency of the times—denounce as the natural enemy of human progress and freedom, and look to the overthrow of its power over men and women's minds as the necessary beginning of an era of liberty, equality, and fraternity. This is not the place to discuss the abstract truth or falsehood of any system of religious belief, but I may be permitted to point out the monstrous fallacy involved in the latter assumption. If there be no God, if there be nothing in the universe but the motion of blind, unconscious forces, if man is but the more cunning of the beasts, able through the fuller development of his brain and hand to master the rest, then he can have no rights,

no dignity as man. There can be no rights in such an universe but the right of the strongest; no dignity but that conferred by the slavishness of the weak. The battle of life must be fought out to the bitter end, as pitilessly among the human as among the other races of organized life, animal or vegetable. To talk of the sacredness of human life would be an absurdity, for there can be nothing sacred where there is nothing divine. Philanthropy under such a system becomes a mischievous interference with the survival of the fittest, self-sacrifice a reprehensible folly; for what such a society will want is, not to help those who cannot help themselves, but to weed them out or keep them enslaved for its lower uses. Woe to the conquered in that battle, for the conquerors will give no quarter! Woe to the women who are and ever must be through their function of motherhood on the physically weaker side! They will have no appeal to a higher law; no equal birthright as free human souls on which to ground equal human rights. Their only power will be, as it has always been in corrupt and lawless societies, their power over the passions of men; their only strength men's moral weakness. Those among them who have not the instruments of this power, beauty and cunning, or who would disdain to use them—the good, the pure, the noble—must go hopelessly to the wall. This is the logical outcome of Atheism and Materialism, supposing it possible that they should so possess themselves of men's minds as to drive out not only religious faith, but all the traditional habits of thought and feeling which have grown up under it, and which unconsciously govern conduct long after all conscious hold on the belief itself has been lost. So much for the “liberty, equality, and fraternity” to be hoped for in a world without God, among men without souls.

There is one more possible relation between men and women to which I would devote my few remaining words. I mean the relation of school-fellows and fellow-students. It is the growing conviction of those whose opinion is entitled to most authority on the subject, that the best education for both sexes is education in common—a conviction I fully share. This may seem inconsistent with what I have said of the unalterable division of labour between them, which may seem to demand a different preparation for each, but the contradiction is only apparent. As society is the reproduction of the family on a large scale, so the school should be its reproduction on a small one. The monastic system which has hitherto prevailed, unnaturally separating the sexes, estranging them from each other, and sacrificing the natural healthy action and reaction of the one upon the other through childhood and early youth, has been one, and by no means the least prolific, cause of the vitiation of their relations in later life. Among boys and girls

their ignorance of each other leads them to tolerably mutual contempt and an exaggerated appreciation of the qualities belonging to their sex. Among young men and women it produces morbid excitement and curiosity, and an equally exaggerated estimate of the sex which is not their own. All this would disappear if boys and girls were brought up together from infancy, through school and college, till they took their respective places in the world. The intimacy between them, where it existed, would be the pure and natural one of brother and sister. Love does not flourish, as a rule, in that dry light of daily familiarity. It requires something of the mysterious atmosphere which turns light into a golden halo, and the common earth into a Paradise. Flirtation is the fruit of idleness; there is no time for it when boy and girl, young man and young woman, are each determined not to be left behind in the race they are running together. As to the grosser forms of vice, he must have a base nature indeed, and will therefore be an exception, who can deliberately plan the ruin of the school- and play-fellow of his boyhood. That this is not a mere theory or Utopian dream has been proved by long practical experience, both in Scotland, where mixed education has gone on in the parochial schools since their first institution, and in the United States, where it has been fully tried not only in schools but in colleges, and by the success of the system of mixed classes wherever tried in this country and elsewhere. At the latest educational congress, that held at Brussels last summer, which from its international and representative character had a special weight and importance, there was a remarkable consensus of testimony in favour of it from the most various and unexpected quarters.

If any fears are felt lest this early familiarity between the sexes should unduly diminish their legitimate attraction for each other, and lessen the inclination for marriage, let us once more remember that nature is stronger than any of our arrangements, and also that all boys and girls will not go to the same school or college. The Eton girls will marry the Harrow boys, the Oxford men the Cambridge women, and *vice versa*, and both parties will be the better for each having learned to know something of the other's sex in a different relation. Here and there a couple may be found in whom love has grown from the cradle, whose inborn fitness for each other is so woven into their very nature that the closer, the more familiar their intercourse, the more conscious do they become of their oneness in heart, mind, and soul. For them no illusion is needed to create their Paradise, for it is the sober certainty of waking bliss. The marriage which crowns such love as this is the ideal marriage, beyond which earth has nothing to give to man or woman.

MARIA G. GREY.

## ON THE POLICY OF COMMERCIAL TREATIES.

Now that we are on the eve of negotiations for another Commercial Treaty with France, it is worth while to look back to some of the considerations which were present in men's minds when Mr. Cobden devised his memorable treaty twenty years ago. Under a different form that treaty must still be regarded as an extension of the same principles which had inspired Mr. Cobden's first great effort. It was one more move in the direction of free exchange. By many prominent men, indeed, at the time, and by many more afterwards, the Treaty was regarded as an infraction of sound economic principles. Some came to this opinion from lack of accuracy, but more from a failure in copiousness of thought. One or two of those who had been with Mr. Cobden in the van of the assault on the Corn Laws, now looked askance on a transaction which savoured of the fallacy of reciprocity. Those rigid adherents of economics who insist, in Mill's phrase, on treating their science as if it were a thing not to guide our judgment, but to stand in its place, denounced the doctrine of treaties as a new-fangled heresy. Even the old Protectionists professed a virtuous alarm at an innovation on the principles of Free Trade.

The discussion of 1860 did little more than reproduce a discussion that had taken place seventeen years before. When Sir Robert Peel entered office, he found four sets of negotiations pending for commercial treaties, between England and France, Portugal, Spain, and Brazil. Those with France were obviously the most important. Affairs in Syria had interrupted them, but Peel resumed the negotiations. He was most anxious for a Tariff Treaty. "I should not," he said, as Pitt had said before him, and as Cobden and Mr. Gladstone said after him, "estimate the advantage of an extended commercial intercourse with France merely in respect to the amount of pecuniary gain; but I value that intercourse on account of the effect it is calculated to produce in promoting the feelings of amity and goodwill between two great nations. I should regard that mutual intercourse in commercial affairs as giving an additional security for the permanent maintenance of peace."<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the negotiations fell through. Guizot said that he could not pass any such measure through the Chambers. Nor was there better success in other quarters.

In 1843, Mr. J. L. Ricardo had introduced a resolution in the House of Commons, declaring the inexpediency of postponing remissions of duty with a view of making such remissions a basis of commercial negotiations. This was a reply from the pure economic

(1) April 25, 1843.

party to a statement which Sir Robert Peel had made, that he did not reduce the wine duties because he hoped to make them the instruments of treaties with foreign countries. Ricardo prefaced his resolution by a speech, which was very able, but which pressed for Free Trade without delay, restriction, or qualification. The only process to which they need resort against hostile tariffs was to open the ports. Mr. Gladstone answered Ricardo by the same arguments that were afterwards used to defend his own policy in 1860. Mr. Disraeli, not at all disclaiming Free Trade as a general policy, supported Mr. Gladstone against the ultra-Free-Traders in a speech remarkable to this day for its large and comprehensive survey of the whole field of our commerce, and for its discernment of the channels in which it would expand. On the immediate question, Mr. Disraeli gave a definite opinion in support of the Minister. "In forming connections with the states of Europe," he said, "it was obvious that we could only proceed by negotiations. Diplomacy stepped in to weigh and adjust contending interests, to obtain mutual advantages, and ascertain reciprocal equivalents. Our commerce with Europe could only be maintained and extended by treaties."<sup>1</sup>

Cobden supported Ricardo's motion, not on the rather abstract grounds of the mover and others, but because it was a way of preventing a Government "which was the creature of monopoly, from meddling with any of our commercial arrangements." The envoy to Brazil, he said, had been sent out to obtain the best terms for the West Indian sugar monopolists, and he quoted the description by a Brazilian senator, of the people of Great Britain as the slaves of a corn, sugar, coffee, and timber oligarchy.

Was it fit, Cobden asked, that the executive government should be allowed to go all over the world to seek for impediments to Free Trade abroad, in order to excuse them in resisting the removal of impediments at home? It might be very well to talk of a commercial treaty with Portugal, but abolish the monopolies of sugar, corn, and coffee, and the vast continents of North and South America would be opened to the manufacturers of Great Britain. Characteristically enough, he kept close to the immediate and particular bearings of the discussion, and nothing was said by him in 1843 that was inconsistent with his position in 1860. Ricardo, again, in 1844 brought forward a resolution to the effect that our commercial intercourse with foreign nations would be best promoted by regulating our own customs duties as might be best suited to our own interests, without reference to the amount of duties which foreign powers might think expedient to levy on British goods. The discussion was very meagre, and the House was counted out.

(1) Feb. 14, 1843. "Sign the Treaty of Commerce with France," Mr. Disraeli cried, "that will give present relief."



To return to the Treaty of 1860. Cobden, unable to be present to defend his measure in the House of Commons, took up the points of the case against it in a letter to Mr. Bright:—

“I observe that some of the recent converts to Free Trade, who gave you and me so much trouble to convert *them*, are concerned at our doing anything so unsound as to enter into a Commercial Treaty. I will undertake that there is not a syllable on our side of the Treaty that is inconsistent with the soundest principles of Free Trade. We do not propose to reduce a duty which, on its own merits, ought not to have been dealt with long ago. We give no concessions to France which do not apply to all other nations. We leave ourselves free to lay on any amount of internal duties, and to put on an equal tax on foreign articles of the same kind at the Custom House. It is true we bind ourselves, for ten years, not otherwise to raise such of our customs as affect the French trade, or put on fresh ones; and this, I think, no true Free Trader will regret.

“And here I may suggest, that if you observe the members on the Opposition side averse to parting with the power of putting on higher customs duties on these articles of French origin, it may be well to read them a lesson on the impossibility of their being able to lay any further burdens on commerce in future, and to remind them that if they sanction higher expenditure, they must expect to pay it in a direct income tax. Public opinion, without any French Treaty, is daily tending to this result.

“There being no objection on the ground of principle, there are, and will be, many specious arguments resorted to by those who really at heart have no sympathy for a cordial union between the two nations, for defeating or marring the projected Treaty. Of course these fallacies you will easily deal with. I observe they often answer themselves. For instance, in the same breath, we are told that we have emptied our budget and given everything to France *already*, and then that we are going *now* to give everything and receive nothing. Then we are told that it is very wrong to reduce the duties on French wines, *because* France is going to lower the duties on British iron; and in the same breath are reproached for including Spain and Portugal in our ‘concessions,’ without obtaining anything in return! I am really half inclined to share your suspicions that there are influences at work, hostile to any policy which shall put an end to the present state of armed hostility and suspicion between France and England. God forgive me if I do any body of men the injustice of attributing to them wrongfully such an infernal policy. It is, perhaps, hardly consciously that anybody would pursue such a course.

“But surely, if people wished to see the relations of the two countries improved, they would never attempt to impede the only sure means of attaining that end by such frivolous objections. These

people seem to think that Free Trade in France can be carried by a logical, orderly, methodical process, without resorting to stratagem, or anything like an indirect proceeding. They forget the political plots and contrivances, and the fearful adjuncts of starvation, which were necessary for carrying similar measures in England. They forget how Free Trade was wrested from the reluctant majorities of both our Houses of Parliament. Surely Louis Napoleon has as good a right, and may plead as strong motives of duty, for cheating (if I may use the word) the majorities of his Senate into an honest policy, as Peel had in dealing with the House of Lords. The Emperor of the French was elected by the whole people, not only to administer their laws, but to *legislate* for them. They do not expect, as we do in England, to initiate reforms. They look for amelioration from above. When speaking with the Emperor, he observed to me that the protected interests were organized, and the general public was not; and, therefore, the contest was as unequal as between a disciplined regiment and a mob. The answer was obvious: 'Your Majesty is the organization of the masses.' And I am earnestly of opinion that he is now acting under this impulse and conviction."

The direct effects of the Treaty upon the exchange of products between England and France have been too palpable to be denied. In 1858 the total exports from England to France amounted to no more than nine million pounds, and the imports from France to thirteen millions. Nineteen years later, in 1877, the British exports and re-exports had risen from nine to twenty-five million pounds, and the imports from France to forty-five millions.

The indirect effects of the Treaty were less plainly visible, but they cannot be left out of account if we seek to view the Treaty policy as a whole. England cleared her tariff of protection, and reduced the duties which were retained for purposes of revenue on the two French staples of wine and brandy. France, on her part, replaced prohibition by a system of moderate duties. If this had been all, it might have been fair to talk about reciprocity, though even then, when it is a reciprocity in lowering and not in raising duties, the word ceases altogether to be a term of reproach. But the matter did not end here. The Treaty with France was not like the famous Methuen Treaty with Portugal (1703), an exclusive bargain, to the specified disadvantage of a nation outside of the compact. In 1703 we bound ourselves to keep our duties on French wines one-third higher than the duty on the wines of Portugal. This was the type of treaty which Adam Smith had in his mind when he wrote his chapter on the subject. Pitt's Treaty with France (1786) was of a different and better kind; and his motive in making it was not diplomatic or political, as had been the case in the old-fashioned treaties of commerce, but truly economical and social. He wished to legalize the commerce which was carried on illegally, and

to an immense extent, by smuggling—always the spontaneous substitute for Free Trade; and he boldly accepted, moreover, the seeming paradox that reduction of duties may lead to increase of revenue.<sup>1</sup> Neither party stipulated for any peculiar advantages. Still, the benefits of the treaty were confined to the two nations who made it. In 1860 England lowered her duties, not only in favour of French products, but in favour of the same products from all other countries. The reforms which France and England now made in favour of one another, in the case of England actually were, and in the case of France were to be, extended to other nations as well. This was not reciprocity of monopoly, but reciprocity of freedom, or partial freedom. England had given up the system of differential duties, and France knew that the products of every other country would receive at the English ports exactly the same measure and treatment as her own. France, on the other hand, openly intended to take her treaty with England as a model for treaties with the rest of Europe, and to concede by treaty with as many Governments as might wish, a tariff just as favourable as that which had been arranged with England. As a matter of fact, within five years after the negotiations of 1860, France had made treaties with Belgium, the Zollverein, Italy, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, and Austria.

In these, and in the treaty made afterwards by England with Austria, Sir Louis Mallet reminded its opponents in later years that each of them had a double operation. Not only does each treaty open the market of another country to foreign industry; it immediately affects the markets that are already opened. For every recent treaty recognised the "most favoured nation" principle, the sheet-anchor of Free Trade, as it has been called. By means of this principle, each new point gained in any one negotiation becomes a part of the common commercial system of the European confederation. "By means of this network," it has been excellently said by a distinguished member of the English diplomatic service, "of which few Englishmen seem to be aware, while fewer still know to whom they owe it, all the great trading and industrial communities of Europe, *i.e.* England, France, Holland, Belgium, the Zollverein (1870), Austria, and Italy, constitute a compact international body, from which the principle of monopoly and exclusive privilege has once for all been eliminated, and not one member of which can take off a single duty without all the other members at once partaking in the increased trading facilities thereby created. By the self-registering action of the most favoured nation clause, common to this network of treaties, the tariff level of the whole body is being

(1) "Only 600,000 gallons of French brandy were legally imported in a year, while no less than 4,000,000 of gallons were believed to be every year imported into England. And since there was a total prohibition of French cambrics, every yard of them sold in England must have come in by illicit means."—LORD STANHOPE'S *Life of Pitt*, i. 316, 317.

continually lowered, and the road being paved towards the final embodiment of the Free Trade principle in the international engagement to abolish all duties other than those levied for revenue purposes."

In face of unquestioned facts of this kind, nothing can be less statesmanlike than to deny that the treaties since 1860 have helped forward the great process of liberating the exchange of the products of their industry among the nations of the world. It is amazing to find able men so overmastered by a mistaken conception of what it is that economic generalization can do for us, as to believe that they nullify the substantial service thus rendered by commercial treaties of Cobden's type to the beneficent end of international co-operation, by the mere utterance of some formula of economic incantation. If the practical effect of the commercial treaties after 1860, as conceived and inspired by Cobden, has been, without any drawback worth considering, to lead Europe by a considerable stride towards the end proposed by the partisans of Free Trade, then it is absurd to quarrel with the treaties because they do not sound in tune with the verbal jingle of an abstract dogma. It is beside the mark to meet the advantages gained by the international action of commercial treaties, by the formula, "Take care of your imports, and the exports will take care of themselves." The decisive consideration is that we can only procure imports from other countries on the cheapest possible terms, on condition that producers in those countries are able to receive our exports on the cheapest possible terms. Foreign producers can only do this, on condition that their governments can be induced to lower hostile tariffs; and foreign governments are only able, or choose to believe that they are only able, to lower tariffs in face of the strength of the protected interests, by means of a commercial treaty. The effect of a chain of such treaties—and the chain is automatically linked together by the favoured nation clause—is to lower duties all round, and lowering duties all round is the essential and indispensable condition of each country procuring for itself on the lowest possible terms imports from all other countries.

It is an economic error to confine our view to the imports or exports of our own country. In the case of England, these are intimately connected with, and dependent upon, the great circulating system of the whole world's trade. Nobody has fully grasped the bearings of Free Trade, who does not realise what the international aspect of every commercial transaction amounts to; how the conditions of production and exchange in any one country affect, both actually and potentially, the corresponding conditions in every other country. It is not Free Trade between any two countries that is the true aim; but to remove obstacles in the way of the stream of freely exchanging commodities, that ought, like the Oceanus of primitive

geography, to encircle the whole habitable world. In this circulating system every tariff is an obstruction, and the free circulation of commodities is in the long run as much impeded by an obstruction at one frontier as at another.<sup>1</sup> This is one answer to an idea which has been lately broached among us, under stress of the temporary reaction against Free Trade. It has been suggested that though we cannot restore Protection in its old simplicity, yet we might establish a sort of National Imperial Customs Union among the English dominions. The territory over which the flag of Great Britain waves is so enormous and so varied in productive conditions, that we could well afford, it is urged, to shut ourselves within our own walls, developing our own resources, and consolidating a strong national sentiment, until the nations who are now fighting us with protective tariffs come round to a better mind. The answer to this is that the removal of the restriction on the circulation to a more distant point would not affect the vital fact that the circulation would still be restricted and interrupted. To induce our colonies and dependencies to admit our goods free, would of course be so much gained; just as the freedom of interior or domestic commerce, which was one of the chief causes of the early prosperity of Great Britain, was by so much a gain over the French system, which cut off province from province by customs barriers during the same period. But freedom of internal commerce, whether within an island or over a wide empire, is still not the same thing as universal freedom of exchange. An interruption, at whatever point in the great currents of exchange, must always remain an interruption and a disadvantage. England is especially interested in any transaction that tends to develop trade between any nations whatever. We derive benefit from it in one way or another. The mother country has no interest in going into a Customs Union with her colonies, with the idea of giving them any advantage or supposed advantage in trading with her over foreign countries.

It is not enough, therefore, to remove our own protective duties, though Peel may have been right under the circumstances of the time in saying that the best way of fighting a hostile tariff is by reforming your own. It is the business of the economic statesman to watch for opportunities of inducing other nations to modify duties on imports; because the release of the consumers of other nations is not only a stimulus to your own production for exportation, but has an effect in the supply of the imports which you declare to be the real object of your solicitude.

EDITOR.

(1) This is worked out with vigour and acuteness in the admirable pamphlet published by the Cobden Club in 1870, entitled, *Commercial Treaties; Free Trade and Internationalism Four Letters by a disciple of Richard Cobden*.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

THE great measure which Mr. Gladstone has framed for the re-settlement of Ireland was read a second time in the House of Commons (May 20th) by an overwhelming majority, in the proportion of two to one, only one hundred and seventy-six members going into the lobby against the Bill. Even if all those who, from whatever cause, abstained from the division had brought themselves to oppose the Bill, the Government would still have had a decisive majority. Even the most sanguine Ministerialists had not counted on a majority of more than one hundred and forty. That the Opposition should have cut so poor a figure in this momentous division only shows the overwhelming strength of the view which they resisted. It shows how urgent is the feeling that the time has come when the re-settlement of the land system of Ireland on a new base can be delayed no longer. If we look at the analysis which has been published of the division, its significance is still more important. The principle of the Bill was accepted and affirmed not only by the more advanced wing on the Ministerial side, but by the whole body of the Whigs and Moderates, including those who mutinied last year against the unlucky Disturbance Bill. This feature in the vote ought not to be lost on those who dream, and make a terrible noise in their dreaming, about the speedily approaching secession of the "moderate" Liberals to some imaginary and impossible camp of eclectic safe men. Not only did the Whigs vote for the Bill, but there was a significant contingent of Conservatives who could not be brought to vote against it. Among the abstainers were Conservative members for counties, who dared not oppose a confirmation of tenant-right; and Conservative members for boroughs, who dared not run the risk of alienating the Irish vote. But to those who have best considered the true principle of governing Ireland, the most interesting element in the division must naturally be the votes given by the Irish representatives themselves. It is they who best understand the conditions of the problem with which the Land Bill professes to deal; indeed, many of those whose business it is to follow the course of the discussion must have felt that it is only the Irish representatives who understand the conditions of the problem at all. Their vote was most remarkable, and in some critical respects it could hardly have been more satisfactory. Only eight Irish members were found to oppose the Bill, and of these eight three represented what may be called the official and formal opposition. Moderate Home Rulers, like Mr. Shaw, joined Home Rulers of another colour,

like Mr. A. M. Sullivan and Mr. O'Connor Power, in supporting the Bill. The Liberals who are not Home Rulers were all but unanimous on the same side. More important than this was the very strong support given to the Bill by the Ulster Conservatives. It may fairly be said that every section of the Irish representation is to be found in the majority, and this ought to be enough to show that the Bill in its broad features has secured the approbation of the great bulk of those who know best from experience what it is that Ireland wants. There was, however, one most formidable defection. Mr. Parnell and a score of his friends declined to vote either way. If we think of Mr. Parnell's position in Ireland, especially in connection with the Land Question, which has in fact been at the very root of his political success, few words are needed to bring out the great importance of his abstention. It was he who first discerned the uses of an agrarian agitation in helping a rather languid political agitation. It was he who, in his memorable injunction to the peasants to keep their grip on the land, found out the secret that was to make the agrarian agitation irresistible. It is he who seems, in spite of that curious eclipse which took place at a critical moment a few weeks ago, to have control of the Irish constituencies. That a personage of this importance should refuse to express his acceptance of the Bill, even as a temporary solution of the problem, is a circumstance of obviously evil omen both for the Bill itself and for the tranquillising effect which it is hoped that the Bill will produce. Such an incident will embolden the House of Lords to assert its power, because it supports the contention that Mr. Gladstone's measure does not satisfy the dominant popular party in Ireland, and therefore that it is not worth while to take the trouble of passing it.

Here, let us say in a parenthesis, we may perceive one of the many bad consequences of Coercion, and of that rash and uncalculating temper in the British public which almost compelled the Government to resort to it. The great aim in the present episode of Irish reconstruction was to have the Irish people as much as possible inclined to the side of the Government, against the irreconcilable policy of the American-Irish and those whom the American-Irish inspire. It was hoped that the Irish people would be attracted and reconciled by the promise of a Land Bill, and this was a reasonable hope, so far as it went. But in order that it should be realised, it was indispensable that the sentiment of the country should not be alienated. By the Coercion Act, and the exasperating scenes which took place in connection with it, and two or three special incidents in enforcing it, the feeling of a considerable portion of the population has been profoundly irritated. In other words, it has been thrown to the side of Mr. Parnell, and become a reserve of ill-will to the Government, on which he is free to draw to any extent when-

ever he pleases. His attitude towards the Land Bill is his retort, in which he is supported by his own large and powerful mass in Ireland, to the arrest of Davitt.

Mr. Parnell makes no secret of what is in his mind, when he refuses to accept Mr. Gladstone's compromise between landlords and tenants. The Bill, he said, would furnish no protection worth having to the small tenants; it did not give to them the right of remaining in their holdings at the lower rents which the Courts might be expected to fix; it simply gave them a right of selling their interest in order to discharge the arrears of rack-rent which might have accumulated during three bad seasons. What was the true remedy? To appoint a Commission with the power of expropriating bad landlords—those whose action designated them as centres of social disturbance—at twenty years' purchase of the poor-law valuation. This would lead more rapidly to a diminution of rack-renting than all the elaborate paraphernalia of the Bill. As for the ultimate expropriation of all landlords, good no less than bad, that was the true cure, no doubt; but he was in no hurry about it, for he did not think that the property of the Irish landlords had yet touched bottom, or that it would be an advantageous thing for the tenants to ask that the landlords should be bought out until they saw what development American importation was likely to undergo. As soon as the property of the landlords might fairly be considered to have "touched bottom," then the time would come for the final application of the real remedy, complete expropriation by means of purchase by the State. From this Mr. Parnell pushed on to political ground:—

"The real reason why the Irish did not succeed in Ireland was that a nation governed by another nation never did succeed. The curse of foreign rule overshadowed everything. The conduct of the Government during the last few months had led many to believe that until their Chief Secretaries and Under Secretaries, their Privy Councils and central boards, stipendiary magistrates and military police, landlords and bailiffs, were cleared out 'bag and baggage,' there could be no hope for any permanent remedy of affairs in Ireland."

This, then, is Mr. Parnell's position. "Naturally," said Lord Hartington, "no bill, the object of which is to improve the relations between landlord and tenant, and intended to restrain the abuses of a system which he wishes entirely to get rid of, will be satisfactory to him. Whatever may be the case with the landlord and the tenant, Mr. Parnell at all events can afford to wait. Landlords may not be able to wait; they may be unable to meet their obligations, and may be deprived almost of the means of living. Tenants may not be able to live much longer in this state of continual warfare; and it may not be possible for the people of these countries to endure much longer the state of anarchy into which Ireland has fallen. It may



not be possible for any one else to wait; but it is the gain of Mr. Parnell to wait, because the longer this state of things continues, the longer the feud between landlord and tenant lasts, the more embittered are the relations between them, the more violent are the attacks on the rights of property and the defence of the rights of property, the more it suits his purpose, and the more likely it is that the end he has in view will be accomplished." This is clearly true, and it is just because it is so true that we may well wonder why those who oppose Mr. Gladstone's Bill from a Conservative point of view fail to perceive that they are playing Mr. Parnell's game. The Irish Conservatives do perceive this, and they refrain from opposition, not merely because they have the fear of their constituencies before their eyes, but because they know and are persuaded that all delay makes the situation less capable of a pacific settlement.

The true character of the situation of Ireland is becoming more and more unmistakable every day. In many districts of the country the ordinary relations of social life are undisturbed, but the state of some parts of the South is declared by persons on the spot to be "not far removed from insurrection." There are no fewer than six flying columns of troops now employed in preserving the peace in the disturbed districts. Only by their aid can the ordinary processes of law be enforced. Cases have already occurred where the troops and the populace have come into collision. Those who used to assure us that a Coercion Act would suffice to diffuse an instant tranquillity over the country, now see themselves to have been entirely in the wrong. The promise that the mere menace of this strong instrument would drive half the evil-doers out of the country, and awe the other half into orderly behaviour, has not been in the least fulfilled. A very considerable number of arrests have actually been made, including that of one of the members for Tipperary. Hands have even been laid on a priest of the Church. More than half of Ireland has been proclaimed; but the spirit of the population is not quelled. It seems to be at least as passionate as it ever was. There has even been ominous talk in some quarters, no longer of a refusal to pay more than Griffith's valuation, but of a general strike against rent. English politicians are beginning secretly to ask themselves what resource is left if these formidable words should begin to realise themselves in fact. Such a threat—even if it should happily remain no more than a threat—reminds them how anarchic Ireland is, not merely in being the prey to outbreaks of passing disorder, but in the much deeper sense of possessing a discontented population without any controlling order or cohesive social influence. The landlords are, as a body, unpopular, and have lost both political and moral authority. The Church is obliged rather to follow than to lead. The English Government is partly hated and partly despised. Even in Ulster, if

we may trust its own Conservative representatives in Parliament, the old traditions are so rudely shaken that it depends upon the passing of the Land Bill whether that province shall, or shall not, also be affected by the same "revolutionary spirit"—it is their word, not ours—which is sweeping over other parts of the island.

It is no wonder that such an outlook, if it disturbs even those who have been most steadfast in their confidence in remedial legislation, excites to new resentment those who believe that the only remedy is to be sought in force. It is in the House of Lords, as is natural, that this view has found the earliest and harshest expression. Stubborn in their blind delusions, Conservative peers persist that the only plan is to leave the land system as it is, and to sweep the population of whole districts into prison. It is vain to remind them that the first political authority in the realm, the constituencies, have expressly declared within the last twelve months against this very programme. One of the leading results of the general election was a formal mandate to Mr. Gladstone to try the experiment of a more liberal system in Ireland. Nobody supposes that the Government took up the Irish question out of sheer gaiety of heart. Lord Beaconsfield in his manifesto at the time of the dissolution expressed his sense of the imminence of danger in Ireland. He intimated significantly enough his own policy—no concession and no compromise. The majority in the constituencies decided for the alternative policy, "for measures that should be houlmg." The sight of turbulence and disorder at their very door is excessively trying to Englishmen and Scotchmen, but it can hardly be that the decision to give the remedial and conciliatory policy a full trial has already given way to an ugly inclination to revert to the maxims of force. There is an undoubted possibility that this disastrous change may come over men's minds, if events in Ireland follow the course which some onlookers now apprehend. There is no sign that the change has taken place yet.

Whether it be so or not, so far as the majority of the country is concerned, it seems certain that this at any rate is the policy which Lord Salisbury is bent upon pressing. At the moment when Mr. Parnell was declaring that it would suit him much better to wait, than to fall in with the terms offered by Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury was arguing that these terms could only be defended on principles which would lead to the widespread and indefinite spoliation of the owners of every kind of property whatever. Holding so strong an opinion as this, Lord Salisbury may naturally be expected to resist the Bill to the uttermost. Yet the consequences of the rejection of the Bill are perfectly clear. The whole of Ireland will have to be held down by armed force. How long could such a system last? Wearied of a turbulence that looks desperate, the

people of this country might endure Lord Salisbury's system for two or three years; but it would never be forgotten that the great minister and the powerful party who are responsible for the Land Bill had, both explicitly and implicitly, declared that the Irish peasant suffers under grievous wrongs, and that these wrongs are at the root of the social disorder of Ireland. This would be remembered. The representatives of Ireland, who under Lord Salisbury's system would every one of them be transformed into Irreconcilables hostile to the British connection, would take care to keep us in mind of their existence and their claims. The party see-saw being what it is, who can doubt what the end of it all would be? Who can doubt that a strong reaction would set in from the Liberal quarter, and that a far more drastic measure than Mr. Gladstone's would then be forced through Parliament? It is for this measure that Mr. Parnell's section would prefer to wait, and it is into their hands that Lord Salisbury's policy would play most effectually.

The action of the French Government in Tunis has produced a disagreeable impression on all sides in England. The way in which the things were done was almost more repugnant than the thing itself. The French Government gave it to be understood that their only design was to protect themselves against the raids of the disorderly Kroumirs. One day (May 12) M. Jules Ferry declared in both chambers that the Government had no design either on the throne or the territory of the Bey of Tunis, and solemnly repudiated all ideas of annexation or conquest. The very next day a treaty was peremptorily and with violence imposed upon the unfortunate Bey, by which France is to be allowed to occupy whatever positions in his territory she may choose; the Bey must conclude no convention with another nation (say Italy) of which France disapproves; France is to be consulted as to the Bey's financial system; and finally is to be permanently represented by a Minister Resident at the Bey's court, with functions that are not precisely defined but which may be fairly guessed without any particular definition. Nothing more unscrupulous was ever done by our own countrymen in India.

There is always a readiness in this country to cry out whenever another country acquires or shows a disposition to acquire new territory, and this tendency is always particularly strong when the aggressive country happens to be France. Those who illustrate this tendency in its extreme form now proclaim for the thousandth time that England is effaced, that the Mediterranean is to become a French lake, that our road to India is in danger, and so forth. On the other hand, the voxation of the English politicians who are farthest removed from this school is equally great. They see with sharp

disappointment that the French Republic has shown a contempt for the rights of a minor government which could not have been surpassed by a French Empire. They see, moreover, that France has weakened herself in two ways, first by so extending her frontier as to necessitate the presence of a much stronger military force than before on the north of Africa; second by provoking and laying up in the minds of the Italians a store of lively animosity which makes Italy the ready friend of the enemy of France. It is true that the Italians were themselves eager to do in Tunis what the French have done, and so far as the strength of England is concerned and the security of her Mediterranean route, it is better that France and Italy should confront one another on the two sides of the straits which unite the two great arms of the Mediterranean, than that Italy should have been in a position to command the straits from both sides. It is true also that England does not occupy very strong ground from which to remonstrate. If we read for Shere Ali the Bey of Tunis, and for dislike of Russia dislike of Italy, the action of France in Africa is exactly on a level with the action of Great Britain in India. It is certainly not for an English Government just now to lecture France on her disregard of political morality. Besides this, the papers laid before Parliament show that Lord Salisbury gave at least as much active encouragement to France in designs upon Tunis as lies in a promise of acquiescence. It is hardly denied even that it was in reply to Mr. Waddington's expression of the irritation caused in France by our appropriation of Cyprus, that Lord Salisbury spontaneously suggested the acquisition of Tunis as a satisfactory compensation to our neighbours. There is no reason, therefore, and there can be no excuse even for diplomatic protests from England. Nor is anything gained by excessively loud criticism. There is in fact a certain compensation which ought to moderate the tone of English onlookers. The more deeply France engages herself on the Mediterranean, the farther will she be drawn away from the fatal attractions of the Rhine, Belgium, and the ports of the Channel. In view of such considerations it may be doubted whether the language of Lord Granville's last despatch on the subject is not more markedly censorious than was to be desired. But to recognise these things does not prevent us from saying to ourselves that France is not so far advanced in the paths of wise policy as many people had hoped. If any school or any party in France had made a demonstration or uttered a protest against an act of aggression, at once cynical and impolitic, it would have been different. In England for nearly half a century there have always been found politicians who took care at least to express their disapproval of China wars, South African wars, and Indian wars and annexations, even though they

knew that their disapproval could in no way alter the event. These steady protests at last made such a mark on general opinion that only a year ago the Government was expelled from power by the constituencies, precisely for adopting those maxims in Afghanistan which a French Government has just practised in Tunis without a single serious voice being raised against it from any section of French opinion, with the partial and dubious exception of M. Clemenceau. This is to us the most unfortunate feature in the transaction. It seems to show that the new Republic is indeed in a too strict continuity with that other French Republic which a generation ago sent troops to preserve the power of the Pope in Rome. Jealousy of the Austrians prompted one, as jealousy of the Italians has prompted the other. In neither instance can the motive be called a worthy one.

For the Italians it is not easy to feel any sympathy. It was their restlessness which precipitated what they ought to have foreseen must be an unequal struggle. We are always predisposed to believe that such restlessness as Italy has shown within the last three or four years, not merely in regard to Tunis, but to the north and east in an equal degree, must arise from certain inherent peculiarities of her internal condition. Nations do not usually persevere in these courses out of mere superfluity of naughtiness. In Italy the root of the mischief in her attitude to her neighbours probably lies partly in her economic condition, which is deplorably bad and disturbing, and still more in her political condition. Political parties are incohesive and perpetually disintegrated in Italy, and of this one effect is that foreign policy sways from side to side rapidly and without real meaning, merely to suit the exigencies of the combination of the moment.

The catastrophe at St. Petersburg, which was followed by the accession of the present Czar to the throne, was in itself so striking and tragic an event, that it is natural that Europe should still watch for the next scene with close interest. So far, nothing has happened to clear the gloom of the prospect. On the contrary, the opinion of intelligent foreign observers seems to be strong that the new Czar has committed himself to a course of policy which cannot end happily, nor, perhaps, even endure for any great length of time. In a government such as that of Russia, everything depends, for the given moment at least, upon the personal character of the Emperor. Russia will work out its own destinies in its own line of social evolution; its ultimate horizon is fixed; but the course in which the vessel of State is navigated for the time is determined by the will of the Autocrat. On the whole, what we see through the white mist in which Russia is obscured from Western eyes, is ominous of evil, and, perhaps, of evil for which the country will not be kept very

long waiting. The Czar is said to show a vacillating will, an impressible temperament, a judgment without penetration or fineness of edge; a character wanting both in capaciousness on the one hand, and in that energetic firmness on the other, which is quite compatible with narrowness and even with dulness. Even if this account be more unfavourable than the facts warrant, it is at least certain that the Czar has thrown himself into the arms of the party from which pacific progress in Russia has least to hope. There are in Russia three chief practical parties. The first is the stiff absolutist school, who cherish the tyrannical and detestable traditions of Nicholas; these are not numerous, but they are not quite unimportant. The second is what may be called the reforming party in the Western sense, the men (and in speaking of Russia we must say also the women) who think of a constitution and a code and all the other apparatus of advanced civilisation. The third party, which is both numerous and important, has its head-quarters at Moscow, is native, Russian, Slavonic, and anti-Western in all its ideas and aspirations; is amiable and well-meaning enough, but sentimental, obscurantist, worshipping the autocratic power, incredulous of the virtues of equal law and personal freedom. It is to the counsels of this unpromising school that the Czar has resolved to listen. The manifesto in which he conveyed this determination to his people has been interpreted by many, both in Russia and abroad, in a sense that is favourable to certain kinds of reform, more especially to agrarian reforms, which would appear to be much needed. But the Revolutionary Committee, who may be supposed to know their own business, think very differently. The reform that interests them, and short of which they will never rest content, is the removal of the iniquitous pressure of the executive administration upon all personal freedom of speech and discussion. Russians often tell us how the late Czar established tribunals, and they point to the trial of his murderers as an example of the uncontrolled defence which a prisoner is free to make before them. But this is a mere sophism. Acquittal by a tribunal does not mean as it does in England an end of the matter. Sophie Perofski had been acquitted, but the day after she received orders which were tantamount to a mixture of imprisonment and banishment. The tribunal is no safeguard for personal freedom. The press is gagged. Reunions of intelligent people are jealously watched and made all but impossible. In a country where a certain class is alive with intellectual excitement that would be perfectly harmless if it were free, this odious and futile repression of opinion produces its natural result in violent resistance. It is a very old story. That Russia is not fit for a free political constitution may well be true. But as reforming ideas have found an entry into Russia, they will not be effectually

baffled by any amount of executive tyranny. If the Autocratic Power of which the manifesto speaks, uses force to suppress them, it will, as events have shown and are only too likely to show again, be encountered by force. No other weapon is left, and if the legalised authority in Russia resorts too systematically to cruel, unjust, and violent practices, it is no wonder that its opponents should resort to the same. The preference of Ignatieff to Melikoff is taken to mean a persistence, perhaps not without superficial and Jesuitic disguises, in arbitrary courses, and if this forecast prove to be right, the prospect in Russia is one of destructive confusion.

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END OF VOL. XXIX.







